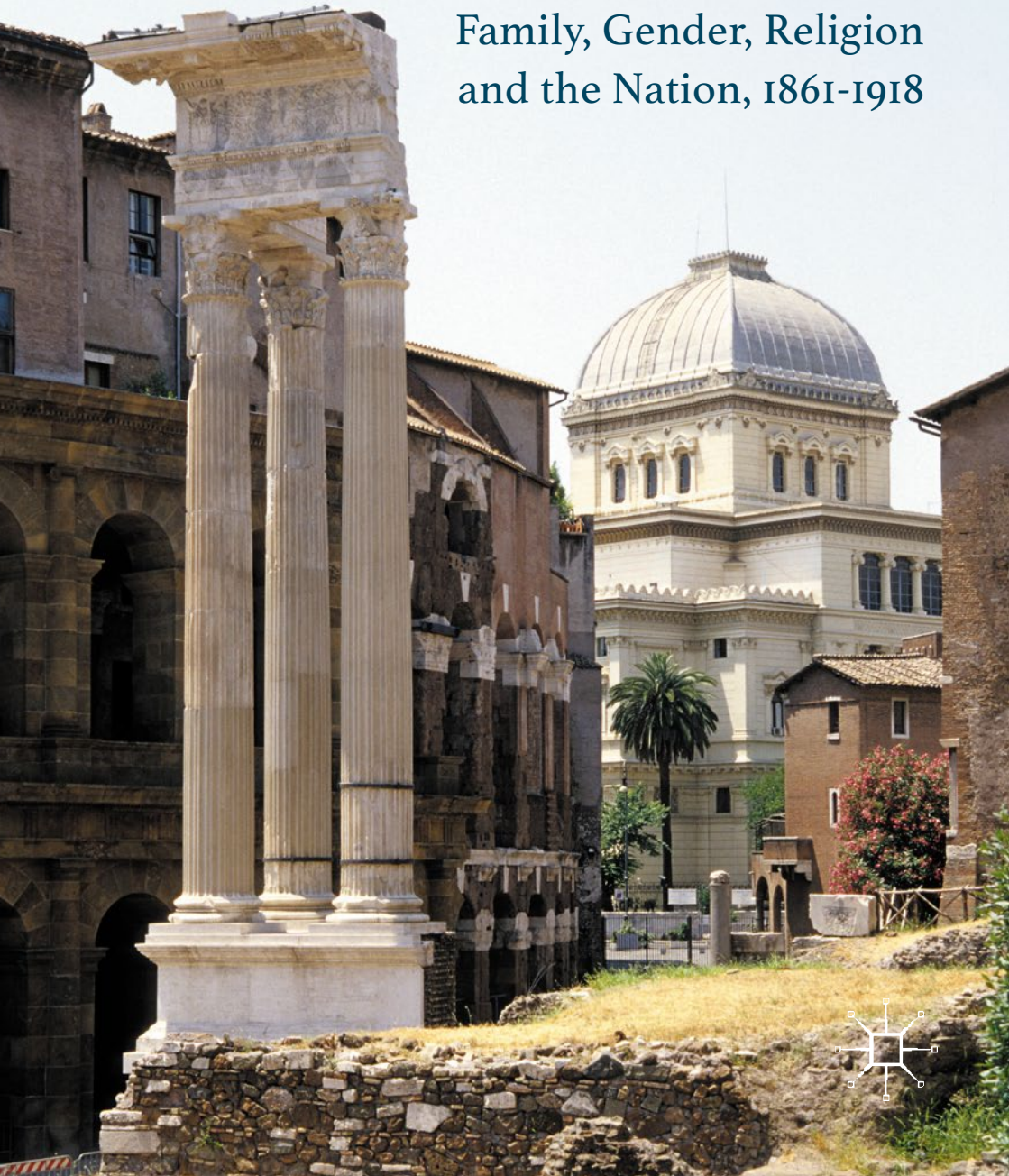
Carlotta Ferrara degli Uberti

Making Italian Jews

Family, Gender, Religion and the Nation, 1861-1918



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To Alfredo and Eva

Preface

'Fatta l'Italia, bisogna fare gli italiani' ('With Italy made, we must now make the Italians')[1]: attributed to Massimo d'Azeglio—writer, patriot and politician, twice prime minister between 1849 and 1852—this sentence has become one of the most famous policy statements of the Italian Risorgimento, because it contains within it both the recognition of a weakness of national identity and the wish of the liberal ruling class to develop an ambitious pedagogical project for the construction of a shared national consciousness. As far as we know, d'Azeglio never actually uttered this precise sentence. The source is an observation in his book *I miei ricordi*, published posthumously in two volumes in 1867: 'Italy's most dangerous enemies are not the Austrians, but the Italians […] because the Italians wanted to make a new Italy, and yet remain the old Italians of before, with the worthlessness and moral wretchedness which were their heritage from ancient times […]. To put it simply, Italy's primary need is the development of Italians of strong and noble character. But unfortunately, we go every day more in the opposite direction: unfortunately Italy has been made, but the Italians are not coming into being'.[2] Making Italians: liberal and then Fascist ruling classes would struggle for decades to accomplish this goal, and to determine what exactly 'Italian' should mean.

The translation from Italian into English has been funded by the Fondazione Maimonide (Milan).

This is a translation of the foreword to the original Italian edition (2011), with some very brief additions.

What, then, about the Jews? After their emancipation the task of 'making Italian Jews' made it necessary to elaborate the meaning of at least two terms rather than just one: at the individual and collective levels, the theoretical and practical, the behavioural and symbolic. Italianness and Jewishness also had to be reconciled so that they were not only compatible but also mutually supportive. In this book I analyse the play of representations arising from this intellectual and emotional venture, undertaken by a section of the Italian Jewish cultural and institutional elite mainly during the liberal era. This perspective can be used to throw new light on the structure and reception of the Italian national idea in its various nuances and articulations.

At the point when I started to work on the doctoral thesis from which this book derives, debates were in full swing both on Italian Jewish history and on new approaches to the history of the Risorgimento. After a long period of neglect, both fields had drawn the attention of established scholars, budding academics and, to some extent, the wider public. This collective intellectual activity generated important thinking that has contributed, on the one hand, to a demolition of the worn old paradigms of interpretation and, on the other, to opening up new avenues for research and understanding. Both areas greatly benefited from the atmosphere of the early 1990s, when the collapse of Italy's entire political system stimulated fresh thinking on the nature of Italian history from the Risorgimento to the Republic, on Italian nationalism, on the problematic as well as the positive aspects of the processes of Unification and centralization, on the failure of the federalist projects, on Fascism and Fascist anti-Semitism and on how to integrate diversity without suppressing it. In this same period Italy, for the first time, faced mass immigration, making a political and cultural debate on national identity and citizenship all the more urgent. It was no coincidence that the Northern League, a xenophobic and originally secessionist movement, emerged in those years.

The major innovations in relation to both the Risorgimento and the broader history of nationalisms came from scholars responsive to the 'linguistic turn' and cultural history, clearly indebted to the teaching of George Mosse: a long-overdue development in Italian historiography.[3] Expressions such as 'the invention of tradition', 'imagined communities' and 'nation building' gradually established themselves in Italian historiographical language. 'Deconstruction' and 're-semanticize' passed into common academic usage. Alongside 'nation', 'identity'—even harder to

define—was the subject of endless discussion. For good or ill, it was in this climate that I developed as a historian and that this work was conceived.

In the case of Jewish history, a key contribution came from Italian scholars who had not been directly involved in the painful consequences of the Shoah and Jewish post-war reintegration, as historiographical development on these themes—often by historians who were Jewish—has always been closely linked to the changes under way in Jewish consciousness. An important role was also played by particular international events, especially the 1982 Lebanon War and the reactions that followed, in which anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist protest all across Europe was sometimes tinged with anti-Semitism.[4] Italian historiography made great strides on a number of related fronts.

Scholars systematically deconstructed the long-standing myth of an idyllic and unproblematic nineteenth-century integration of the Jews into Italian society.[5] This idea had its roots in the way Italian Jews had portrayed their belonging to the fatherland and their relationship with non-Jews, especially in the decades following Jewish emancipation, and was granted an authoritative scholarly legitimization by none other than a young Arnaldo Momigliano. When reviewing Cecil Roth's *The Jews in Venice* in 1933, he famously highlighted one of the peculiarities of the Italian path to emancipation: 'The development of an Italian national consciousness for Jews is parallel to the formation of a national consciousness by the Piedmontese, the Neapolitans, or the Sicilians: it is part of the same process and characterizes the process itself'.[6] Going well beyond Momigliano's intentions and distorting the meaning of his very brief observation, the communist intellectual Antonio Gramsci then built on this quotation in his *Prison Notebooks*, stating that Italian national identity was firmly founded on the overcoming of other loyalties and belongings (Catholicism and Judaism among them) and on the consequent 'birth of a secular spirit'. He went even further, drawing the conclusion that for these reasons anti-Semitism did not exist and never would exist in Italy.[7] The date is crucial to an understanding of these analyses, neither of which was at all intended to become a historiographical milestone. In the early 1930s both intellectuals needed, for different reasons, to make a distinction between the Italian situation and the new regime that was taking root in Germany. Far from being rapidly dismissed as unrealistic, Gramsci's development of Momigliano's interpretation even resisted the racist and anti-Semitic turn of Fascism: it continued to prosper after the Second World War, metamorphosing into the myth of 'the good Italian'.

The myth of 'the good Italian' served to separate the reputation of the country and its people from the evils of Fascism (and Fascist anti-Semitism), labelling the regime and its ideology as alien to Italian culture: a parenthetical event with no basis in the true essence of Italian history and the Italian character. Only partisans, anti-Fascists and saviours of Jews were representative of the true Italian: a narrative widely supported by the Union of the Italian Israelite Communities in the decades immediately after the war. Since the fiftieth anniversary of the racist laws in 1988, historians have challenged this paradigm and deepened the analysis of its origins and the reasons of its success, reinstating Fascism in its rightful place as an important piece of Italian history. Jewish and non-Jewish scholars have investigated the reasons for and consequences of the racist turn taken by Fascism that culminated in the laws of 1938, with a reassessment of the specifically Italian responsibilities for the persecution of the Jews and for their deportation.[8]

Despite the significant progress made by historiography, many gaps remain. Investigations into the social, cultural and religious history of Italian Jews in the period following their emancipation are still only just beginning and need further work on the theory and methodology as well as empirical research. The history of anti-Semitism in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Italy is as yet largely unwritten, and this vacuum has seriously hampered the research into Fascist racism and anti-Semitism; however serious and brilliant this latter work might be, a real understanding of these phenomena will be impossible without going back at least to the early nineteenth century.

In Italy, unfortunately, there has been very little communication between those studying nationalisms and the Risorgimento and those studying Jewish themes, and in more general terms the latter have paid scant attention to the promptings of cultural history, despite the wide-ranging explorations by non-Italian researchers in Jewish studies. One of the aims of my own research is to bring these different spheres into dialogue. Although it was not particularly planned, it made a certain sense that this book first came out in its Italian original version in 2011, when people were reflecting on the 150th anniversary of Italian Unification.

This book is in fact the first attempt at analysing Italian Jewish cultural history in the second half of the nineteenth century and up until the end of the Great War, through the lens of nation building and adherence to the patriotic narrative. As decades of Jewish historiography have highlighted, after emancipation the boundaries of Jewish identification became looser

as integration into the majority society progressed. Not wanting to risk holding trapped inside the 'Jewish prison' those who preferred to leave,[9] I have for the most part restricted myself to sources written by authors or institutions that explicitly presented themselves as bearers of some form of Jewishness. In my approach to this ambitious project, I found myself reflecting on the use of the category of 'subculture' in David Sorkin's *The Transformation of German Jewry (1780–1840)*, a work I found very illuminating when I was first exploring the international debate on topics in European Jewish history. Could his definition of subculture be applied to the case of Italian Jewry after emancipation? After much further reading and many years of research, my answer is in the negative. As this book will show, Italian Jewish culture was by no means a 'self-contained system of ideas and symbols', and for most Italian Jews the Jewish group was not the primary community.[10]

In this book I analyse various types of text, but without dwelling on the history or personality of their authors. My concern is to present key issues that emerge from patterns within the morphology, lexis and content of this textual production, which constitutes a mosaic of major interest for an understanding of the essential aspects of Italian Jewish national discourse between Unification and the advent of Fascism. The choice of themes emerged from a systematic reading of the main Italian Jewish periodicals in the period 1853–1920 (*L'Educatore Israelita*, *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, *Il Corriere Israelitico*, *L'Idea Sionista*, *La Settimana Israelitica*, *La Rivista Israelitica*, *Israel*) and was then confirmed and reinforced by the analysis of a large range of material, including rabbinical sermons, catechisms, memoirs, correspondence and pamphlets of various kinds (medical, legal, political and religious) both in libraries and archives. I also conducted a brief review of the French Jewish press.

It should perhaps be mentioned that anti-Semitism is barely discussed in this book. This is because I chose to focus on self-representation by Italian Jews; within this context anti-Semitism, as an organized movement, political tool or system of interpretation, has an entirely marginal role. In my sources it exists as a phenomenon regarded as alien to Italian cultural tradition. At least until the early years of the twentieth century, there were only rare reactions to specific articles, speeches or events of an anti-Semitic nature, other than accounts of events in Eastern Europe and reports of the Dreyfus Affair. Those forms of stigmatization of Jewish 'otherness' that were widespread in the culture of the second half of the nineteenth century, however, were ubiquitous, especially in medical and

anthropological discourse, and were often in fact adopted by Jews in order to describe and analyse themselves. As we shall see, discussion of the Jewish race, Jewish degeneration, and the spiritual, moral and attitudinal characteristics of Jews determined by biology did not, at the time, have the immediately disquieting, alarming and almost obscene significance that it has for us today. We have to appreciate this if we are to understand the self-representation of this minority, and its reaction—or lack of reaction—to the incitements from mainstream society. It can be argued that a sharing of the cultural references in operation in the genesis and development of anti-Semitic mythology may in fact to some extent have prevented this minority from grasping its dangers. In relation to collective perception of these themes and their particular vocabulary, everything of course changed with the Shoah.

One of the main challenges I faced in compiling this work was the need to define, explain and pin down certain characteristic features of Judaism and its cultural and religious tradition. The texts used in this book are laden with references, both explicit and implicit, to customs, sayings, beliefs, interpretations of religious rules, ritual formulas and biblical passages, not to mention the actual attempts to formulate a comprehensive vision of the essence of Judaism as religion, history and approach to life. As the reader may not be familiar with this multi-faceted world, I have had to look each time for ways of restricting the range of possible interpretations and providing an interpretative key. I have wanted not to get lost in the details of a religious and cultural history going back thousands of years, but, instead, to understand the meaning of the controversies, symbols and references relating to the religious world, in the broadest sense, within the context and dynamics of the nineteenth-century environment, and especially how they interacted with the debates on patriotism, nationalism and citizenship. Experts in Jewish culture and religion may see my explanations as somewhat elementary and simplistic. I am well aware that every textual fragment, custom and ritual can be interpreted in a thousand different ways. For the sake of brevity I have had to make choices for which I take full responsibility.

In this book I deal with discourses and representations mainly developed by representatives of religious and institutional Judaism. The contemporary era has seen pervasive processes of secularization and integration, and the extraordinary proliferation of private and familial Judaisms, often completely detached from Jewish institutions; it could therefore be

argued that only the stories of individuals and the reconstruction of their relationship networks can do justice to their real paths of social integration and acculturation. Moreover, the thorny problem of the reception of the texts I analyse has to be confronted. Despite the validity of these points, which I have had to address, I argue that the efforts made by institutional Judaism in relation to culture, identity and education merit our attention. They allow us to ascribe meaning to a collective dimension of Jewishness within a political and cultural context that was increasingly averse to accommodating groups that demanded the right to some degree of difference. These sources allow us to highlight widespread difficulties, perplexities, influences and prejudices that could not be illustrated by narrating the life events of individuals, who are of necessity unique. Besides, not only from the point of view of mainstream society—state institutions, politics, the representation of the 'other' generated by the Catholic, liberal and socialist imaginaries—but also by scientific research, Jewish identity was considered important only when it related to a collective allegiance. Furthermore, the view from outside can quickly turn the statements and behaviour of rabbis and community leaders into 'what the Jews think', thus unduly enhancing their importance and performative potential.

As for methodology, I believe in an open and empirically based approach, to avoid dogma and fixed ideas. Historians feel their way forward carefully, or at least they should, but a distinct element of arbitrariness is an inescapable element of the profession. Moving between the reconstruction of events or the reading of texts and the task of interpretation, partial images of the past are all we can realistically expect to find and analyse; from these, we construct and put forward our own representation, which is, in its turn, inevitably partial and influenced by the salient issues of our own epoch and our personal history. This in no way detracts from the importance and seriousness of historical reconstruction: essentially, human beings base their actions not on objective data, but on their own interpretation of a situation and a set of priorities that is culturally constructed rather than inherent in facts and events.

This leads me to acknowledge, at the start, my awareness that the reconstruction in this work necessarily reflects my personal sensibilities, and all the more so in that events, figures and dates account for only a small part of the narrative that follows. The book's protagonists are mainly writings, speeches and literary images: conflicting, far from straightforward and open to multiple interpretations. My first responsibility, the first step

inherently charged with interpretative implications and of course open to challenge, is the choice of these texts.

As not even the highest aspirations to objectivity can eliminate this personal factor, it may help if I say something about myself. I have already acknowledged the context for my professional development, which will have influenced the many questions, few of them resolved, that characterize this book. Professional development, however, is not the only significant factor. I was born in Rome in 1977, unaware until many years later of having been thrown right in the eye of the storm that reduced Italy's political, cultural and social life to chaos. I was born after the battle over divorce and the family law reform of 1975 that for the first time put an end to women's inferior status within marriage, and grew up with Law 194 (the abortion law), the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War: a climate of crumbling ideologies and fading conflicts. I was in secondary school during the long-running drama of the 'Mani Pulite' corruption investigation and the start of the Berlusconi era. The collective consciousness of my generation is weak when compared to that of earlier ones. We have benefited from the outcome of many battles fought by our mothers and fathers, and we were brought up thinking that we would not need to find our own shared goals and ideals. The era of ideologies was over. Now, as adults, we realize that we are perhaps the first, along with our meagre numbers of children, to experience declining levels of prosperity.

While I think of myself as Roman, my roots are in various Italian regions, and in the Arbëresh minority that has lived for centuries in many villages in Southern Italy. In the 1990s Albanian refugees often visited my parents' house and more than once proudly referred to my imposing nose, apparently typically Albanian. While I was pursuing this research I converted to Judaism, and there was no shortage of quips about my nose at this point either. Despite the triviality of this, it does illustrate the pervasiveness of a certain cultural discourse on human difference to which I have given significant attention in this book. As I wrote my conclusions, my view of the world was influenced by many aspects of my situation: a woman; a mother; a 'converted' Jew; an Italian citizen worried by the lack of any serious cultural and political reflection on immigration and integration (among other things); one of many researchers in temporary positions within a crumbling university system; one of many who despite reaching adulthood risk being denied its rights and responsibilities by our society, until old age beckons. Happily, this aspect of my life changed in September 2014 when

I was appointed to a post at University College London (finding myself outside Italy, like many other Italian researchers).[11]

None of these elements is easy to deal with. It is no coincidence that the plurality of identities and differing generational sensitivities are central to this work.

This book consists of five chapters arranged principally by theme, with an underlying chronological thread. There is a particular focus on the crisis of the fin de siècle, the period between 1880 and 1910. The first chapter is introductory: I present the principal source material—Jewish periodicals—and discuss an early stage of development of the patriotism–citizenship–Jewishness conundrum in the wake of Italian Unification. Starting with the maxim 'Jews at home, citizens in public', which neatly encapsulates the thread running through the thinking that accompanied the legal emancipation of this minority, the book is then divided in two parts. The first, Chaps. 2 and 3, analyses the ways in which the sources represented the 'Jewish' private sphere: family, home life, gender relations and matrimonial strategies. Chapter 2 examines in particular the campaigns to promote endogamy as against mixed marriages; Chap. 3 addresses the image of the Jewish male, with particular attention to the meanings attributed to circumcision. The second part, Chaps. 4 and 5, analyses various public articulations of this Italian Jewish identity construction. Chapter 4 highlights the issue of the relationship between religious law and state law, concentrating on the problems related to the introduction of civil marriage. Chapter 5 addresses two main themes: the search for historical and mythological references that would legitimize the inclusion of the Jewish citizen in the symbolic universe of the national patriotic discourse and would simultaneously reinforce a distinct Jewish consciousness (with particular attention to the debate between Zionism and anti-Zionism); and responses to the Great War. Finally, some brief conclusions are drawn.

The book as a whole demonstrates not only the importance but also the limits of the classic nineteenth-century idea that there could be a clear-cut separation between the public/Italian and private/Jewish spheres; this assumed the development of a Judaism that would be purely religious and external to worldly matters and yet remain formally orthodox. It also clearly shows the thorough cultural integration of the Italian Jewish minority, which fully embraced all the thinking, stereotypes and prejudices generated by the culture of the time, including 'racialism' and racism: an integration that is particularly clear from the laboured but continuous

attempts to rethink and give meaning to Jewish difference and minority identity.

Notes

1. The title of the Italian edition of this book, *Fare gli ebrei italiani*, plays on this celebrated phrase, using the title that Ilaria Porciani conceived for the chapter I wrote for her edited collection: I. Porciani (ed.) (2006) *Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano. Modelli, strategie, reti di relazioni* (Rome: Viella).
2. M. d'Azeglio (1867) *I miei ricordi* (Florence: G. Barbera), pp. 6–7.
3. This is not the place to recall all the relevant references, but I cannot fail to mention at least the groundbreaking book by A.M. Banti (2000) *L'idea di nazione. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi). For a broader overview of this historiographical turn, see S. Patriarca and L. Riall, eds. (2012) *The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Palgrave Macmillan) and A.M. Banti and P. Ginsborg, eds. (2007) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 22. Il Risorgimento* (Turin: Einaudi).
4. See A. Marzano and G. Schwarz (2013) *Attentato alla sinagoga. Roma 9 ottobre 1982. Il conflitto israelo-palestinese e l'Italia* (Roma: Viella).
5. Cf. P. Bernardini (1996) 'The Jews in nineteenth-century Italy: Towards a reappraisal', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 1, 2, 292–310.
6. A. Momigliano (1994) *Essays on Ancient and Modern Judaism*, ed. by S. Berti (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), p. 225.
7. A. Gramsci (1995) *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. by D. Boothman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), p. 104.
8. On the myth of the good Italian see D. Bidussa (1994) *Il mito del bravo italiano* (Milan: Il Saggiatore); G. Schwarz (2012) *After Mussolini: Jewish Life and Jewish Memories in Post-Fascist Italy* (London: Vallentine Mitchell). On the laws of 1938 see M. Sarfatti (2006) *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).

9. See J. Daniel (2005) *The Jewish Prison: A Rebellious Meditation on the State of Judaism*, translated by C. Mandell (New York: Melville House), originally published in French as *La prison juive: Humeurs et méditations d'un témoin* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2003).
10. D. Sorkin (1987) *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 5–6. Sorkin's use of the category of 'subculture' for German Jewry has been repeatedly debated and challenged since the publication of his groundbreaking book almost 30 years ago. See for example the very convincing argument made by T. van Rahden (2008) *Jews and Other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860–1925* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), pp. 8–9.
11. I am glad to take this opportunity to thank my new colleagues for the warmth with which I have been welcomed.

Acknowledgements

The research on which this book is based took a number of years, during which I ran up many debts of gratitude, not all of them intellectual.

Alberto Banti oversaw my professional training and development from the beginning and was the supervisor for my doctoral thesis, submitted to the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa in 2006, from which this book was developed. From 1998 onwards I had consistent encouragement from the late Michele Luzzati, both as an expert in Jewish history and as director of the Inter-departmental Centre for Jewish Studies (CISE) at the University of Pisa. For their support, advice and comments on the Italian version I would like to thank Anna Baldini, Barbara Armani, Michele Battini, Tullia Catalan, Alberto Cavaglion, Emanuele D'Antonio, Cristiana Facchini, Simon Levis Sullam, Francesca Sofia and Roni Weinstein. In the final stages of producing the book I was able to rely on the invaluable help of my father Giovanni, an amazing professional translator. Guri Schwarz has for many years been my most attentive and competent reader and had to weather my emotional ups and downs as I wrote first the thesis and then the book.

In the preparation of this English edition of my book, I will always remember the support and encouragement given to me by David Sorkin, a man of great generosity as well as a scholar of great importance. I would also like to acknowledge ChaeRan Freeze and Sylvia Fuks Fried, with whom I had many illuminating conversations during the months that I spent as the Helen Gartner Hammer Scholar-in-Residence at the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute. I would have wanted to talk about this book with David Cesarani, with whom I had discussed various aspects of my

research over the years; with his passing I have lost a sounding board who was attentive, enquiring and always a wonderful source of constructive criticism.

I would like to record my heartfelt thanks to the Fondazione Maimonide per la cultura ebraica (Milan), whose generous funding allowed the original text to be translated into English. This was the work of Timothy Keates. Stuart Oglethorpe then revised and substantially improved the first draft, working with patience and professionalism. I am particularly grateful to him for alerting me to some inaccuracies and points where the text was not as clear as it could have been.

The responsibility for both the content and form of the final version is of course mine alone.

Nothing would have been possible without my parents, who have given me love and support and have shown great sensitivity, even at difficult moments: I cannot thank them enough for these precious gifts.

Contents

List of abbreviations

ACELI	Archivio della comunità ebraica di Livorno
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato
AI	'Les Archives Israélites'
AUCEI	Archivio dell'Unione delle comunità ebraiche italiane
CAHJP	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People
CI	'Il Corriere Israelitico'
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani
EI	'L'Educatore Israelita'
GI	'Il Giovane Israele'
IS	'L'Idea Sionista'
RI-I	'La Rivista Israelitica' (1845–1848)
RI-II	'La Rivista Israelitica' (1904–1915)
RMI	'La Rassegna Mensile di Israel'
SI	'La Settimana Israelitica'
TB	'Talmud Babilonese'
UI	'L'Univers Israélite'
VI	'Il Vessillo Israelitico'

All the biblical quotations are taken from the *Bibbia Ebraica*, 4 vols, edited by D. Disegni, translation with Hebrew text on facing page (Florence: La Giuntina, 2001), or from the *Jewish Study Bible*, 2nd edition, edited by A. Berlin and M. Z. Brettler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

When transliterating Hebrew words I have used a system that ensures readability, in preference to one offering precise correspondence with the original.

CHAPTER 1

The Jew of the Past and the Jew of the Present

V. The virgin of Solyma / Had fetters and insults: / Those who had once loved her / Had hate for her written in their faces: / Because she kept her faith, / She earned an evil reward! / And the chains she was given / as a prize for her valour.

VI. But the great works of God / are already manifest: / The nations at last arise / From their long sleep: / And from the lowest depths / the world demands Liberty, / Just as the fields demand / The morning dew.

[…]

IX. Also for Jacob, oh rapture! / The new day dawned, / As in sweet affection a people / Greeted him as a brother: / And whoever rejected us as strangers / Now held us to his heart / United together, we will know how / To conquer, and how to die.

X. Return, O Zion, to assume / Thy powerful crown: / No longer art thou servant and exile, / No longer sounds thy weeping: / Forget the greedy tyranny / Of those who despised thee: / Show them what noble works / Shall proceed from thee.

XI. What happens rests with God: / Trusting in our destiny, / Let us prove that the gift / Was rightly bestowed on us: / Let us be glad, as must be / fruitful joy and wisdom: / In mirth and in peril, / Let us trust in the Lord.[1]

For the second anniversary of the Royal Decree of 29 March 1848, which had awarded civil rights to the Jews of the Kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont and thus fulfilled the promise of emancipation within the *Statuto Albertino* (the Kingdom's new constitution), the chief rabbi of

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the Israelite communities of Piedmont,[2] Lelio Cantoni, composed an anthem praising Charles Albert.[3] The original version in Hebrew was to be read in synagogues during the official celebrations announced for the anniversary, but the printed leaflet also provided an Italian translation for those Jews—the majority—who were unfamiliar with Hebrew. The verses quoted above, extracted from the full twelve stanzas, are a concentration of nineteenth-century *topoi* in form, lexis, symbolism and concept. The patriotic poetry and operas of the time, as models, have clearly left their mark. The quality of the poetry is undoubtedly poor, but that is not our concern here. In this book many of the texts analysed—largely literary—are of a very mediocre quality; it is their popular nature, however, that makes them particularly interesting as vehicles for the communication of images and clichés, as through them the ideas and values typical of the time, and of the environment in which they were composed, were transmitted to a wider public.

Cantoni's anthem is a perfect example. The fifth stanza portrays the Jewish people as a virgin and Jewish history as a long exile: an unceasing martyrdom suffered in the name of their faith.[4] The sixth introduces the theme of the reawakening of nations; these are imagined as pre-existing entities finally demanding their liberty, understood both as independence from foreign rule and as the liberalization of state institutions. A line from another stanza praises Charles Albert for 'spontaneously sharing his crown with his peoples'. These two parallel processes generate emancipation, which is presented in the ninth stanza as the moment when a people—in this case the people of Piedmont—welcome the Jews as brothers and acknowledge their right to fight and die with them for the same fatherland. From that moment they are no longer foreigners. The tenth stanza encourages Jews to perform 'noble works' to show that they deserve their liberation from the status of a legal and social minority; the eleventh reiterates this idea, describing the acquisition of equality as a 'gift' (rather different from a 'right') and evoking the name of God, confirming that the Jews should be seen as a religious minority and must not yield to the enticements of secularization. Zion is represented as a woman wearing a royal crown, but this seems to be the emblem of a spiritual realm, as for Christ the King, and not in conflict with earthly powers.

When we examine the relationship between the language of family and kinship and that of the nation, we can now turn to an established body of research that shows the importance and persistence of these connections in the Italian context as elsewhere.[5] Representations of the fatherland or

nation as a woman have their antecedents in classical antiquity, also occur in the Bible, and were re-worked in the Renaissance; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the various articulations ranged from the loving mother to the virgin warrior, and were marked by different influences, including religion.[6] In my view the virginal nature of the woman in the fifth stanza alludes to the virtues of the Jewish people and to the state of vulnerability, danger, servitude and exile in which they had been forced to live. The brotherhood between Jews and non-Jews, sanctioned by law rather than nature, is sealed with the blood shed for their shared mother. In numerous contemporary texts Jewish authors represented emancipation as the moment when the mother country, formerly a bad mother, becomes the true mother. At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth, Russia and Romania, in particular, were depicted as bad mothers, due to the increasing anti-Semitism and the persistence of judicial discrimination.[7]

Just as frequently, Italy, like other European countries where Jews had become citizens, was depicted as the adoptive homeland and mother.[8] While the other image suggests a natural link with the homeland, which is a bad mother only because of its cruelty and lack of affection, this second image refers to the legal and constructed nature of the bond. This is only the beginning of a possible interpretative approach, as we are dealing with discursive material that has a very poorly defined semantic core. This language had no informative function, but was aimed at triggering a series of deep-seated references, at an unconscious level, in the reader or listener; these were to be experienced rather than debated and dissected (the historian's thankless task). The sometimes unavoidable impression of ambivalence in the expression of Jewish membership of the national community cannot automatically be ascribed to the conscious awareness of our authors. Due to our awareness of subsequent historical events there is a high risk of over-interpretation; it would be a mistake to look for a rigorous logic in these complex and polysemous dynamics of culture and identity, with their great diversity of constituent factors. We can, however, identify some of these factors and try to understand how they came together, while looking for issues, semantic and symbolic connections (rather than causal relationships), and gradual shifts in form and meaning over time. The logic generally has little to do with those deep-rooted identities that genuinely influence human behaviour and can drive people to fight and, if need be, to die for their ideals.

1.1 A 'New Era': Jewish Journalism

Immediately after being granted equality, individual Jews, Jewish communities and their leaders found themselves facing various challenges. They now had opportunities for integration that had been unimaginable under the previous discriminatory laws, and they experienced both euphoria and the feeling that they should demonstrate their rectitude, morality, usefulness and loyalty to state and fatherland, and should earn the respect of their fellow citizens.[9] In addition, it was feared that the collective strength needed for this imposing task was lacking: that some Jews—especially the poorest and most ignorant, but also the elderly—would be unable to rise to the occasion. Both Jews and non-Jews held the firm belief that, guided by their elites, Jews should take responsibility for self-regeneration: shed the detritus of the ghetto and the meanness that came from an excessive familiarity with money-handling, and reinvigorate bodies tested by centuries of suffocating lives led in trading and disquisitions on the Talmud. Since the previous century emancipationist literature had debated whether this regeneration should take place before the concession of rights, or after: the latter answer prevailed because equality before the law was seen by many as a precondition for the process of transformation, while the discrimination of earlier times was viewed as responsible for the abject state and physical and moral decay of the Jewish minority. Most of the intellectuals, politicians and journalists who expressed their approval of Jewish emancipation favoured a complete incorporation of Jews within the rest of society, possibly accompanied by the bonus of conversion to Christianity. The colourful character Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, a democratic, radical and anti-clerical patriot (and not immune to the lure of anti-Semitism), developed this dream of assimilation in his particular way:

> Let us improve them by improving ourselves; let us consider them as true brothers; let us enact civil marriage, and then entrust women with the task of dispelling the divisions and hatreds with blood. Have no doubt that in this way you will have put your task in good hands; when in the future your fair-haired, smiling little daughter puts her arms round your neck and kisses you, rest assured, you will not ask yourself whether she was given to you by a Jewish mother, or a Catholic or Turkish one![10]

To women he allotted the task of absorbing the Jews, almost literally, so that they would merge 'with blood' through mixed marriages, producing girls that were fair-haired and smiling (and plainly not Semitic).

This leads to the other challenge faced by the Jewish elites, that of preventing these projects for total fusion from being implemented: they had to combat the danger of a gradual assimilation into the majority society and, aided by increasing secularization, the disappearance of the Jews themselves. Lay and religious leaders therefore engaged in channelling the forces unleashed by emancipation into an 'Israelite' framework, which was still to be reinvented and redefined. After Italian Unification had been completed, it was also felt necessary to establish coordination between the different communities, on both a practical and a symbolic level, and to develop a Jewish perspective on the new national situation: with Italy 'made', Italian Jews now had to be 'made'.[11]

In that period the press was the sole medium for disseminating ideas beyond people's narrow circles of direct acquaintances.[12] The need for a Jewish newspaper had already been pointed out by Cesare Rovighi, founder and editor of the *Rivista Israelitica* in Parma (1845–1848), who in his opening editorial invited his readers to reflect on the need to consider the 'society' of the Jews as a body of individuals 'only bound together by a religious tie', therefore not a civil, political or ethnic one. He followed this with an attack, strengthened by the certainty that education was the key to solving every problem, on the degree of conservatism within Jewish communities, which were sometimes hostile to progress owing to 'superstitious doctrines, and deference towards the customs of their forebears'.[13] The periodicals published in the decades following Unification took up, discussed and developed these points, although they only partly agreed with Rovighi's criticism of the communities; mainly edited by rabbis or intellectuals with rabbinical training, they retained a strongly religious character and defended orthodoxy. Underlying these publishing projects was the idea that a human group had no public existence unless it had a newspaper to represent it:

> Without this, within the circle of our religious beliefs, nothing tells of us to ourselves; nothing tells of us to our fellows in faith; nothing tells of us to the world. With it we have a focal point to which those scattered widely can refer; in which those minds so chaotically distracted are reconnected; in short, we have a means of recognition, union, and unity.[14]

While Italian Unification was being achieved, the unity of the Italian Jews, as regards institutions and regulation, still lay in the future. There were still enormous differences at the local level and also within the legislation

of individual pre-Unification states, and for a long time there was no form of coordination between the various communities.[15]

An optimism and trust in people's potential to take steps towards improving the world, whatever the problems to be addressed, were characteristic of the period:

> A new era has begun: not of full justice and full truth, but one in which the eternal battle between right and might is being fought with new weapons that are less murderous and less evil. In the vast field of this perpetual conflict a new power unknown to the old world has arisen and towers above, a power that sits in judgment between might and right. This is public opinion, powerfully supported by education and the press.[16]

Giuseppe Levi, born in 1802 and joint editor of *L'Educatore Israelita* at the time of this 1860 article, felt himself to be riding the wave of an epochal change.[17] He lived in an atmosphere characterized by confidence in the civil and material progress of humanity: wonderful technological innovations burst into daily life, improved its quality, shook up its rhythms, and widened its horizons; new discoveries in medicine allowed previously incurable diseases to be defeated; in almost every European country a gradual liberalization of state institutions was under way. The new cultural and political climate, embodied in new legislation, enabled a remarkable expansion of journalism and collective association; the bourgeoisie and bourgeois morality were prevailing; and public opinion had begun to be a power to reckon with. Hope was in the air that Europe would soon experience periods of peace, marked by greater civility, tolerance and justice, and by a gradual disappearance of the reasons for dissension between nations. In philosophy and literature, positivism had almost reached its climax. The public sphere was dominated by two seemingly irreconcilable discourses, with nationalism and patriotism ranged against liberalism and individualism; around these, however, ideas about humanitarianism and universal brotherhood were spreading. Isaiah Berlin observed that 'the world which succeeded the French Revolution in Europe was dominated by the principle of conscious cohesion', and in this new age 'the question of what group a given individual belonged to, where he was naturally at home, became increasingly acute'.[18]

As Piedmontese and Italian, Levi experienced the epic deeds of the Risorgimento with enthusiasm. As a Jew, fully sharing the new dream of social recognition, he felt it his duty to stimulate regeneration, to set a good example, and to give new meaning to a Jewish identity that was no

longer determined by law. As a religious person and rabbi, he believed it right to criticize his age's lack of religious faith, seen by positivists as a relic of unreason and against progress, and in particular the widespread ignorance of Jewish tradition and the Hebrew language, which might separate many Jews from their religion and communities. In 1853, he and the rabbi Esdra Pontremoli (1818–1888) founded the first Jewish periodical, which was to survive for two decades and was distributed throughout Italy. *L'Educatore Israelita. Giornale di letture* was printed in Vercelli and published every month until Levi's death on 10 July 1874. Pontremoli resigned from the editorship in 1871, apparently for personal reasons. For its first nine years this was the only important Italian Jewish periodical, changing its subtitle to 'Giornaletto di letture' in 1853, and then 'Giornale mensile per la storia e lo spirito del Giudaismo' in 1859.[19]

In 1862 *L'Educatore* was joined by *Il Corriere Israelitico*, subtitled 'Periodico mensile per la storia e la letteratura israelitica e per gl'interessi del Giudaismo' ('Monthly publication on Israelite history and literature and on the interests of Judaism'). Founded in Trieste by Abram Vita Morpurgo (1813–1867),[20] this was to have a long and important life, ceasing publication only in 1916 when it united with the *Settimana Israelitica* of Florence to become the weekly *Israel*.[21] Although it was published in Italian and featured contributions by many Italian rabbis and intellectuals, its Trieste location, in Austro-Hungarian territory, made it somewhat detached from the situation in the Italian peninsula, especially in its early years.[22] Its contributors included eminent figures associated with the Rabbinical College of Padua, including Samuel David Luzzatto, Lelio Della Torre and Eude Lolli.[23]

After 1874 *L'Educatore* was taken over by Flaminio Servi (1841–1904), who changed its name to *Il Vessillo Israelitico*.[24] It came out monthly until 1912, and then until 1922 it was published fortnightly. Servi was succeeded by his son Ferruccio, a name with obvious patriotic connotations,[25] who in 1905 recruited Guglielmo Lattes and his sons Arrigo and Aldo, both rabbis, to join him as editors.[26] *Il Vessillo* played its part in bruising clashes with *Il Corriere*; the latter often reproached its Piedmontese counterpart for paying excessive attention to the petty affairs of community life, all but gossip, and thereby neglecting the more important issues, and on several occasions decried its propensity to make exaggerated patriotic statements. From 1896 *Il Corriere* adopted an openly pro-Zionist position, whereas *Il Vessillo* remained neutral when not explicitly opposing the movement.[27] The two publications also differed as regards relationships between European

Judaism and European culture: *Il Vessillo* was closer to the French world, while *Il Corriere* was more connected to that of the German language.

L'Educatore, *Il Corriere* and *Il Vessillo* were sold by subscription, which was their principal source of income. In time they began to accept advertisements for strictly Jewish products and businesses, and sometimes personal announcements published for payment. Unfortunately the archives of these publications are missing, and there are no precise records of their print runs, but a copy of each issue would certainly have reached every community and may therefore have been widely read.[28] The great innovation of sales on newsstands was to be introduced in 1916 by *Israel*,[29] which intended for the first time to address 'the Jewish public and the non-Jewish public simultaneously'.[30]

In the wider European context, from the 1840s onwards a great many Jewish publications came into being. I will just mention a few: in France, *Les Archives Israélites* were set up in 1840 by Samuel Cahen, and *L'Univers Israélite* in 1844 by Simon Bloch; in Britain, the *Voice of Jacob* was founded by Jacob Franklin in 1841, the same year as Isaac Vallentine founded the *Jewish Chronicle*, which was to become the most long-lived Jewish newspaper in the world;[31] in the German context, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* was started by Ludwig Philippson in 1837.[32]

Historians have used these sources to look for news and information, or for the opinion of a particular figure on a specific issue. I will be using the Jewish press, alongside various other types of source, as a large and multifaceted hypertext, rich in internal cross-references, which taken as a whole represents the development of Jewish-Italian consciousness between Italy's Unification and the end of the First World War. Occasionally an article may serve to reconstruct a specific event, but as a general rule the objects of my analysis are not the events, or rather the texts themselves are the events that mark this narrative. From this perspective, my concern is not to carry out a detailed historical reconstruction of any individual title: their internal affairs will only be discussed when this is sufficiently important for development of the argument. The key reference on Jewish periodicals is still an article by Attilio Milano in the *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* in 1938.[33] The only real interpretative judgement made by Milano concerned *Il Vessillo* and was very negative:

> All these years, taken as a whole, give […] the impression of being truly under the colours of a flag; but a flag blown about by all the winds […]; or rather, a flag blown by no wind, because in reality not a single Jewish ideal or spiritual impulse […] left [in the periodical] even its slightest trace.[34]

This text by Milano, who was born in 1907 and emigrated to Israel in 1939, must now itself be seen more as a source than as a suggested interpretation. It expresses the views of a Jew educated in the period when the integration project born in the climate of nineteenth-century liberalism had already waned, and integration itself seemed to be definitively over with the official inauguration of Fascism's anti-Semitic policy. In the chapters that follow it will become clear that the situation was much more complex.

1.2 Citizens and Israelites

For all its successors *L'Educatore* was an essential point of reference, to be either imitated or attacked. From scanning its pages it is clear that Giuseppe Levi was the real driving force, while Pontremoli had a secondary role. From the start, it gave itself a clear set of objectives: to provide Italian Jews with a voice; to reflect on their new position in society; to provide a forum where they could speak 'as Jews'; to act as a channel of communication between Italy's Jewish communities; and to make the Italian Jewish world and its internal debates externally visible and comprehensible to French, German or British Jews. As its name suggests, the periodical assumed an educative responsibility towards the families who were the intended readership. The problem of education and teaching methodology was in fact a central issue for numerous contemporaneous publications, secular and Catholic, perhaps the most famous being Raffaello Lambruschini's *Guida dell'educatore*. Apart from families, the potential readership included the European Jewish elites and non-Jewish Italian society. The *Corriere* also stated that its aim was principally educative: 'to encourage noble behaviour; […] to offer agreeable reading to families and especially the young, and thereby awaken and strengthen religious sentiments and, in general, feelings for the beautiful and the good'.[35]

In this first phase after Italian Unification, the terms 'ebreo' ('Jew') and 'ebraismo' ('Judaism') were very seldom used. Jews generally referred to themselves as 'israeliti', from the name God had given to Jacob after his struggle with the angel (Genesis 32: 29). The shift had begun in the early nineteenth century and became established in the 1820s and 1830s. The term 'ebreo' had been temporarily set aside for various reasons: one was that it recalled the idea of the 'popolo ebraico' (Hebrew people), which in the cultural climate of the nineteenth century evoked a national unity that was no longer compatible with the status of citizens and members

of the Italian nation; another, that it recalled all the negative stereotypes regarding the 'ebrei' that had developed over the centuries. Giuseppe Levi offered this explanation:

> If this new nomenclature has the benevolent purpose of drawing a veil over our social past, of forgetting and making people forget our misdeeds, and causing the much greater misdeeds of others to be forgotten, then let us accept it and forget: oblivion, at this point, is both a duty and a virtue.[36]

Parallel changes in terminology occurred in other European countries: in France, for example, 'juif' became 'israélite', in Britain 'Israelite' was used increasingly often instead of 'Jew', and the pattern was similar in the German-speaking world with the spread of 'Israelit'.[37] 'Israelitismo' usually referred to the Italian Jews, or Jews internationally, in a collective sense. For the religion, the term most used was 'giudaismo', but we also find 'mosaismo' and sometimes 'ebraismo'. At the end of the century, it was the Zionists who especially argued for the return to 'ebreo'.[38]

To present 'giudaismo' in order to win back the 'israeliti', especially the young, and to defeat prejudices; to present in an objective, straightforward, unassailable way 'like a large mirror, all that relates to our religious beliefs, so that every coreligionist may, without difficulty […], recognize what an Israelite was, is, and must be':[39] these, then, were the far from modest claims of *L'Educatore*. A critical preliminary question lay behind them: what is Judaism? This clearly had no simple and unequivocal answer, and the objectivity claimed by these writers was entirely groundless, but our interest here is in the image they meant to convey to themselves, their fellow Jews and the outside world. Claiming to construct an indisputably true framework was an integral and essential part of this representation. Judaism, as is strongly asserted in these texts, is a religion; it is one of the possible responses to 'the man who asks, both for himself and for society, for a principle, an eternal law':

> It is a moral principle, and the foundation for eternal hopes. As a moral principle, among its followers it does not create a class, a nationality, or a separate and different fatherland; but it creates society in its broadest sense, bringing together and linking even those of different beliefs with generosity, honesty and justice. As the foundation of eternal hopes it makes no special or privileged claims for itself here on earth, while, we would almost say, the privilege it saves for itself is entirely in heaven.[40]

As a religion, Judaism was seen as beneficial to society, rather than just not harmful, in that society could not exist without religious principles that guaranteed the moral nature of its values and behaviour; at that time, atheists and agnostics were poorly regarded. This period saw a substantial development of apologetics, taking the form both of independent leaflets and books and of newspaper articles. The most uplifting aspects of Jewish morality, with its spirituality a particular target for emphasis, were expounded and celebrated in order to combat the prejudice that Judaism was a narrow-minded religion only interested in material matters: an entrenched belief among non-Jews but also among Jews themselves, having grown up in a Christian society. In the words of the *Corriere Israelitico*, one of the primary duties of Jewish journalism was 'to highlight the moral excellence that imbues the law of Mount Sinai, with the dual aim of inspiring respect for Judaism from non-Israelites, and sustaining the virtue and faith of fellow Israelites'.[41]

The biblical passage most quoted in these texts is unquestionably 'love thy neighbour as thyself', which Christian tradition had appropriated in the Gospels and the writings of St. Paul, but which was proudly claimed for Leviticus (19: 18).[42] There are constant references to charity, humility and generosity as the principal qualities of the good Jew,[43] in contrast to the well-established stereotypes, together with respect for one's parents, love for one's children, and moderation,[44] and Judaism's belief in the immortality of the soul and life after death is constantly reaffirmed.[45] Counter to the idea that Judaism was dedicated to particularism, nineteenth-century rabbis put forward an interpretation that presented Jews as the priests of humanity who were intended to bear witness to monotheism in the world and thus expected to observe a great number of laws and precepts. From this perspective even the Diaspora, linked to prophetic and messianic expectations, appeared providential.[46] The intention was to offer a steady and reassuring image, claiming responsibility for Christianity's most valuable ideas.[47]

When it came to differences from Christianity, apart from issues relating to worship, two main points were emphasized. These did not relate to the strictly monotheistic nature of Judaism as against the Christian Trinity, as might have been imagined, or to other similar issues of a theological or doctrinal nature. The first major difference discussed was Judaism's apparently greater potential for reconciliation with rationalism and the civil and material progress of humanity. In one of his first articles in *L'Educatore*, Giuseppe Levi wrote that 'we neither acknowledge nor accept this alleged

divorce between religion and progress';[48] some years later *Il Corriere* stated that 'Faith and Progress, this is our motto'[49] and carried a lengthy article by Marco Mortara, the rabbi of Mantua, entitled 'Giudaismo e Progresso'. Having said that '[p]rogress is the law of creation of the Earth, the first and eternal law imposed on this by God', Mortara reviewed the most recent scientific thinking on the origins of the world and humanity, especially the much-debated theories of Darwin, and concluded that Jewish doctrine had always been propitious for the concept of evolution, being against the idea of humanity's decline from an original state of perfection.[50] The disagreement with Christianity regarding original sin was evident.

The second merit of Judaism in relation to Christianity was said to be its greater capacity to stimulate patriotism and all the qualities needed to exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Christianity was in fact criticized for being too exclusively intent on the spiritual aspect, displaying indifference if not contempt towards earthly matters, whereas Judaism was argued to favour a better balance between earth and heaven, between the ideal and real life, and, in consequence, between religion and fatherland.[51]

This relationship between religion and fatherland leads to the two pairings of 'Jew and patriot' and 'Jew and citizen', which while not precisely interchangeable are generally treated as such in the texts under examination. If we bear in mind that many Italian Jews were patriots before becoming full citizens, and that one can imagine a citizen who diligently fulfils his duties towards state and society but in his heart is loyal to another country, the difference is clear. Moreover, 'patria' ('fatherland' or 'country') and 'state' are by no means synonymous, and neither are 'patria' and 'nation'. The meaning of these terms has changed considerably over time and continued to do so between the late eighteenth century and the early twentieth. For now, it should just be noted that 'patria' generally meant 'native land', in a geographical or institutional sense, while 'nazione' ('nation') had acquired the meaning of a cultural, ethnic and linguistic community, not necessarily endowed with a state.[52]

The mark of the social and existential condition of mid-nineteenth-century Jews was the reconciliation between their new status of citizens and their Jewish allegiance. In *L'Educatore* this was articulated in terms of generational conflict. The 'Jew of the past and the Jew of the present',[53] the 'Spirit of the past and the Spirit of the present',[54] the old and

the young: these figures were regularly called on in order to describe and explain the condition of Italian Judaism in the wake of emancipation. The period between the French Revolution and legal equality in 1848 was described as an unexpected tempest which had enthused people but had also disconcerted and frightened them, overturning a way of life that was centuries old.

Historiographical debate in the last 30 years has made it clear that the process of emancipation in the broad sense—cultural and social as well as legal—should be examined in the long term, differed greatly from place to place, and cannot be thought of as an instant change.[55] The legal deed, the only thing we can date precisely, was nonetheless an explosive event in symbolic terms and in relation to identity, and also on the practical front: it significantly extended the potential range of real-life choices. Leaving the ghetto, literally or figuratively, was not necessarily easy or painless, and a variety of paths were taken. For summary purposes, individual courses of action can be placed roughly within three types of approach: some chose to abandon their Jewishness and rush headlong into the majority society and its new possibilities; a small number, in contrast, shut themselves away in strict isolation, trying desperately to preserve their former way of life; and some tried to address the future by attempting to reconcile their Jewish allegiance with both citizenship and Italianness.

Recent historiography has often employed a generational perspective to analyse the events of the Risorgimento, either in order to understand how and why so many patriots became involved, or to deconstruct the national and patriotic discourse and explain its expressive and performative power.[56] It is easy to imagine that for Italian Jews there was also conflict, or at least incomprehension, between those who had lived under a regime of prohibitions for almost all their adult life, those who at the point of emancipation had their future still ahead of them, and those who were born around the time of Unification or after the granting of legal equality.[57] Relationships with Jewish community bodies, the fabric of the city, the state: everything was changing. The Jew of the past, Giuseppe Levi explained, had been forced to live in a world populated by Jews, within which the community was an indispensable and inescapable point of reference, solidarity inside the religion was the only instrument for social compensation, people had to stick together to protect themselves from the outside and life revolved around religious practices. In this condition, which had begun in the Talmudic era and of which the Talmud itself was

the highest expression, there was still a feeling of national unity among Jews, as they had been a nation and had had territory and state of their own:

> The Jews, dispersed all over the world, had only one interest, only one need, only one hope: they had created a uniform life for themselves, as a result of which they could step into one another's shoes at the opposite ends of the globe and still feel as if they were in their own home and on their own land. Everywhere denied a fatherland, they had no reason to pit their opposing passions and struggling ambitions against each other: their desired or lamented fatherland was one and indivisible. […]
>
> The faith itself was a sentiment not only of religion but of nationality.[58]

In all these texts there is a tendency to credit the past, even the remote past, with nineteenth-century conceptions of the state, nation and fatherland, in a clearly anachronistic manner. Levi shows no inclination to regard nationality as something of an organic nature. It seems to me that he quite simply did not consider that problem: while the fatherland in Palestine derived its validity from divine will, he saw the simultaneous allegiance to other countries as the result of a choice reinforced by time, familiarity, and the acquisition of a language and culture that were shared with those in the majority. It was never made clear when and why Judaism ceased to be a nation and was transformed into just a religion, but Jewish emancipation certainly brought this process towards its fulfilment and constituted its final endorsement.

The 'Jew of the present', by contrast, was an integral member of society and had to take on the honours and responsibilities of citizenship. Given the nature of the Jewish religion, the two statuses of 'Israelite' and citizen were not in conflict with each other but were in fact mutually supportive: this was the message of *L'Educatore*, as it would be of *Il Vessillo* and of Western-European Judaism in general. It was possible, and one's duty, to nurture Jewish belonging, be proud of this, pass it on to one's children and seek links with fellow worshippers both within Italy and in other countries; this sense of unity and special brotherhood that was thought should persist among Jews was exclusively religious and spiritual, just as among the followers of other religions (including Christians):

> Any group of people that wishes to retain some distinction in name, in compatibility with morality and legislation, should gather together beneath a

> symbol and a single flag. This symbol must, however, be neither hostile nor harmful to that of the shared society. It cannot therefore embody particular emotions or particular hopes, as all stirrings of the heart and impulses of the mind are owed to the common fatherland; it cannot be nourished by exclusive ancestral memories or claims of blood, as family heritage must yield to and be subsumed in the greater heritage of the fatherland.
>
> As a result, this symbol can only find its nourishment in one of those strong beliefs that are expressed in great emotions not of earth but of the heavens, where there is but one fatherland and one hope. […]
>
> This is the supreme duty and supreme need of the Jew of the present. He must understand for himself the real essence of his own faith, unchanged in response to the shifting demands of an era or a country, but separate and distinct from that idea of nationality that ancient history legitimized.[59]

This whole extract illustrates the awareness that modern culture and society demanded a degree of conformity and, unlike the *ancien régime*, no longer allowed the survival of strong intermediate bodies or communities with a relatively autonomous existence. Technological advances, encouraging the movement of people and ideas, contributed to creating this conformity both within and beyond national borders. In utopian terms, and with a sort of Messianic fervour, Levi went so far as to predict the gradual disappearance of divisions between people, and even of physical differences: 'the particular physiognomic differences are disappearing from the various races: and all minds and hearts are inspired with the same thoughts, and enthused with the same passions'.[60] Not many years later, such a statement would become unthinkable. Levi was subsequently forced to acknowledge that theories about the division of humankind into races were spreading, including among Jews: in 1868 Isaia Ghiron, who worked for the Braidense library in Milan where he was later director, wrote a book whose title asked '[w]hether the Semitic-Jewish race is apathetic and indolent', and concluded that it was. 'This is not something to joke about', Levi promptly observed when reviewing this, in the belief that someone was sure to employ this sort of argument against the Jews. The entire cultural project of *L'Educatore* remained committed to a very different idea, in which man was still regarded as his own maker.[61]

Once the argument had been made—although evidently not proven—for the exclusively religious nature of Judaism, its perfect compatibility

with the duties of a citizen and patriotism, and the spiritual nature of the bond with fellow Jews both in Italy and scattered across the world, it was still necessary to explain how these suppositions should actually be borne out in everyday life. At this point the conflict between two opposing figures was once again represented in generational terms: the old against the young. The old were presented as stuck in the past, fearful of the future and withdrawing into defensive and ghettoizing positions, into a sterile worship of time past and into a very narrow and dogmatic interpretation of religion and its practices. Despite its rhetorical effectiveness this representation was scarcely realistic, as many of the religious duties, as well as the study of Hebrew, had not been observed for a long time, well before emancipation. The younger generations, by contrast, were described as neglectful of their history and traditions, and anxious to conceal their Jewish origins and to embrace the future by disappearing within mainstream society. They were presented as sceptical, and convinced that religion in general, and Judaism with its prescribed practices in particular, was now an intolerable constraint for the new age.[62]

These two extreme figures, both presented negatively, were the theoretical adversaries for the position put forward by *L'Educatore*, at least two aspects of which I will highlight here. In opposition to the dichotomy between past and present, or isolation and fusion, Levi determined to study history drawing attention to Judaism's capacity to adapt to changing times, while preserving a strong core of ideals and identity. In order to do this, he came to outline a process very similar to what David Sorkin describes as the creation of a 'subculture'[63] and used a term that is surprising to anyone familiar with later texts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: he became a champion of assimilation. 'Assimilation', meaning the dilution and sometimes negation of Jewish identity within the majority society, was the spectre fought by rabbis, community leaders and various advocates of Italian and European Judaism from the 1870s onwards, and for much of the twentieth century. Employing other terms and other means, this struggle continues today. In the articles published in *L'Educatore* and *Il Corriere* in the 1850s and 1860s, this paralysing fear was not yet apparent. Levi noted that in previous centuries the Jews, scattered all over the world, had been able to take part in the life of the populations within which they lived, contributing to their development and adopting many of their practices, customs and traditions. The process of assimilation, he argued, had thus been characterized by an ability to adapt to disparate geographical, cultural, social and political situations.

In this process the minority absorbed characteristics of the dominant culture but modified these on the basis of a strong awareness and knowledge of their own tradition; they thus created a new and vibrant situation, in Arabic Spain as in eighteenth-century Germany.[64] The current risk was the loss of this creative capacity and its potential consequences: the rigidification of Judaism into an inflexible orthodoxy, a proliferation of indiscriminate proposals for reform or simply negation within the majority culture.

'Israelite' citizens, Levi believed, needed a 'new Code' governing their conduct that was appropriate to their changed status. One part of this code envisaged a sort of virtual separation between the earthly and the spiritual, or between the civilian and the religious, which took the form of a marked distinction between public and private:

> In the […] earthly part […] of his life, the Jew should live with his society and blend in with this; in the spiritual part, however, in that part inhabited by ideas and hopes that are not limited by nation or time, and that link and encompass all nations and all centuries, the past with the future, and earth with heaven, he should not only remain a Jew and immutably Jewish, but also join in spirit with all the world's Jews as a single being, representing a shared idea.[65]

The locations where this spiritual life was supposed to find its succour and principal expression were the family, that school in human and civic virtues which the liberal state was not supposed to enter, and the temple.[66] Alongside these two centres of domestic worship and public worship (generally called 'culto esterno', 'external worship', at the time) there was education, understood as the true redeeming mission of the family, the rabbinate and the Jewish press:

> […] the family, the school and the temple [are] sacred places that form an indivisible whole, so that whoever violates or insults one of these also attacks the others.
>
> The home is a sanctuary, being the place where man takes his first and last steps and many in between, and where life's most important events and fiercest struggles take place; it is the training ground where he prepares for the battles of the world and for life in society. There he is son, husband and father; the virtues first learned and then transmitted in the family are preparation for the virtues intrinsic to good citizenship.[67]

> As has happened with our fellow worshippers in other nations, the Italian Israelites, with the return of spiritual calm [after the achievement of Unification], and no longer being new to the brotherly life within general society, inspired by the traditional heroism of their fathers, will have the much easier challenge of presenting themselves, as they are, citizens everywhere, but Israelites in their places of worship; of raising high the flag of Judaism, of making their homes its gracious temples, and the minds and hearts of their descendants its eternal altars.[68]

> [We must] preserve our beliefs: that is to say, be Jews within the family and in the temple, but be citizens everywhere else. We must show that the name of 'Jew' is only needed for religion, which is a personal matter that is entirely individual and entirely spiritual, and is not to be identified with our conduct towards others; and show that the Israelite, as an Israelite, is no less a person, but feels and thinks simply as a citizen.
>
> Israel must retain its religious expression as regards worship and belief, but otherwise it must enter into the society that progress has now created; it must work devotedly for the fatherland it shares, with its judgement, its possessions and its life.[69]

We should note that the precondition for laying claim to a difference in religion and the family was prior entry into the 'brotherly life within general society': difference could only be demanded when integration had already been realized at a level where it was no longer in debate, and the Jews had demonstrated their loyalty to Italy by their deeds, taking part in the Risorgimento struggles, shedding their blood for the fatherland's Unification and independence and offering their services to the state in large numbers at all levels of political life and public administration. This vision was based on a strong identification by Jews with the liberal institutions, which in their turn seemed to encourage the dichotomy between public and private.

The family space was in effect the preferred context for the transmission of a form of Jewish identity that could withstand change in the external environment. This identity was often not explicitly expressed, but cultivated principally at the emotional level, and linked to the main celebrations in the religious calendar. Accounts of this, in the early twentieth century, were provided by Arnaldo Momigliano and Vittorio Foa. Momigliano remembered being brought up with a 'religion confined within the family', in an 'intense, austere domestic devotion'. Among his childhood memories were the 'children who are blessed by the father on

Friday evening, the mother who embraces her husband and children'.[70] Foa, whose recollections included the figure of his grandfather Giuseppe Foà, the rabbi of Turin, wrote that '[t]here was a Jewish religiousness at home but it had an entirely family nature; it had a ritual nature that related to a profound feeling of family unity, rather than to personal beliefs'.[71]

As regards public worship, in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s Italian Judaism was enlivened by heated and sometimes very bitter debate over potential reform: under discussion were the rules on the duration of mourning, abolition of the second day of formal celebrations,[72] saying prayers without the *minyan*,[73] introducing choirs or organs to synagogues,[74] shortening the liturgy to make it more compatible with modern life and removing certain passages (regarding the return to Jerusalem and hostility towards non-Jews) from the prayers. There were lengthy arguments over whether the individual rabbi or some other authority could legitimately introduce any changes, and whether a synod could be convened at the Italian or European level. Underlying the conflicting opinions were different ways of interpreting the relationship between written law and oral law, the regulatory weight of prescriptions in the Talmud and the role of rabbis. These were thorny problems, which both European and American Judaism had already been engaged in for some time with the rise of the Reform Jewish communities. Reform Judaism was a complex phenomenon, but could broadly be described as the radical fulfilment of that redefinition of Judaism as purely religious, seen in operation within the texts quoted above. This is not the place to explore this issue; we should just note that in Italy this reform did not flourish. Some innovations were introduced in limited areas and a very loose compliance with the rules for religious practice was accepted, but Italian Jewish communities all remained formally orthodox, as they still are today.[75]

L'Educatore and *Il Corriere* were the forums where the rabbis defended their ideas. When in 1874 the editorship of *L'Educatore* passed to Flaminio Servi, who changed its name to *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, the new periodical presented a clear continuity with its forebear.[76] The first cover of *Il Vessillo*, in January 1875, bore the title '*Il Vessillo Israelitico (Continuazione dell'Educatore di Vercelli). Rivista Mensile per la storia, la scienza e lo spirito del Giudaismo*' ('*Monthly review on the history, knowledge and spirit of Judaism*'), and below this a quotation from Psalm 60: 6, in Hebrew and its Italian translation: 'Tu hai dato a quelli che ti temono una bandiera per illustrarsi' ('You have given those who fear you a banner to rally to'). *Il Vessillo* reiterated in very similar terms the interpretation Levi had given

of the religious nature of Judaism and the dichotomy between public and private. The subsequent evolution of Jewish consciousness is the subject of this entire book, but here I need to indicate an early change that was established during the 1870s. Returning to the stereotyped images of generational conflict, it seems significant that in *Il Vessillo*, and especially in the uplifting tales that frequently recurred in its pages, the image of the old person was employed to embody the positive nature of religious and moral strength, while the young person was the icon of dissoluteness and self-destruction. A process started of idealization of the past, represented by the image of very pious, wise old people; this lacked the critical and sometimes ironic tone that had characterized descriptions of them only a few years earlier.[77] Here we can perhaps see the first sign of faltering optimism and a greater fear of reinventing oneself: a premonition of a withdrawal into defensive positions. This closure did not of course just relate to the editorial position of Flaminio Servi, but reflected important changes that had occurred in Italian and European society and culture.

Notes

1. L. Cantoni (1850) *Il XXIX Marzo Anniversario della Emancipazione Israelitica. Inno Ebraico messo in musica dal maestro Luigi De Macchi colla traduzione in poesia italiana* (Turin: Tip. Di Giuseppe Cassone).
2. The use of 'israelita' ('Israelite') and 'israelitico' ('Israelitic') rather than 'ebreo' and 'ebraico' (both meaning 'Jewish' or 'Hebrew') was common in this period, and was incorporated in the official names of the communities. See the discussion in Sect. 1.2 of this chapter.
3. Lelio Cantoni was born at Gazzuolo in the province of Mantua in 1802, graduated from the rabbinical college at Padua, and became chief rabbi of Turin in 1834. On this college see M. Del Bianco Cotrozzi (1995) *Il collegio rabbinico di Padova. Un'istituzione religiosa dell'ebraismo sulla via dell'emancipazione* (Florence: Olschki).
4. This narration of Jewish history is discussed further in Chap. 5.
5. See A. M. Banti (2000) *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi); A. M. Banti (2005) *L'onore della nazione. Identità sessuali e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII secolo alla Grande Guerra* (Turin: Einaudi). See also I. Porciani (2002) 'Famiglia e nazione nel lungo

Ottocento', *Passato e Presente*, 57, 20, 9–39; I. Porciani (ed.) (2006) *Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano. Modelli, strategie, reti di relazioni* (Rome: Viella).

6. Banti, *L'onore della nazione*, pp. 3–32. For some of the first analyses of these allegorical constructions see M. Agulhon (1979) *Marianne au combat. L'imagerie et la symbologie républicaines de 1789 à 1880* (Paris: Flammarion); M. Agulhon (1989) *Marianne au pouvoir. L'imagerie et la symbologie républicaines de 1880 à 1914* (Paris: Flammarion); M. Agulhon (2001) *Les métamorphoses de Marianne: l'imagerie et la symbologie républicaines de 1914 à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion).
7. See for example G. Levi Gattinara (1853) 'Degli ebrei in Italia e della loro condizione politico-civile antica e moderna', *EI*, 1, 246; A. V. Morpurgo (1862) 'Programma e storia', *CI*, 1, 6; M. Mortara (n.d. [after 1873]) *Della nazionalità e delle aspirazioni messianiche degli ebrei. A proposito della questione sollevata dall'onor. Pasqualigo* (Rome: Tip. del Senato del Regno), p. 12; F. Servi (1876) 'Hanuccà', *VI*, 24, 389–90; D. C. (1905) 'Utopia benefica', *VI*, 53, 459–61; 'Il II Convegno Giovanile Ebraico in Torino' (1912), *VI*, 60, 805; 'Guerra' (1915), *VI*, 63, 263.
8. See, for example, 'Importanza della lingua sacra per la nazionalità religiosa israelitica' (1857), *EI*, 5, 5; L. Racah (1885) 'La questione antisemitica', *CI*, 24, 9, 204; 'Gli ebrei eroici. Conferenza del poeta Paul Loewengard' (1916), *Israel*, 1, 28–9, 2.
9. On the Italian debate on emancipation see G. Luzzatto Voghera (1998) *Il prezzo dell'uguaglianza. Il dibattito sull'emancipazione degli ebrei in Italia (1781–1848)* (Milan: Franco Angeli). For a detailed account of the category of utility see L. Dubin (1999) *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste. Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), pp. 198–225.
10. F.D. Guerrazzi (1863) *Rapporto e deliberazione della fratellanza artigiana e società democratica di Livorno* (Livorno: La Minerva), p. 4. On Guerrazzi's anti-Jewish prejudices see C. Ferrara degli Uberti (2007) *La 'Nazione Ebrea' dai privilegi all'emancipazione (1814–1860)* (Florence: Le Monnier), pp. 91–5.
11. To be clear about the size of the minority under discussion, there were relatively small numbers of Italian Jews: in 1800 about 34,300 in a population of 18.3 million, increasing to about 43,100 in 33.8 million in 1900. As for geographical distribution,

after emancipation there was substantial migration towards the regional capitals. Some of these, like Milan, witnessed a considerable increase. See S. Della Pergola (1997) 'La popolazione ebraica in Italia nel contesto ebraico globale', in 'Gli ebrei nella vita economica dell'Ottocento', in C. Vivanti (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11. Gli ebrei in Italia, 2, Dall'emancipazione a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi), p. 905; S. Della Pergola (1976) *Anatomia dell'ebraismo italiano* (Assisi-Rome: Carucci), p. 54.

12. C. Charle (2004) *Le siècle de la presse (1830–1939)* (Paris: Seuil). For Italy see V. Castronovo, L. Giacheri Fossati and N. Tranfaglia (eds) (1979) *Storia della stampa italiana*, especially vol. III, *La stampa italiana nell'età liberale* (Rome-Bari: Laterza).
13. C. Rovighi (1845), *RI*-I, 1, 1, 3 and 7. See B. Di Porto (1999) 'La "Rivista Israelitica" di Parma. Primo periodico ebraico italiano', *Materia Giudaica*, 5, 33–44.
14. La Direzione (1854) 'Il giornalismo israelitico. Dolcezze e conforti', *EI*, 2, 328.
15. See below, Chap. 4.
16. G. Levi (1860) 'Alleanza Israelitica Universale e suo significato', *EI*, 7, 262.
17. Giuseppe Levi is well known for his *Autobiografia di un padre di famiglia* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1868) [facsimile reprint, with introduction by A. Cavaglion, Florence: Le Monnier, 2004]. In this work, addressed to a general public, there is no hint of the author's Jewishness. The genre of autobiography, however, was not often undertaken in Jewish circles. On this, see A. Cavaglion (1999) 'L'autobiografia ebraica in Italia fra Otto e Novecento. Memoria di sé e memoria della famiglia: osservazioni preliminari', *Zakhor*, 3, 171–7.
18. I. Berlin (1979) *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*, edited by H. Hardy (London: Hogarth Press), p. 257.
19. See B. Di Porto (2000) 'Il giornalismo ebraico in Italia. "L'Educatore Israelita" (1853–1874)', *Materia Giudaica*, 6, 60–90.
20. On Morpurgo see A.I. Fontana and S. Vinci (1990) *Vocazione letteraria di una famiglia triestina fra '800 e '900 da Abram Vita Morpurgo a Giorgio Voghera* (Trieste: publisher not known). On the Jewish community in Trieste see T. Catalan (2000) *La*

Comunità ebraica di Trieste 1781–1914), Politica, società e cultura (Trieste: LINT); Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste*.

21. There were various editors across this period: Aron di S. Curiel from 1867 to 1903, with Leone Racah as joint editor until 1896, and Dante Lattes and Riccardo Curiel from 1903 to 1915. Lattes (1876–1965) is undoubtedly the best-known figure, and the periodical was profoundly influenced by him. After graduating from the Rabbinical College of Livorno he moved to Trieste partly for personal reasons, and in fact married one of Curiel's daughters. See G. Luzzatto Voghera (2005) 'Lattes, Dante', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dante-lattes_(Dizionario-Biografico)/; G. Luzzatto Voghera (1992) 'La formazione culturale di Dante Lattes', in D. Bidussa, A. Luzzatto and G. Luzzatto Voghera, *Oltre il ghetto. Momenti e figure della cultura ebraica in Italia tra l'unità e il fascismo* (Brescia: Morcelliana), pp. 17–95.
22. See B. Di Porto (2004) '"Il Corriere Israelitico": uno sguardo d'insieme', *Materia Giudaica*, 9, 1–2, 249–63.
23. See Del Bianco Cotrozzi, *Il collegio rabbinico di Padova*.
24. On Servi see C. Ferrara degli Uberti (2011) 'Flaminio Servi', in F. Levi (ed.), *Gli ebrei e l'orgoglio di essere italiani* (Turin: Zamorani), pp. 61–101.
25. Ferruccio was the name of the main protagonist in the well-known patriotic novel *L'assedio di Firenze* (The Siege of Florence) (1836) by Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, loosely based on the life of the sixteenth-century Florentine soldier Francesco Ferrucci.
26. From 1907 to 1911 the review was edited mainly by Aldo Lattes, with the collaboration of his father Guglielmo; from 1911 till 1921 Ferruccio Servi returned to full editorship, while in its last year, 1922, Guglielmo Lattes was once more editor. Guglielmo, born in 1857, was the half-brother (on his father's side) of Dante Lattes. Despite his thorough religious preparation he never became a rabbi, but taught for many years in the schools of the Jewish community in Livorno. See G. Lattes (1922) *Memorie di un insegnante* (Asti: Segre).
27. T. Catalan (1991) 'Società e Sionismo a Trieste fra XIX e XX secolo', in G. Todeschini and P.C. Ioly Zorattini (eds) *Il mondo ebraico. Gli ebrei tra Italia nord-orientale e Impero asburgico dal*

Medioevo all'Età contemporanea (Pordenone: Tesi), pp. 457–490. On *Il Vessillo*, see B. Di Porto (2001) 'Il giornalismo ebraico in Italia. Un primo sguardo al "Vessillo Israelitico"', *Materia Giudaica*, 6, 1, 104–9; B. Di Porto (2002) '"Il Vessillo Israelitico". Un vessillo ai venti di un'epoca tra Otto e Novecento', *Materia Giudaica*, 7, 2, 349–84.

28. A figure of around 500 copies for the print run of *Il Corriere* is given by Tullia Catalan (2003) 'La "primavera degli ebrei". Speranze e delusioni di Ebrei italiani del Litorale e del Lombardo Veneto nel 1848–1849', *Zakhor*, 6, 54.
29. On the publications that emerged in the early twentieth century, see Chap. 5.
30. 'Il nostro programma' (1916), *Israel*, 1, 1, 1.
31. D. Cesarani (1994) *The 'Jewish Chronicle' and Anglo-Jewry, 1841–1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
32. The German Jewish press has been digitized and can be consulted on www.juedische-presse.de.
33. A. Milano (1938) 'Un secolo di stampa periodica ebraica in Italia', in 'Studi in onore di Dante Lattes', *RMI*, 12, 7–9, 96–136. This is Milano's list: *La Rivista Israelitica*, Parma-Modena (1845–1848); *Il Giudaismo Illustrato*, Padua (1848; 1852); *L'Educatore Israelita*, Vercelli (1853–1874); *Il Corriere Israelitico*, Trieste (1862–1915); *L'Israelita*, Livorno (1866); *Il Romanziere Israelitico*, Livorno (1867); *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, Casale Monferrato-Cuneo (1874–1922); *Il Pensiero Israelitico*, Pitigliano (1895); *Bibliothèque de l'Hébraïsme*, Livorno (1897); *L'Idea Sionista*, Modena (1901–1910); *Antologia ebraica*, Livorno (1901); *Lux*, Livorno (1904); *La Rivista Israelitica*, Florence (1904–1915); *L'Eco Sionista d'Italia*, Florence (1908); *La Settimana Israelitica*, Florence (1910–1915); *Il Giovane Israele*, Milan (1913–1915 [continues until 1923]); *Il Messaggero Israelitico*, Trieste (1913–1915). An annotated catalogue of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish press is being prepared by Elena Mazzini.
34. Milano, 'Un secolo di stampa periodica', 107.
35. La Redazione (1867) 'Programma', *CI*, 6, 5, 130.
36. G. Levi (1861) 'Professione di fede israelitica nel secolo decimonono', *EI*, 9, 226.

37. See S. Schwarzfuchs (1989) *Du Juif à l'Israélite: Histoire d'une mutation (1770–1870)* (Paris: Fayard).
38. In the Italian edition of this book I normally used the words 'ebreo/i' and 'ebraismo' when not quoting or deliberately referring to the language of the time; here, these words have been translated as 'Jew(s)' and 'Judaism'.
39. 'Prefazione' (1853), *EI*, 1, 5 and 8.
40. 'Prefazione' (1853), *EI*, 1, 6 and 9.
41. La Redazione (1863) 'La morale israelitica', *CI*, 2, 2, 41.
42. See also Leviticus 19: 34.
43. These qualities are also emphasized in one of the most celebrated texts of nineteenth-century Jewish apologetics, *Morale ebraica e morale cristiana* by Elia Benamozegh, first published in Paris in 1867 and now available in an Italian translation (Genoa: Marietti, 1997). Chapters V, VI and VII are titled 'L'umiltà', 'La carità', and 'La carità universale' respectively, and Chapter IX 'L'amore per i peccatori'. For a biography of Benamozegh (1823–1900) see R. De Felice (1966) 'Benamozegh, Elia', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 8, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/elia-benamozegh_(Dizionario-Biografico)/; on his religious and philosophical thinking see A. Guetta (2000) *Filosofia e qabbalah. Saggio sul pensiero di Elia Benamozegh* (Milan: Thalassa De Paz).
44. See 'La morale israelitica' (1863), *CI*, 2, 8, 239; M. Mortara (1870) 'La legislazione mosaica modello di istituzioni economico-morali', *CI*, 9, 7, 118–21 (continued in *CI*, 2, 10–11 (1863), 157–9; 2, 16–17, 289–92; 10, 1–2 (1871), 10–14). These themes were frequently returned to in the following decades. See for example L. Racah (1893) 'Tolleranza e universalità nel Giudaismo', *CI*, 32, 5, 97–9, and 32, 7, 145–6.
45. See for example S. Klein (1865) 'Sulla dottrina dell'immortalità dell'anima presso gli Ebrei', *CI*, 4, 6, 167–71; E.D. Bachi (1878) 'L'immortalità dell'anima. Sermone pronunciato nel tempio di Saluzzo il giorno di Chippur 5639 (1 ottobre 1878)', *CI*, 17, 15–16, 175–7; 17, 17–18 (1879), 197–9. This issue has in fact always been problematic in Jewish tradition; see S. Nadler (2005) *L'eresia di Spinoza. L'immortalità e lo spirito ebraico* (Turin: Einaudi).
46. The bibliography on messianism is extensive. For an overview of this subject see G. Sholem (2008 [1971]) *L'idea messianica*

nell'ebraismo e altri saggi sulla spiritualità ebraica, edited by R. Donatoni and E. Zevi (Milan: Adelphi); J. Frankel (ed.) (1991) *Jews and Messianism in the Modern Era: Metaphor and Meaning (Studies in Contemporary Jewry, vol. 7)* (New York: Oxford University Press).

47. On nineteenth-century Hebrew studies in Italy see C. Facchini (2005) *David Castelli. Ebraismo e scienze delle religioni tra Otto e Novecento* (Brescia: Morcelliana).
48. 'Prefazione' (1853), *EI*, 1, 7.
49. 'Rivista' (1870), *CI*, 9, 1, 3. See also S. Levi (1892) 'La cosmogonia biblica e le teorie darwiniane', *VI*, 40, 46–51; 'La Bibbia e il darwinismo' (1892), *VI*, 40, 69–70; M. S. (1892) 'Sullo stesso argomento. Conciliazione', *VI*, 40, 70–3; D. Camerini (1892) 'La cosmogonia biblica e il signor Rag. Levi', *VI*, 40, 107–10; I. R. Tedeschi (1896) 'I sei giorni della creazione considerati secondo la Bibbia e la scienza', *VI*, 44, 366–9; I. Levi (1897) 'Scienza e religione', *VI*, 45, 110–11. In 1924, in a different political and cultural context, Samuele Colombo stressed that 'there can be no conflict between the Jewish religion and true science', and devoted two whole chapters of one of his last works to religion's relationships with science and progress. See S. Colombo (1924) *La coscienza di un popolo. Avviamento allo studio dell'ebraismo* (Livorno: Circolo di coltura ebraica).
50. M. Mortara (1866) 'Giudaismo e Progresso', *CI*, 5, 4, 108–10; 5, 5, 143–5; 5, 8, 231–4; 5, 10, 301–05; 6, 8 (1867), 242–5; 6, 11, 331–4; 6, 12, 372–3; 7, 1 (1868), 17–19; 7, 2, 46–7. See also Benamozegh, *Israele e l'umanità*, especially the chapter 'La concezione ebraica del progresso', pp. 132–54. On Marco Mordechai Mortara (1815–1894), rabbi of Mantua from 1843 and father of the jurist Lodovico (1855–1937), see R. Salvadori (1997) 'Marco Mortara, un rabbino dell'Ottocento', *Civiltà mantovana*, 105, 7–23 (I am grateful to Maurizio Bertolotti for bringing this article to my notice).
51. See for example Benamozegh, *Morale ebraica e morale cristiana*, p. 145; G. Levi (1861) 'Memorie di un rabbino nel secolo decimonono. Lettera quarta', *EI*, 9, 37.
52. See Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, pp. 3–7.
53. G. Levi (1860) 'L'ebreo del passato e l'ebreo del presente', *EI*, 8, 133–47 and 161–72; see also G. Lattes (1868) 'I tempi passati ed

i presenti', *CI*, 7, 3, 77–9 (continued in 8, 4 (1869), 106–07 and 8, 6, 163–5).

54. La Direzione (1858) 'Avviso di un nuovo programma e un'interpellanza', *EI*, 6, 321.
55. See B. Armani and G. Schwarz (2003) 'Premessa', in 'Ebrei borghesi (Identità familiare, solidarietà e affari nell'età dell'emancipazione)', *Quaderni Storici*, 114, 3, 621–51; G. Schwarz (2005) 'A proposito di una vivace stagione storiografica: letture dell'emancipazione ebraica negli ultimi vent'anni', *Memoria e Ricerca*, 19, 159–74; A. Foa (2007) 'Il mito dell'assimilazione. La storiografia sull'emancipazione degli ebrei italiani: prospettive e condizionamenti', in C. Ferrara degli Uberti and D. Menozzi (eds), 'Ebrei e nazione. Comportamenti e rappresentazioni nell'età dell'emancipazione', *Storia e problemi contemporanei*, 20, 45, 17–30. There is a wealth of international literature on the subject, especially from the 1990s onwards. For some recent new analysis see D. N. Myers and W. V. Rowe (eds) (1997) *From Ghetto to Emancipation: Historical and Contemporary Reconsiderations of the Jewish Community* (Scranton PA: University of Scranton Press); M. Brenner, V. Caron and U. R. Kaufmann (2003) *Jewish Emancipation Reconsidered: The French and German Models* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck); S. Volkov (2006) *Germans, Jews and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). For the history of Italian Jews from emancipation to the First World War, there is a good summary in E. Schächter (2010) *The Jews of Italy 1848–1915: Between Tradition and Transformation* (London and Portland OR: Vallentine Mitchell).
56. Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*; A. Arisi Rota (2010) *Piccoli cospiratori. Politica ed emozioni nei primi Mazziniani* (Bologna: Il Mulino).
57. There are some very direct references to this in Catalan, *La "primavera degli ebrei"*, pp. 35–66, in particular p. 44.
58. Levi, 'L'ebreo del passato', 145.
59. Levi, 'L'ebreo del passato', 166.
60. Levi, 'L'ebreo del passato', 163.

61. G. Levi (1868) 'Al Sig. Isaia Ghiron vice bibliotecario a Brera. Se la razza semitico-ebraica sia una razza apatica ed inerte', *EI*, 16, 65–73.
62. See for example G. Levi (1856) 'Studii critici popolari sulla società israelitica', *EI*, 4, 6–7; G. Levi (1861) 'Il passato e il presente', *EI*, 9, 338–9; E. Pontremoli (1864) 'Un dialogo', *EI*, 12, 129–33; G. Levi (1866) 'Il progresso del cuore e il progresso della mente', *EI*, 14, 161–5; X.Y. (1870) 'Il sentimento nazionale', *CI*, 8, 11, 286–90.
63. Sorkin defines a subculture as 'a minority-group use of the majority culture that has two aspects. First, while it is largely composed of elements of the majority culture, it is nevertheless distinct and functions as a self-contained system of ideas and symbols. [...] Second, the minority group gains social cohesion from its use of the majority culture'. See D. Sorkin (1987) *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 5–6.
64. G. Levi (1868) 'Il massimo problema del Giudaismo. Separatismo — Assimilazione—Annichilimento', *EI*, 10, 16, 65–79; G. Levi (1868) 'Né isolamento né fusione', *EI*, 16, 12–17 and 33–6.
65. Levi, 'Studii critici', 356. The first instalment of this article, published in the *Educatore Israelita*, 3 (1855), 353–7, was subtitled 'Non più nazione israelitica: che cosa dunque?' ('No longer a Jewish nation: what then?'). See also Mortara (1867) 'L'amor di patria nel Giudaismo', *CI*, 6, 2, 47–54.
66. Countless passages supporting this statement can be found throughout the Jewish press up until the late twentieth century, and in much of the pamphlet production. See for example 'Cronaca mensile' (1860), *EI*, 8, 23; Levi, *L'ebreo del passato*, 168; G. Levi (1861) 'Il Scemagn Israel', *EI*, 9, 316; G. Levi (1866) 'Sulla educazione israelitica come creatrice e tutrice della famiglia', *EI*, 14, 337–52; G. Levi (1868) 'La morale cristiana e la morale giudaica', *EI*, 16 225–9; G. Levi (1869) 'La religione nella casa, nel tempio, nella società', *EI*, 17, 257–61.
67. L. Della Torre (1863) 'Pensieri su alcune lezioni sabbatiche del Pentateuco', *CI*, 2, 1, 7.
68. M. Mortara (1881) 'Considerazioni d'opportunità sul giudaismo', *VI*, 29, 132.
69. S. Momigliano (1885) 'L'antisemitismo?', *VI*, 33, 133.

70. A. Momigliano (1987) *Pagine ebraiche*, edited by S. Berti (Turin: Einaudi), pp. XXIX–XXX.
71. V. Foa (1991) *Il cavallo e la torre. Riflessioni su una vita* (Turin: Einaudi), p. 5.
72. In communities of the diaspora the formal celebrations lasted for two days, unlike the practice in the Land of Israel.
73. The *minyan* is the quorum of ten men (at least 13 years old) required for saying the public prayers and reading from the scrolls of the Torah.
74. On the Jewish community of Livorno see E. Toaff (1949) 'Storia di un organo', *RMI*, 4, 173–81.
75. For Italy, see M. E. Artom (1976) 'Tentativi di riforma in Italia nel secolo scorso e analisi del fenomeno nel presente', *RMI*, 42, 7–8, 355–66; A. Cavaglion (1998) 'Qualche riflessione sulla "mancata Riforma"', in M. Toscano (ed.), *Integrazione e identità. L'esperienza ebraica in Germania e Italia dall'Illuminismo al fascismo* (Milan: Franco Angeli), pp. 152–66; G. Luzzatto Voghera (1993) 'Cenni storici per una ricostruzione del dibattito sulla riforma religiosa nell'Italia ebraica', *RMI*, 59, 1–2, 47–70; Luzzatto Voghera, *Il prezzo dell'eguaglianza*, pp. 167–85. For the international picture, see G. Luzzatto Voghera (2008) 'La riforma ebraica e le sue articolazioni fra Otto e Novecento', in D. Bidussa (ed.), *Ebraismo* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 125–44; C. Facchini (2008) 'Voci dell'ebraismo liberale. Costruire una religione moderna', in Bidussa (ed.), *Ebraismo*, pp. 171–96. Essential references are the studies by M. A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), and *Judaism within Modernity. Essays in Jewish History and Religion* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001).
76. See F. Servi (1884) 'Al lettore', *EI*, 22, 1. A clear indication of this continuity was the decision to go on numbering the years from 1853, when *L'Educatore* was first published.
77. See F. Servi (1874) 'Gli estremi. Novella', *VI*, 22, 310–14 and 365–8; 23 (1875), 42–6, 133–9, 202–05, 262–8. See also 'Il giudaismo nel passato e nel presente. Fantasie' (1877), *VI*, 25, 303–04; G. Lattes (1908) 'La fine d'un antico oratorio. Novella', *VI*, 56, 559–62.

PART I

Jews in Private: Rituals and Rules of Belonging

CHAPTER 2

In the Family

The domestic sphere plays a crucial role in Judaism. The most important holidays are celebrated within the family in rituals in which each person takes part and has their particular role; every moment of domestic life may be charged with religious meaning.[1] Moreover, in the context of a history marked by troubled and often violent relations with the majority society, the family has become the place wherein all are the same and there is no need to explain oneself. In the home, two religious duties of fundamental importance for individuals and the community are performed: reproduction and education. These represent transmission of the essence of Judaism to the succeeding generations, both in a material or arguably biological sense and in a cultural and spiritual one. According to the Halakah,[2] being Jewish is determined by matrilineal descent: from birth to a mother who is Jewish, either by birth or by conversion regulated and ratified by a Beth Din.[3] From birth onwards the mother gives the child a connection and kinship, in a sense a blood tie, not just with the members of her family but also with the people of Israel, although this latter concept is somewhat controversial and open to many different interpretations.[4]

Various explanations have been given for the origins of and reasons for the matrilineal principle. These include the pragmatic reasoning that *mater semper certa est, pater incertus*; the idea, influenced by ethnographic and anthropological research, that it is a relic of some ancient matriarchal society, or the possibility that it derives from Roman law.[5] Riccardo Di Segni has emphasized that in the Jewish conception of paternity the legal and circumstantial element is dominant, as evidenced by the laws

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on inheritance that favour the father's line, whereas the mother gives her children an 'existential quality'.[6] In various historical periods this has also been imbued with ethnic and racial values.

Orthodox Judaism gives women a marginal role in public worship but reserves some essential duties for them in domestic worship. Women are responsible, in particular, for ensuring the purity of the home and the family through observance of Kashrut (the religious laws on food, ritual objects and so on) and rules on sexual activity. The concept of ritual purity is highly complex, entailing an extensive set of conditions and behaviour in relation to what the body does, ingests, discharges and touches. In the nineteenth century it lent itself to interpretations consistent with the discursive and symbolic configurations that placed female purity in an indissoluble relationship with male honour, and both in relation to the health, vitality and valour of the nation.[7] On the issues of family models, the organization of gender roles and the link between family morality and collective responsibility, there was a broad convergence, both semantically and conceptually, of bourgeois respectability, nationalist and patriotic rhetoric, and Jewish self-representation. As these focused on the same discursive, symbolic and 'material' points, there were inevitably moments of friction, contradiction and sometimes outright conflict. These complex interactions are analysed in this chapter.

2.1 A Risorgimento Feuilleton

> 'For faith and fatherland all things are lawful'. It was 1859, the year of redemption for oppressed Italy, and restitution for the children of Israel. The trumpet has sounded; young people swarm forward to triumph or die for the beautiful peninsula 'divided by the Apennines and bordered by the sea and Alps'.[8]

So begins a story by Flaminio Servi with the title 'Religione e Patria', published in *L'Educatore*. This opening provided an important interpretative key to the narrative, indicating the close correlation and interdependence between the struggle for Italian Unification and independence and the battle for emancipation of the Jewish minority. The young men flocking to the fatherland's call included many Jews; among them is the story's hero Guglielmo from Livorno, just 15 years old, who rushes to the front despite opposition from his parents but with the blessing of Rabbi Abram Benedetto Piperno.[9] Wounded at the battle of Magenta and admitted to hospital in Milan, where he is lovingly attended to by Giulia, a voluntary

nurse, Guglielmo greets the news of the victory at Melegnano with great enthusiasm:

> Arms folded across his chest,[10] eyes lifted to heaven, 'God of Israel', he prayed, 'you who strengthen the weak and heal the sick, you strong support to those who call to you from deep within their hearts, let me swiftly return to the fields of battle to fight again for the independence of my fatherland, fill me with vigour as once you did the illustrious warriors of your chosen people, give me strength so that I can return a free man to the bosom of my parents. […] Breathe ardour into my breast, let me, in the joy shared by all its sons, see the complete liberation of Italy, and let it be soon, while I live. Amen'.[11]

Guglielmo's words refer to the Amidah, the prayer that Jews must say three times a day.[12] Its opening lines recall some of God's powers that are dearest to men, including the power to heal the sick, and one of the concluding blessings hopes for the rebuilding of Jerusalem 'soon, while we live'.[13] These references must have sounded familiar and instantly resonant, at a pre-rational level, to any reader of Jewish periodicals with only a minimal knowledge of religion, and they implied an alignment between the liberation of Italy and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and between the heroes of the Risorgimento and the 'illustrious warriors' of the 'chosen people': the Israel of the Bible became an image and precursor of Italian national redemption.[14]

Disturbed by Guglielmo's words, Giulia turns pale. Attributing this reaction to her contempt for his unequivocal declaration of Jewishness, Guglielmo feels wounded and tells her to leave him on his own, but the young woman's reply has a surprise for him:

> Do you think perhaps that I am unhappy to know the religion you belong to? Never, Guglielmo, never […] today I will tell you that I too was born an Israelite … Don't be startled, Guglielmo, don't be startled; born an Israelite, I grew up and was brought up in the Mosaic faith, and in the Mosaic faith I wish to die.[15]

At this point love blossoms between the two. When Guglielmo has recovered and must return to the front:

> Giulia did not lose herself in mawkish chatter or tears and sighs […], but, like a real Italian, when the time came for his departure she went to her Guglielmo, straightened his uniform, buckled on his sword, and gave him a

> bunch of flowers with a fine show of the three Italian colours. With a radiant look, speaking from the heart, she said to him: 'Go. My dear, my heart will follow you, my prayers will go with you. Go, make haste, fight, and triumph. You will better feel all the strength of love when you have broken the chains that bind our fatherland; you will feel content when you can one day say to your children, "This sword you see hung up here, dedicated to Italy, freed her from servitude". Go, fight […] our love will be more pure and holy when you return, covered in glory […] *Alas*, I will say with Berchet, *what use is even love, for he who trembles in slavery?*'.[16]

Ultimately, Guglielmo and Giulia marry and live happily ever after. The plot and language of this story echoed the tones, lexis and narrative *topoi* of the patriotic literature of the period, seen through the filter of an assertion of Jewish identity evident in the main characters, their way of speaking and the references to Jewish prayers which sit alongside quotations from Tasso, Petrarch, Manzoni and Berchet. Unworried by anachronism or contradiction, the tale layered allusions to these diverse texts and contexts, presenting both the most classic of patriotic clichés and, simultaneously, the proud claim to a heritage that differed from that of the majority of Italians; this comprised culture, religion and heroic ancestry, but also blood, at least metaphorically. This representation had a dual function: on the one hand, it asserted an identity that in many respects was distinct from that of the majority; on the other, it contributed to integrating the history of the Jews within the history and epic of the nation. Issued after Italian Unification had been achieved but before the conquest of Rome, the story was a good representation of the self-image developed by the generation that had lived through the ferment and excitement of the Risorgimento struggles as young people, sometimes at odds with their parents, and had grown up without first-hand experience of life in the ghettoes.

I especially want to highlight the matrimonial model anticipated in the love story of Guglielmo and Giulia. While it is clearly a union between two patriots, the dominant element is Jewish endogamy: even if it is not made explicit, it is plain that the love between the two young people is possible, and in particular has a happy outcome, due to Giulia's revelation of her belonging to the 'Mosaic faith'. The terms used emphasize the religious aspect, which guarantees a common framework of values and a serene family life, but with regard to family and matrimonial strategies the boundary between religious and broadly ethnic identities is very fragile.[17] The tale that tells the love story between Guglielmo and Giulia is only an indication of the campaign for endogamy waged by the Jewish press throughout the

nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. The changes in the Italian and European political and cultural climate that came to a head in the 1870s and 1880s, paving the way for what has been called 'the *fin-de-siècle* crisis', produced a lexical shift that we will need to examine.

2.2 'Preserving the Nature of the Race'

> According to Moses, as interpreted by most authorities, there is no legal marriage between an Israelite and someone of another faith. I specify 'faith' because the pagan or Christian, any non-Jew in fact, who embraces Judaism, although of non-Israelite descent, can contract matrimonial bonds with an Israelite. […] In a religion […] like the Mosaic one, which to some extent is, and to a greater extent is believed to be, an exclusive and national religion, to set aside all ethnological prejudices in order to simply take account of belief, as it does, is a matter of substantial importance.

This was the introduction to an article on mixed marriages by the rabbi of Livorno, Elia Benamozegh, published in 1881.

> If one wished to seek the reason for the limits imposed on freedom of marriage, it would quickly be found in the intention to preserve the nature of the race, and above all its intellectual disposition, which nowadays all agree must be the most in favour of monotheism, typical they say of the Semitic nature, and especially of the Jewish Semite.[18]

As the argument unfolds, concepts of nation, ethnicity and descent are overlaid on the initial references to the issue of faith. The idea of 'nation' referred to here is extremely vague, but it is evidently not exclusively identified with an institutional concept. The law on the matrilineal transmission of Jewishness and the prescription of endogamy are introduced with use of the term 'razza' ('race') and reference to the 'Semitic nature'. The result is a tangle of evocative references; these are semantically ambiguous, when not directly contradicting each other, but are extremely effective rhetorically: a salient feature of the discourses we are analysing.

After this introduction, it might be asked exactly which marriages are 'mixed', and why these became an important challenge to Jewish consciousness, providing an example of the fragility of that dichotomy between the public and the private that had been put forward immediately after emancipation. The first issue is not as straightforward as it seems, as it requires a definition of the criteria, real or assumed, on the basis of which

the two partners belong to different groups: 'mixed' in relation to what? According to Jewish law, marriages between Jews and non-Jews should be considered exogamic, with the important qualification that someone is still regarded as Jewish even if they convert to another religion: the religious law presumes a belonging which over-rules individual will.[19] This characteristic in particular aligns the religious perspective closely with other ways of circumscribing and defining humanity, including by race: starting from very different historical, cultural and practical justifications, both of these presuppose a belonging that is independent of individual will and can be neither modified nor rejected. At times when racial criteria have been adopted in classifying human societies, marriages between members of different races have been deemed 'mixed' and therefore prohibited. Interreligious marriages, for a long time forbidden by most European legal codes, were only allowed due to the secularization of state institutions which gradually appropriated the authority to regulate, organize and conserve documentation of civil status, removing this from the custody of religious bodies. The picture is complicated by the extremely unstable boundaries between religion and ethnicity, tribe, descent and race, especially in particular historical contexts. Marriage is the official approval and regulation of a union of souls, but also of bodies and their fluids, generating new bodies and new souls: as a result it is the ideal catalyst for a series of symbolic stratifications linked to blood and the mysteries of life and death, and also, during the nineteenth century, to national and racial discourses. In relation to the contemporary era David Biale suggests that there was a secularization of the language of blood, which became an element of demarcation between the races, while interbreeding, unions between blood relations and mixed marriages became 'the particular phobia of those who sought the purity of the nation'.[20] Benamozegh's discussion at the beginning of this section needs to be placed in this context.

In the Europe of the 1880s, the language of 'race' introduced by the thinking of the previous century had become widespread and was used in every sphere, with multiple meanings, often in a very vague manner, and with no attempt at a precise definition of the term.[21] It was common to discuss the division of humankind into races, each having different biological and somatic characteristics but also specific qualities of character and intellect, specific talents and specific shortcomings. The perceived difference between Aryans and Semites was by now familiar; it had originated in the field of linguistics and had then developed into a distinction between races, particularly due to Ernest Renan's thinking.[22] The human

condition, life and the *raison d'être* of individuals and nations were placed within a deterministic conception of reality that also influenced the moral dimension. As regards the Jews, the stereotypical features developed by the new science, such as physical weakness, superior intelligence, ingeniousness and a tendency to mental disorder, were superimposed on much older characterizations, giving these a new legitimacy.[23]

The fin-de-siècle debates were marked by a heavy and at times apocalyptical pessimism, in striking contrast to the belief in progress that had generally characterized previous decades. Closely associated with this cultural environment, and enjoying great success across the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, was the theory of degeneration: this had been introduced by Bénédict-Augustin Morel in 1857 and quickly spread to the natural sciences, literature, the political language and the social sciences.[24] The theme was taken up and adapted by the school of Lombroso, and then applied to the artistic field in a book by Max Nordau, a leader of Zionism originally from Hungary, entitled *Entartung* (*Degeneration*) (1892).[25] Luigi Pirandello, among others, commented on this work and its theories; he was wary of scientism and eloquently expressed a state of mind that was widespread at that time:

> Modern consciousness gives me the idea of a tormenting dream haunted by fast-moving wraiths, now sad and now threatening; of a night-time battle; of a desperate battle in which a thousand flags flutter for a moment and suddenly vanish, only for others to appear, and in which the contending forces have become confused and muddled, each one striving for himself, to defend himself against both friend and foe.[26]

Using a language of race did not necessarily imply racist thinking, but it clearly prepared the ground for the subsequent acceptance of classifications with a hierarchical ordering. Moreover, feelings of vulnerability and uncertainty are among the most effective generators of intolerance and mistrust regarding anyone deemed 'other'. The theory of races played its part in the nineteenth century's more general enthusiasm for ordering and statistics, largely in ignorance of the potential conflict between the standardizing rhetoric of the nation and the classification of diversity, whether real or imagined.[27] Jews themselves were perfectly in sympathy with this spirit of the age, to the extent that they did not perceive as hostile many attitudes that now, with our post-holocaust sensibilities, would appear clearly anti-Semitic.

This inability to grasp the discriminatory implications of the statistics and figures can be seen in the response to a book by Eugenio Righini, *Antisemitismo e semitismo nell'Italia politica moderna* (1901), which attacked the supposed over-representation of Jews in leading positions in politics, culture and the professions, and suggested that a defensive anti-Semitism was required. It was greeted favourably by *Il Vessillo* as 'a good book, written with sensible, just and impartial intentions'. Significantly, its approach was compared with that of Flaminio Servi's *Gli Israeliti d'Europa nella civiltà (The Israelites of Europe in Civilization)*, from which Righini claimed to have drawn most of his statistical data.[28]

Use of the word 'razza' spread in Italian and European Jewish periodicals, without the development of any real reflection on its meaning and implications. In the search for new terms to define the collective dimension of Judaism, many found 'race' to be a useful option. The term was strongly evocative but semantically somewhat vague and was legitimated by the spirit of the age; it could appear neutral and impersonal, and had neither emotional implications nor clashes with ideas of fatherland and national loyalty.[29] This can very clearly be seen in a piece by Marco Mortara entitled 'Che cos'è una Nazione?' ('What is a Nation?'), inspired by Renan's famous lecture of March 1882 which had then appeared in print.[30] Mortara particularly felt it should be stressed that 'race should not be confused with nation': with the end of their state, 'the race of the Israelites ceased to be a nation. […] Devoted to the interests of his fatherland, [the Jew] for his stock rejects the name of nation, which only intolerance would want to assign to it'. 'Stock' ('stirpe') and 'race' are not synonymous, even though sometimes used as such. 'Stirpe', having fewer connotations in the scientific or determinist sense, often served to lend historical weight to the discourse, as it instantly evoked a link with past generations.[31] Two points need to be made before we go on. First, in the sources I have analysed elaboration in racial terms is always used in order to illustrate certain aspects of the Jewish situation, but is never regarded as expressing its fundamental essence. Second, my argument is not meant to suggest the construction of a consistent and unique picture of self-representation in a racial sense; I want to emphasize instead the complexity of the interaction between the paradigms traditionally employed to articulate Jewish identity and the cultural and scientific expressions of the new era.

The mixed marriage was a central issue for the developing thinking of European Judaism on the boundary between the Jewish community, which

after the achievement of legal equality was difficult to define clearly, and the majority society. Exogamy was experienced as having great destructive potential, capable of carrying the much-feared assimilation right inside Jewish bodies. How often this phenomenon actually occurred in Italian Jewish communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has yet to be fully researched, both at the statistical level and in regard to the dynamics of social identity, not least because it raises serious methodological problems. Even the identification of the object of study is problematic, because the simplest option, basing selection on the Jewish surname of one of the partners, may lead to the arbitrary application of a 'Jewish' label to converts (possibly of several generations' standing) or those who had left the communities some time previously.[32] The few studies done have found an increase in mixed marriages between the 1880s and the 1920s, with marked geographical variations, but the increase found does not seem large enough to provide a rational explanation for the growing obsession seen in Jewish periodicals and pamphlets.[33] The only high figures relate to a later period: 36 % of Jews married outside their faith in Milan in 1935–1937, and 42 % in Trieste in 1922–1927.[34] Barbara Armani identifies 15 mixed marriages in a total of 197 in Florence between 1815 and 1920 (10 of them concentrated in the second half of this period), noting that those marrying outside the community were mostly men.[35] When analysing the figures we also need to investigate the socio-economic conditions which almost always influenced matrimonial choice, in whichever direction.[36] Articles in the Jewish press presented exogamy as a definitive way of leaving Judaism, but it seems clear that the paths taken were often far less straightforward and the boundaries of the Jewish minority much more fluid. Mixed marriages, like conversions, should be researched in the longer term in order to check their outcomes over two or three subsequent generations; family histories that I have heard illustrate how children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren could decide to return to Judaism for the most varied reasons.

There is still much work to be done in terms of social history, but my analysis is based on different sources and lines of enquiry. The aim has been to construct a discursive world in which the mixed marriage became both the symbol and incarnation of all the risks the minority ran in the process of integration. The obsessive recurrence of this issue in the Jewish press is undeniable, and it found expression in two large secondary themes: first, the positive presentation of endogamy; second, the negative portrayal of exogamy and its effects on the individual and the community.

The campaign was conducted both in learned articles and in pieces with a colloquial style, and through a series of stories, varying in length and often published in instalments, as was very common in periodicals of that era.[37] In the battle against mixed marriages the rhetoric of blood ties and preservation of the race was added to concern regarding religion, and these two elements offered each other mutual support.[38]

2.3 Permitted Love and Forbidden Love

Literary production provided a light and engaging way of offering educational content and models of behaviour. The less-educated reader could also be easily informed, in very simplified terms, of new scientific theories on the nature of man, his physiology and his psyche.[39] As early as 1845, Cesare Rovighi, introducing the first issue of the *Rivista Israelitica*, had announced that it would publish stories,

> always related to our undertaking; they may depict family customs, the story of an individual, the history of an epoch, or religious services; all of them will address those matters that seem most suitable at the time, with the aim of being instructive while giving pleasure.[40]

Common to all these stories was a close interweaving of bourgeois morality and respectability with appeals to a specifically Jewish tradition. The literary quality was generally very mediocre, and the characters were the embodiment of well-worn stereotypes: frequent appearances were made by the good Jewish mother, the faithful wife, the beautiful Jewish woman and the corrupt Christian, for example.[41] Their descriptions almost always featured a close connection between physical appearance, attitude and moral qualities. To illustrate all these traits, the authors drew freely on the range of stereotypes developed by Western Christian culture;[42] their repertoire was largely the same as that of the writers of novels and stories who were more or less explicitly disposed to anti-Semitism. Among these should be mentioned Antonio Bresciani (best known for *L'Ebreo di Verona* [*The Jew of Verona*], published in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1850–1851), Carolina Invernizio (especially *L'orfano del ghetto* [*The Ghetto Orphan*], Milan: Salani, 1887) and Matilde Serao.[43]

The theme of endogamy periodically resurfaces in the stories published in *Il Vessillo* and *Il Corriere*.[44] When related to the example quoted

in the first section, which I called 'Risorgimento feuilleton', the Jewish setting became much stronger and more self-referential and the subject of marriage was brought to the fore, while also being used to refer obliquely and implicitly to other issues. A recurring model, for example, is that of the well-to-do young man who weds a poor but virtuous girl: the message was addressed to young Jews who in the quest for a substantial dowry and social advancement might be tempted by mixed marriage or might spurn Jewish women on a lower social level and thus leave them as easy prey for Christian dandies or for conversion.[45] In an article in *Il Corriere* in 1901, Guido Cammeo noted the tendency of young Jewish men to seek a wife among Christians for financial motives, with the result that Jewish girls in modest situations found themselves excluded from the marriage market. He also complained that on some occasions Jewish communities had in fact granted a dowry to poor girls bent on marrying Christians.[46]

Other stories focus on the figure of the rabbi who weds a beautiful and virtuous Jewish woman; many of the authors were concerned that the career of a rabbi lacked appeal for younger men. In a story entitled 'Il giovane rabbino' ('The Young Rabbi') the protagonist Ester is portrayed as a sort of Cinderella: an orphan, raised in the household of an uncle married to a Christian woman, she has had an unhappy childhood, ill-treated by her two cousins. To escape from this situation Ester accepts the offer of marriage to Aronne, the young rabbi of her home town, who had been her friend in childhood but whom she had not seen since. Her cousins make fun of her, expressing prejudices that were also held by Jews themselves:

> Here's what could happen to you! A rabbi! Wife to a man with a crooked body, a hook nose, a low forehead, a twisted neck, and an unctuous manner.[47]

One fine day, however, a 'sturdy young man, very handsome with his slightly tanned countenance' arrives at the door to claim the hand of Ester, and the two evil sisters, speechless in their amazement, are consumed by envy.[48]

The theme of forbidden love, which in nationalist and patriotic literature had been expressed as love for the foreigner or the enemy,[49] occurs in many stories. The message was clear: if you fall for a non-Jew, the only viable available is that of sacrifice and renunciation, even if this leads to a life of solitude. The beautiful Micol, for instance, is the victim of a fateful

encounter: on 'a November day as sad as a bereavement' she sees a 'fair young man with periwinkle-blue eyes', a Christian, and from that moment a period of torment begins. Love and faith compete violently for mastery of her soul, but in the end faith triumphs. A similar destiny is reserved for Giulia, a lovely fair-haired girl with blue eyes: 'a unique picture of beauty that would have made you promise yourself to her on first meeting her, marvelling that the Jewish race could boast of such a lovely creature'. One unhappy day at the inn run by her father, she meets a young man who pretends to be Jewish in order to win her heart. Forced to reveal the truth a few days before the wedding, he sees his beloved faint from sorrow into the arms of her mother, after crying to him: 'I love you, but I shall never be yours!'[50]

Such sad destinies particularly awaited women, but men too were expected to choose a solitary life rather than enter a mixed marriage, or convert. The story 'Religione e amore' ('Religion and Love') tells of the love of young Giuseppe for the Marchesina of Roccabruna. Although 'something within him rebelled at the idea of marriage with a woman through whose veins no Jewish blood ran',[51] Giuseppe decides to ask for her hand but withdraws when her father imposes the condition of his conversion to Catholicism. It is interesting to note that while Giuseppe manages to heal his wounds, finding 'a great comfort in the ascetic life he led and in the Talmud', the Marchesina 'died two years later of a terrible illness; of a moral sickness caused by the loss of her Giuseppe'. This 'Junoesque young lady who, on the pleasant beach of Varazze, drove young men mad' evidently must pay for her beauty, which had endangered a young Jew's virtue.[52] The story offers an inversion of the stereotype of the beautiful Jewish woman, traditionally presented as a danger to Christian men.

A much simpler style is employed by Alberto Cantoni, unlike the others a writer of standing, who in 'Israele Italiano' (1904) presented a dialogue between two unnamed young friends, 'one blonde and one dark', the latter endowed with a 'rather Dantesque' nose. Spurred by the questions and remarks of the Christian, the Jew states, 'I would die a bachelor five hundred times' rather than entering a mixed marriage. To explain his drastic position, he goes on:

> We are the 'miracle people', in the words of Monsignor Bonomelli,[53] and […] mixed marriages tend to make us fade away, and then disappear. A

> miracle must be kept alive. […] [M]y example alone could lead, over a long period, to similar choices of loyalty by five hundred others.

One further passage in this dialogue merits quotation. After raging against those Jews who in everyday life conceal their identity in order to introduce themselves into worldly circles, betraying a mean and arriviste spirit, the 'dark' one introduces the issue of his origins:

> I know from whom I am descended, but you … who are you? How can you prove you are not a Hun, a Goth, an Ostrogoth or a Vandal?[54]

Although this theme was not developed, it referred to the need to revitalize a Jewish pride that was based on ancient, glorious and shared origins, eclipsing the poor account that many Jews gave of themselves. This story also presented an interesting inversion of the classic imagery that contrasts the 'Wandering Jew', the embodiment of disorientation, rootlessness and indistinctness, with the man depicted in national narratives as stable and rooted in his land from time immemorial.[55]

While there are no female characters in Cantoni's dialogue, those that populate other stories merit our attention; certain descriptions are particularly striking. Aside from the example of the fair-haired beauty Giulia cited above, young Jewish women are described in decidedly and explicitly 'Semitic' terms, often associated with a decadent and 'orientalist' taste. This is Micol, for example:

> Wild brown hair, very fine, light as mist, artistically wound on top of her head; eyes of black velvet, almond-shaped, which moved slowly and almost greedily, eyes that seemed always to be seeing one same thing, one same person, as in a dream or a vision; a long white neck that sometimes curved in a pose so sweet and tired that it resembled the petal of a fading lily. Her schoolfriends called her 'the beautiful Jewess'.[56]

Of a similarly exotic beauty, delicate and virginal, anticipating the tragic course of her love affair with a young Christian, is Rosa, whose 'head rose superb above a snow-white neck, her face of dazzling whiteness with pink cheeks, […] her eyes dark like a starry tropical night', and whose forehead was 'framed by rich black locks'.[57]

Even more typically 'oriental' is the description of Ester, whom we met in the Jewish re-telling of the Cinderella story. Striking but not

disturbingly so, as befits a virtuous young woman, she has a 'straightforward air, modest but serene, that revealed a fine beauty':

> [She was] a little pale; her shining black hair, parted above a high forehead, framed her Pre-Raphaelite face, worthy of the brush of an Efraim Lilien. It was a special loveliness, characteristic of the most authentic Semitic type: that simultaneously vigorous, healthy, gentle, warm and peaceful beauty that stems from powerful stock, and has all the grace and charm recalled by the traditions of our people.[58]

Other portraits also evoke the Pre-Raphaelites, and it is no coincidence that the heroine of 'Il vaglio dei Torres' ('The scrutiny of the Torres family') is called Ofelia: 'twenty-five years old, tall, shapely, with a magnificent halo of black hair crowning her beautiful face'.[59] In the story 'Cal Nidrè', Mathélé, in love with a young Jew of limited means and forced by her parents to marry a rich merchant, perfectly represents an ideal of purity and submission: 'her simple dress, white as snow, […] made a delightful contrast with the dark tones of her innocent face encircled by luxurious black tresses of hair'. She is 'an innocent and chaste vision who seemed born to serve, obey, and suffer'.[60] These stereotyped but conscious appeals to a decadent kind of exoticism and symbolism served to evoke a purity of blood and morality that was rooted in an ancient past.[61] In the description of Ester, the ancestral mark is highlighted by explicit reference to the 'authentic Semitic type', in which runs the blood of 'powerful stock', and reinforced by mentioning the painter, illustrator and photographer Ephraim Lilien. A committed Zionist and leading member in Berlin of *Die Kommanden*, a group of artists whose aim was to found a Jewish national art, Lilien was known for his work based on Jewish themes.[62]

The lavish use of images drawn from an orientalist repertoire helped to convey the idea of a Jewish otherness that was apparent not only in religious traditions but also in blood, appearance and body. The origin of Jewish stock was situated in an imaginary Orient very familiar to the sensibilities of the period, which had stigmatized this as the incarnation of an 'elsewhere' and an 'other' that were simultaneously fascinating and dangerous.[63] In texts of this kind the orientalist clichés had a dual function. In the instances we have been discussing they were used in a positive sense, to assert a plurality of identity; in descriptions of the persecuted fugitives from pogroms, by contrast, they were often put forward in a negative manner. The otherness of these characters had two aspects: on

the one hand, it established a model to emulate as this expressed a more intense religiousness and a Jewishness uncontaminated by secularization and freethinking; on the other, it evoked a Jew, all too familiar, who was barely civilized and resembled anti-Semitic caricatures. Eastern Jews, who must have been a very rare spectacle in Italy, elicited an ambivalence that oscillated between fear and solidarity. They made appearances in some stories, often translated from the German, as outlandish medieval throwbacks or as martyrs; as shapeless and desperate masses, they populated the newspaper reports of new persecutions.[64] In 1882, for example, there appeared in *Il Vessillo*:

> an odd little man, with a beard untouched by scissors, two locks of hair hanging down the sides of his bald head, a long black kaftan gathered at the waist by a rough belt, and a fur hat, over the indispensable skull cap.[65]

Images of the Orient, a term which generally denoted Palestine with all its implied historical, religious, symbolic and political references, were equally ambivalent. A spiritual point of reference and 'breath of fresh air' for a sceptical and materialist West in the reflections of Elia Benamozegh on the usefulness of missionaries from the Holy Land (1863), it came to represent degeneration, a cradle of 'religious fanaticism', idleness and 'weakness', in notes written by Flaminio Servi in 1870.[66]

2.4 The Consequences of Betrayal

In the stories we have been analysing, descriptions of the outcomes of mixed marriages were clearly intended to frighten their male and female readers, given that the inevitable consequence, as we can by now easily imagine, was the everlasting unhappiness of the married couple, their families and their children, even if the marriage had resulted from strong and genuine love.[67] In 'Un matrimonio misto' ('A Mixed Marriage'), the translation of a German story published in *Il Corriere* in 1883, the loving couple are the Jew Giuseppe, a 'male with pride and energy' and Cristina, the Catholic daughter of a ruined noble family. Having decided to challenge all conventions and prejudices, they move from their native Prussia to Alsace in order to contract a mixed marriage; to solve the problem of their children's religious upbringing, they resolve to educate the girls as Catholics and the boys as Jews.[68] Very soon, however, Giuseppe finds himself under intense pressure from Cristina, her mother and her

priest, who fill the house with Catholic images, speak contemptuously of the Jews and, after baptizing Serafina, the couple's first daughter, try to do the same with their son Gottlieb, who has however been properly circumcised. In the end Giuseppe is forced to leave the house and take his son with him, in order to bring him up in Judaism away from his mother and remove him from the torments of his sister. The final message of the story exhorted young people to follow the advice of their elders: 'It would have been enough to heed the voice and counsel of his parent, and of his conscience'.[69]

There was a far more complex message in the play *Il dottor Kohn*, written by Max Nordau and published in translation in *Il Corriere* in 1901. The setting is a small university town in Eastern Germany. Kohn is a clever young mathematician whose academic career is obstructed by anti-Semitism (a recurring theme with an undeniable basis in reality); he falls in love with Cristina, a fervent Christian. Kohn, the son of eastern Jews who retain 'their repugnant jargon [Yiddish]' and 'their odd customs',[70] is not religious. Cristina is the daughter of Moser, a converted Jew who has managed to establish himself in society and have his origins forgotten. 'Is this about faith? It's about being German with the Germans': this is the revelation that Moser says he had on the battlefield at Sedan, when at the moment of victory he was unable to join in the hymns of thanksgiving rising from the ranks of his fellow soldiers: 'I was suddenly a foreigner among them'.[71] While Moser is the standard-bearer for assimilation and spokesman of a generation that lived through national Unification, Kohn is the prototype of the tormented young man who tries to escape the hostility of society through rediscovery of a Jewish pride of national stamp. In his view, one cannot leave Judaism:

> Every anti-Semite could tell you that the Jews really are a race, and that to say 'I leave Judaism' is precisely the same as a negro saying 'From today on, I cease to be a negro'.[72]

Despite this Kohn is not opposed to mixed marriage, and this becomes his undoing. His fiancée's whole family turn against him, and against Moser too, due to prejudice both religious, against the Jews as deicides, and racial, as she is of 'pure Christian blood' while he belongs to the 'disgusting swarm of these repulsive insects'.[73] This leads Kohn into a duel with Cristina's brother, in which he is killed. In the end Moser, the real protagonist, remains alone, having understood too late that conver-

sion and mixed marriage cannot be the right solution. His close friend Kielholt comments: 'Mixed marriages mean putting two enemies together in a restricted space'.[74] It is interesting to note that Nordau himself had married a Protestant Christian; I have found no mention of this in articles that discuss either him or mixed marriages.

These unions produced not only unhappiness and death: the children from them were often depicted as devoid of moral fibre and also deformed and physically degenerate. The elderly Doctor Kohn, protagonist of the story 'Espiazione' ('Atonement') (1899), sceptical, converted and married to a rich Christian widow, repents bitterly on his deathbed for what he has done and remembers his two sons, 'who entirely resembled his wife, two sons who seemed like foreigners, who appeared to him the children of another race, younger perhaps, but less strong and vigorous'.[75] The description of the two cousins of Ester, the protagonist of 'Il giovane rabbino' which was discussed earlier in relation to orientalist clichés, is even more explicit. These two girls, from a mixed marriage, are portrayed as having almost animal-like features:

> They squealed with the unseemliest, maddest laughter: hands on hips, they were possessed by irrepressible mirth, which gave them an appearance both grotesque and wild. […] [They] were skinny, pale and dull. There was nothing in their angular, ferocious faces to soften the irregularity of their distinctly vulgar features. Their very look, almost always with an evil expression, made them both disagreeable and aggressive.
>
> […] The hybrid family of the Commendatore did not appear to belong to our religion, even though the father was now a fervent hasid of the Community.[76] His daughters mocked him. They had received neither religious nor moral instruction from their mother, a Christian, and they harboured a sincere contempt for holy writ and the sacred services of Jewish worship.[77]

To avoid the birth of such pathological creatures it was necessary, as we have seen, to renounce love. In this period, moreover, doctors and public health specialists were constantly warning of the potential results of marriage to people carrying diseases or deformities. 'No marriage should be allowed until the health of the betrothed couple has undergone medical examination', wrote Paolo Mantegazza,[78] and this message was reiterated in his novel *Un giorno a Madera*, in which the consumptive heroine condemns herself to chastity.[79] In thinking on the laws of heredity, on which

very little was known at the time, health was not the only important factor: race was also taken into account, as were potential consanguinity, age and, by some, class. In his *Almanacco igienico popolare* of 1877, Mantegazza pointed out the risks of the democratic attitude that could lead the son of a good family 'to marry the daughter of a degraded class' and warned: 'let us not believe in improving the human race by us above lowering ourselves; let us, instead, try to raise up those who are low down'.[80] Difference in religion, often equated with difference in race, seems to have demanded the same precautions.

2.5 'Cherchez la Femme'

In the stories we are examining, women prove to be the potential saviours of Jewishness but also the weak link, to be subjected to strict control and discipline. The poorest, without an adequate dowry, could be seduced by Christians and thus be persuaded to abandon their own faith, while foolish bourgeois women, wanting to establish themselves in society, endangered the education of their children. Christian women were always held to be a deadly peril. 'Look to the woman!' Louis Lévy urges us, when he has to account for the sudden change in his protagonist, the industrialist Liebman, who is at first very ready to be involved in community affairs and subsequently equally keen for no one to remember 'either his race or his religion'.[81] At fault, we then learn, is his second wife. Women are either heavenly beings or witches, a polarization typical of the ways in which women have been represented in the male imaginary. This is illustrated by Leone Racah's story of 1885:

> Woman, it was said, to be angel or demon, and our holy learned men warn us that she can finish in good or in evil; if we inspire woman with the sentiment of faith, if we instil in her mind the sublime ideals of religion and virtue, then she will form our joy, she will become an excellent daughter, an honest wife, and a blameless and exemplary mother; but if faith remains suppressed in her, if she does not have God as a guide and model for her actions, then farewell to morals, farewell to customs: the depravity that invades families will be such as to threaten the collapse of the very foundations of society.[82]

Two other moderately successful novels with a Jewish focus, *I Moncalvo* (1908) by Enrico Castelnuovo and *Israele* (1915) by Ernesto Davide Colonna,[83] featured problematic female characters. The first, described as

a 'novel of Jewish degeneration' by *La Settimana Israelitica*, tells the story of the Moncalvo family, whose fate is determined by the very different personalities of two brothers, Giacomo and Gabriele.[84] While Giacomo and his son Giorgio, religious sceptics and resistant to worldly affairs, are men of science and letters, Gabriele, known as 'Gabrio', an enterprising financier, is eager to be accepted in the salons of high society. After many years of separation, the two branches of the family meet again in Rome, where Giacomo has obtained a university chair and Gabrio has settled with his wife Rachele and daughter Marianna, after seven years in Egypt managing his affairs. Rachele, in an attempt to establish the family in respectable Roman society, begins to visit priests and to nurture the desire to be admitted into the houses of the papal nobility. The device for furthering these plans is the grace of the young and ambitious Marianna:

> so charming in the wonderful harmony of her limbs, in the mysterious depth of her gaze, in the dark mass of her shining wavy hair, in her bewitching smile, in her gentle velvety voice that penetrated deep into the soul.[85]

At the end of the novel this beautiful Jewish woman, having converted to Catholicism, marries the aristocratic Don Cesarino Oroboni in the church of San Giovanni in Laterano, with a note of blessings from Pius X himself. The emaciated and consumptive bridegroom is clearly the product of degenerate stock: '[h]e looks as if he has but an hour to live', say onlookers at the wedding procession.[86] In addition, a noble title is conferred on Gabrio and his wife. Both branches of the family represent forms of assimilation, though greater blame is clearly awarded to Gabrio's side. Giacomo and Giorgio are negative models inasmuch as they are freethinkers, intellectuals cloistered in their cerebral world, hostile to religion and its practices and destined for failure. One positive figure, despite being unsuccessful, is Clara, the unmarried sister of Giacomo and Gabrio, who has devoted her life to supporting her brothers' families.

Dante Lattes praised the novel as a faithful account of the worst tendencies of the contemporary Jewish condition and thus a warning to the new generations. His mordant comment was:

> Until now according to the greatest thinkers of the Jewish mission we should be instilling monotheism and the Bible's philosophy of justice and truth in Aryan hearts and minds; with Gabrio […] we must even inject the putrid loins of European nobility with the healthy seed of our blood for

> renewal of the race, and fill its pockets with jingling coins for the regeneration of the stock exchange![87]

The book enjoyed great and enduring success, as can be seen in the record of loans from the Library of the Convegno di Studi Ebraici in Venice for 1929–1941, where it was one of the most requested titles.[88]

In the second work, a 'novel of Jewish rebirth' according to *La Settimana*,[89] the protagonist Rachele, having been devoutly religious in her youth, is tempted by worldliness and assimilation once she becomes the wife of the wealthy and charming Alberto Segre. While her husband is in fact rediscovering the joys of faith and deciding to devote himself to studying his ancestral religion, Rachele tries to eradicate signs of Jewishness in the family and even hesitates over the circumcision of their first child, whom she wants to call Fulvio in order to be fashionable and to disguise his Jewish roots. She reads erotic novels, dresses in a provocative manner and attends parties and salons, thus clearly indicating her 'serious degeneration',[90] to the point where Alberto has her secretly spied on by a psychiatrist friend. This doctor reassures him, explaining that the propensity to hysteria is part of female physiology. With Rachele flirting with a Christian officer, the situation seems to be almost out of hand and the marriage destined to fail, but then everything turns out for the best. Alberto manages to forgive her and bring her back to the faith, which calms her state of mind; he founds the National Institute of Italian Israelites for the Rediscovery of Jewish Awareness, in the belief that 'developing an ardent, wise, diligent, honest and strong Israelite is the same as giving Italy upright men, sincere patriots and worthy sons'.[91] The couple's second child is to be called 'Israele', according to his mother's wishes. The work was judged by the Zionists of *La Settimana* to be still insufficiently Jewish, with its characters too similar to the general Italian or European middle class to be worthy representatives of the rebirth of Judaism, but it was judged a step in the right direction.[92]

Negative female figures could sometimes assume truly diabolical characteristics. Some stories convey the grief of elderly people betrayed by their children or grandchildren, and frequently actually ill-treated by a Christian woman who, having established herself in the family, reveals her profound wickedness and sadism. Two stories relayed this message with particular virulence. The first, expressively titled 'Tristi effetti' ('Unhappy Consequences') and written by Gino Racah, a Zionist but occasional

contributor to *Il Vessillo*, was published in 1906. In it an elderly widow finds herself living alone with her Christian daughter-in-law, following the premature death of her son. Treated like a servant, she is forced to work on the Sabbath and eat on Yom Kippur:[93]

> The unfortunate old woman remembered how her heart had faltered when her son had announced his intention to marry that woman whom his Christian friends, less foolish than he, had paid and left to others. […]
>
> She remembered that her daughter-in-law, from early in the marriage, had reproached her husband for his Jewish origins, and at the head of the bed had put a cross given her by the nuns. With a superstitious perseverance by no means rare among her kind, in the room that had been the scene of her erotic exploits, she had always kept this: a symbol on which all those jokers had in bad taste hung their tobacco pipes before lying down. More painfully, she recalled that she had wished all the children to be baptized […]. And she remembered a young woman, a sweet Jewish girl, good and kind and modest, who would have been glad to marry Bonaiuto. How happy they would all have been … no more hope of that now.[94]

Alessandro Coen, in his story *La zia*, went even further. His protagonist, Gustavo Foligno, has a Christian wife and a very pious and devoted aunt, Ginevra, who had renounced marriage in order to look after him when his parents died and who is regularly ill-treated by the younger woman. The son, Peppino, exhibits clear signs of degeneration: his face is 'unhealthily plump, [and] had something base about it; in his slanting, jet black eyes could be read mendacity'. Gustavo, regretting his choice, suffers continually from nightmares and one night has an especially unpleasant one. At first, his dream is full of images of childhood, when he enjoyed the comfort of his family and his religion, but then:

> At this point a tremor of fear passed across their faces; something threatening and dreadful seemed to be looming in the unknown to disturb the peace of the tranquil scene. The door opened and a woman entered, her head covered by a bridal veil. She advanced sinuously, serpent-like, bestowing smiles, but in her slanting, pitch-black eyes duplicity could be seen.
>
> Gustavo recognized his wife. She went up to the table and made affected movements for her husband; next she approached the old woman, and then her face changed. Her expression was lit up by an evil joy, which seemed

> to control her from the top of her dusky face, and appeared to grasp her in inextricable coils. Her head became pointed like that of a snake and appeared thirsty for blood, while her body grew longer, beyond measure, and wound the victim ever tighter in its firm grip.
>
> The old woman, ashen-faced, uttered a soft, agonized groan.[95]

On waking, Gustavo discovers that his aunt really has died that night, alone in her room. The image of the dangerous, excessively sensual and potentially murderous woman was frequently found in the literature and art of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, standing diametrically opposite but complementary to the weak, passive and submissive woman. In this particular case, the description of the bloodthirsty and serpentine woman recalls Gothic descriptions, especially Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and its image of Lucy Westenra, who turns from a gentle girl into a ferocious vampire, ready to suck the blood from defenceless children. As the figure of Dracula was commonly associated with that of the Jew, pallid, hook-nosed, sacrilegious and thirsty for Christian blood, Coen's story with its Christian vampire offers an unusual reversal.[96]

Dangerous women also play key roles in a story by Guglielmo Lattes (1909). Luigi, the protagonist, preaches a new kind of anti-Semitism which he considers modern and scientific, in contrast to that of Edouard Drumont which is 'impulsive, barbarous and nasty'.[97] Luigi describes his targets:

> those who keep one foot in Judaism and one in modern life; […] who invade industrial, commercial and scientific institutes, and universities and parliaments; who are dominant in science, finance and the press, and push forward successfully until they have scaled the heights of their profession.[98]

Luigi's plan is a perfect reflection of those spectres most feared by contributors to the Jewish press. The first step is to get the young Gastone Lévy to fall in love with the superficial and spendthrift Clara, a Christian:

> We must *dejudaize* one by one those who belong to that class, in order to form the new class of Jews who despise their origins, their history and their thought; who would wish to change their awareness, just as they often change their names; who beg for a little oblivion regarding their past … we need to increase the number of heads that bow before clericalism and anti-Semitism … and victory is ours. […] Jewishness is symbolized by Samson …

> only Delilah can take away his strength. […] whenever we can, we need to reproduce the love affair of Ruth, but inversely … as I have done with Lévy. Oh, the offspring born from the marriage that I have designed will certainly not be able to construct anything in Israel; but they will have marvellous powers of destruction![99]

This reiterates the designs of Guerrazzi that were discussed in Chap. 1. The reference to the biblical episodes of Ruth and Samson and Delilah is full of implications which need to be related to the national discourse. The Moabite Ruth was a convert, whose descendants include King David and the Messiah (Jesus, in the Christian perspective). Samson, on the other hand, is the hero of the struggle against the Philistines, and his decline and defeat are due to his love for foreign women of the enemy people. Previously married to the Philistine woman of Timnah, he is ruined by the beautiful Delilah, who in betraying him and revealing the secret of his strength performs an act of loyalty to her people.[100] There are notable affinities with particular *topoi* of nineteenth-century patriotic literature, where the recurrent theme of sexual relations with foreigners represents an attack on the flesh and blood of the nation.[101] Moreover, the story of Samson and Delilah, instantly familiar to the readers, encapsulates a wealth of symbolic references to the national discourse and the orientalist repertoire.[102]

2.6 Over to the Readers

On the subject of mixed marriages, Zionists, anti-Zionists and those not taking a position seemed to be in agreement. The position taken by the Jewish press on this issue was also expressed in some concrete action. In 1915 *Il Vessillo Israelitico* decided to publish announcements relating to marriage free of charge and offered itself as a post office box for the exchange of letters between candidates, or to provide information: in effect, it put itself forward as a marriage broker.[103]

> The fact that some marriages have recently been celebrated following the publication of paid notices in *Il Vessillo*, which is explained by the well-known circulation enjoyed by our publication throughout the Italian [Jewish] communities, and the laments voiced on all sides over the increasing difficulties of marriage between co-religionists, with harm for the race […] have given us an idea.[104]

The initiative appears to have had some success, especially among the less well off; the middle and upper classes obviously had no need to resort to this means.

That same year, *La Settimana Israelitica* launched an enquiry and referendum on mixed marriage, a 'pestilential disease' that 'often brings immorality into our families'.[105] The steering committee consisted of Giuseppe Ottolenghi, the co-editor from January 1915, and Mario Vigevani, and the aim was to collect views and data in order to form a clearer picture of 'the extent of the evil', in the hope of 'lessening its damaging and ruinous consequences'.[106] The responses were published in the magazine either in full or summarized and were extremely diverse. Closest to the position of *La Settimana* was that of Elia Samuele Artom, a 28-year-old rabbi and fervent Zionist, who believed that mixed marriage was lethal to the life of the couple and the education of children from a religious and cultural point of view but also because:

> The mixed marriage necessarily results in the reduced purity of the race. This is one of the reasons why it would be advisable […] that everything be done to avoid […] the acceptance of the children of a mixed union into Judaism.[107]

Thus in his opinion even the potential conversion of a Christian partner to Judaism would not have solved the problem. Not everyone agreed with this view: other comments concurred on the extreme risks of mixed marriage but laid greater emphasis on the cultural and religious aspects. Only Leone Luzzatto, a teacher at a secondary school in Treviso, wrote that the real problems were the religious education of children and tolerance and that mixed marriage in itself was not necessarily harmful.[108] Salvatore Alphandery of Milan, by contrast, suggested making a distinction between the political and national future of the Jews and their ethnic future; he believed that the former must be pursued enthusiastically through Zionism, but the latter could even be abandoned.[109] The remedies most frequently proposed were a strengthening of Jewish education and the establishment of social networks (recreation and cultural societies, clubs of various kinds and exchanges of information among the different communities) in order to involve young Jews and encourage encounters between boys and girls.[110] Emilio Bachi suggested that the committee formed by Ottolenghi and Vigevani should undertake 'a census of Jewish youth', with particular attention to the poorest, and set itself up as a proper marriage bureau:

> It should make formal marriage proposals when from the information it possesses a union appears feasible; it should publish offers of marriage in the Jewish newspapers each week, so that a proper marriage organization protects many of our young people from harm and aids the establishment of Jewish families.

These new families were intended to contribute to the 'preservation of the race's purity' and the 'renewed ethnic homogeneity that will make us more worthy of the name of Jews and will increasingly assert our right to reconstitution as a nation'.[111]

Mixed marriages were also implicated as one of the main causes of the crisis of European Judaism by responses to a questionnaire sponsored by *Israel* in 1916. For this, Rabbi Sonnino of Genoa wrote that 'mixed marriage deeply contaminates the purity of our race'.[112] In another article in *Israel*, in 1918, Moisè Beilinson argued that the increase in mixed marriages and uncircumcised boys resulted from the spread of exclusively religious interpretations of being Jewish, whereby the Jews were seen as summoned to be the priests of humanity, the Diaspora had a providential nature and ethnic homogeneity should be opposed rather than pursued.[113]

In reality matters were not so simple, as we have established in this chapter. Even in writing by people who in principle rejected Jewish identity of a national or racial kind and proclaimed themselves anti-Zionists, including in the pages of a review like *Il Vessillo*, which always upheld the principle of the 'Jews at home and citizens outside' dichotomy, the public and private spheres and matters of religion and blood were so closely enmeshed as to be indistinguishable. With its aim of rethinking a Jewishness that was in constant flux, stimulated by cultural ferment and events both within and outside the minority, the campaign against mixed marriages helped to construct an ideal defensive barrier. The attention given to the education of women by the ruling and religious elites of Italian Judaism must be located in this context.

2.7 Virtuous Women

In the 'long nineteenth century', education in general and that of women in particular were the focus of studies, research and experimentation.[114] Starting in the 1820s, the first infant schools for girls were established in many Jewish communities; the poorest parents were invited to send their daughters to school so that they could acquire a basic religious knowledge

and learn a respectable trade, such as seamstress, milliner or, of course, teacher; rabbis and teachers sparked lively discussions in the press and at meetings of community governing bodies.[115] In principle, education was viewed not as a precursor of female emancipation but as a disciplinary tool for developing good 'Israelite' mothers. Women were invited to be the vehicle of a Jewish belonging which would not be forgotten and abandoned if based on the visceral, pre-rational and physical affection that unites mother and child.[116] It was their task to bring up their offspring and find the appropriate balance between secular education, which was also important, and religious education: between an Italian education and a Jewish education, and between integration and otherness.

Guglielmo Lattes put the problem clearly in a story of 1910 in which two young Jewish women friends, both widowed, have to deal with the education of their children. Ernesta and Ester represent the opposite poles between which conceptions of women revolved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: on the one hand we have the vanity and sensuality that corrupt and lead to ruin, accompanied by the inability to engage in any intellectual matter; on the other, virtue and modesty, embodied in an angelic and submissive woman, educated but conscious of her role as man's assistant. Ernesta is proud to flaunt her 'dazzling seductive beauty' in the salons, arousing admiration in men and envy in women: 'it seemed to her that nature had given her a powerful weapon, and a crown with which to reign in the elegant world'. Ester, by contrast:

> had the virtues and the name, but not the sovereign beauty, of the great liberating woman of the Jewish people: tall and slender of figure; a pale and intelligent face; her eyes, the lights of a noble soul, shining with goodness and consideration; the gentlest of voices and movements full of grace and sincere modesty.[117]

After these characterizations, the outcome is already clear. While Ernesta neglects to oversee the education of her daughter Marta, which she entrusts to a foreign tutor (German, and not even Jewish), Ester believes it essential that her son Mario is educated both as Italian and as Jewish. Concerned about the Catholic influence in state schools, she is also unhappy with the teaching provided at the Talmud Torah schools using methods that she considers antiquated and arid: 'the catechism and the reading of the prayers were their basis; whereas for her the spirit of Jewish education should be very different':

> From the popular books of our great writers, Jewish magazines, Talmudic legends and works of scripture, she therefore gathered together the most beautiful thoughts, the most important events and dramas, and the holiest maxims. From these she shaped the vital elements of the religious education of her son Mario, to whom she conveyed all the beauty of the life, thought and heroic struggles of our people by speaking to his heart, in a delightful and motherly fashion. […] Now his soul was touched by the voices of the prophets, now by those of the learned and the great figures of Israel, but always in a maternal tone, through the heart, and always evoking lofty images: the *experience* of Israel, more than its knowledge, was to educate his spirit in the faith that had triumphed over the persecutions of centuries. […] A civil and religious culture drawn from real life, and intended for real life, was to give her child, in the names of Israel and modern educational thinking, all the strength, beauty and ideals that she could muster.[118]

Marta decides to run away from home and enter a mixed marriage, whereas Mario becomes a professor of Theoretical Philosophy at the university in Padua, 'revealing the gifts of the Jewish genius melded with those of the Italian genius'.[119]

The presentation of the educational strategy that Ester adopts includes a clear criticism of the teaching methods of many Jewish schools and discontent with the books intended to instruct children in Jewish history and religion. In this case, the criticism came from within: Guglielmo Lattes taught for a long time in the religious schools of the Livorno community, as well as being a lecturer at the Rabbinical College. For decades community leaders and the rabbinate had been engaged in a discussion over the form, content and methodology of teaching. A pressing need was particularly felt for new history texts and manuals for teaching Hebrew; over and above the more technical aspects, there was a fundamental need to render Jewish culture more engaging, digestible, appealing and consistent with a modern way of thinking.[120] Catholic influences, inevitably conveyed by the surrounding environment and perhaps less inevitably by the state schools, were much feared. Pupils attended school on the Sabbath too and on the most solemn holidays of the Jewish calendar, and the textbooks for Italian, history, art and literature were pervaded by symbols, images, values and stories marked by Christianity. On the rare occasions when Judaism was mentioned it appeared in a poor light.

Catholicism and Catholic hierarchies and strategies were on the other hand also points of reference and sometimes potential models. For example, Bettina Levi, one of the most active contributors to *Il Vessillo*,

highlighted how the Church had devoted growing attention to women in order to offset the effects of secularization and limit the damage produced by rising feminism:

> What did the Catholic priest do, when at the dawn of a new era he saw his prestige shaken and threatened, like a clay colossus? As a strong repertoire of thinking was lacking, he turned to the humble and the weak: the woman and the child. He kept the gentle influence of the home and man of the future in his hand, and attempted to mould them and bend them to his own ideas and interests. After forty years of secretive and patient labour, his colossus stands there again, restored and powerful.
>
> And we, who were the first in the world to proclaim the great truth and the first words of true civilization, who are the custodians of a splendid and sublime idea, shall we let ourselves be discouraged and overwhelmed? Let us turn to our women and tell them that Jewish law does not oppress them nor despise them as inferior to men; let us point out to them their sublime task of nourishing the great light of truth in the hearts of our children; let us instruct them and, without making them fanatics of incomprehensible dogma, let us teach them the dignity of their glorious faith, the great truth of its essential laws, and the duty and necessity of understanding these and observing them.[121]

The exhortation to tell women 'that Jewish law does not oppress them nor despise them as inferior to men' did not fall on deaf ears. The Jewish press carried a large number of articles, mainly by rabbis, on the subject of 'the woman in Judaism', and in analysing them we can identify a genuine literary genre, which had developed from a long tradition of rabbinical writing. The stated object of these texts was to combat the opinion, widely held both inside and outside the communities, that Judaism was a male-oriented and misogynistic religion. Christianity could in fact claim the merit of having been the first to boost the respect in which women were held, in contrast to classical Greek and Roman civilization and other pagan religions, but also in contrast to Judaism, by making the worship of Mary pivotal to its communication strategy.[122] Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci, in her celebrated *Della educazione morale della donna italiana*, had stated:

> [among] the innumerable gifts from Christianity to the human family we must include, as one of the foremost, the honour to which it has chosen to raise women, who were not considered by ancient civilizations to be

> creatures that could be made perfect, endowed with an immortal soul of great nobility, but were seen as the motive for furtive pleasure, and often even as the slaves of men.[123]

This work had been successful among Italian Jews too, so much so that Leone Ravenna, in an article of 1858 entitled 'La donna in Israello', actually quoted Ferrucci in support of the proposition that the value of women emerges in the family and that within the home a woman should willingly accept a certain degree of obedience to the man.[124]

The typical structure of the apologetic articles on this issue provided for a systematic parade of ancient images, whereby the main female figures from the Bible story, starting with Genesis, were listed: from the matriarchs Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel and Leah to heroines such as Jael (Manzoni's 'maschia Giaele', 'manlike Giaele'), the judge Deborah and the prophet Huldah. A note was often added that more or less explicitly criticized Christianity, which by exalting the Virgin Mary had promoted an abstract and anti-maternal image of women that was contrary to female nature and the interests of society and fatherland. The positive model most often invoked was the '*éshet hail*', the 'woman of virtue' described in Proverbs 31: 10–31. This biblical passage has over the centuries had many different interpretations, some of them allegorical and mystical, but it was and still is well known to those with even the most basic Jewish education, and in various traditions it has become part of the Friday evening domestic ritual as a song that the husband should address to his wife on returning from prayer at the synagogue. It therefore had immediate communicative effectiveness with readers of the Jewish press.[125] From a literal interpretation, as was suggested by the texts we have been analysing, the author presents an upright woman, tireless worker and household manager, who is charitable, farsighted, maternal, educated to a certain level and modest. The *éshet hail* lent herself splendidly to being identified as the origin of the modern middle-class conception of the woman.

In 1907 Samuele Colombo, chief rabbi of Livorno, even claimed that Judaism had feminist tendencies, although in reality demonstrating how remote he himself remained from that temptation:

> The man in Israel, who was still said to be superior to the woman, was inferior to those other men who stood above him and whom he could not legally replace. Thus was the woman in relation to him. She could not take the place of the man as a simple Israelite, even if the greatest genius or saint

> ever known, nor could she by law ever become king or priest. […] But in Israel the woman had some advantages over the man. While she could never fill his place, she could, in compensation, obtain what was not granted to him, as a simple Israelite. Whatever her origin, she could ascend to the Throne, on the right hand of the King, and by becoming the wife of the priest she had the right to take part in the holy feast, putting her lips to those foods from which a son of Israel had to rigorously abstain if he did not wish to commit the grave sin of sacrilege. […]
>
> In this way, more than three thousand years ago now, in the heart of Judaism, was solved that problem that is only now emerging within the most civilized nations, which has the totally new name of *feminism*!
>
> The woman, queen of the home, this cell and embryo of the universal family, supports the man of the present and prepares the man of the future. When the need of the moment demands the presence of her talents outside, she can emerge and take her place at the head and with the heart and soul of her people, as the prophets Miriam, Deborah, Huldah and a hundred others have already done.[126]

In these narratives nature, or ultimately God himself, is identified as responsible for gender differences and male supremacy: an idea that was boosted and promoted by the most recent medical and psychological knowledge.[127] These clichés of ancient origin, now presented as science, populated the pages of the Jewish press just as they did the entire literary, artistic and press production of the era. In the Jewish case, they were also employed as new tools to justify some religious laws. The following is a good example:

> Where the law appears to conceive of women as being inferior is where it deals with vows. In this regard, a woman is not independent unless in a state of widowhood or divorce; the spinster is dependent on her father, the wife on her husband. The father or husband have the capacity to annul the vows she has made, which are only valid if they are confirmed, albeit tacitly, by the man under whose protection she lives.[128] Note that this is where we truly face the weak side of the female psyche. We have already had occasion to mention the undeniable fact of the prevalence in women of emotion over reflection. Impressionable and impulsive in the highest degree, she is, other than exceptionally, easily drawn in a moment of emotion to make unconsidered vows that she may subsequently regret; when these vows involve personal abstinence […] they may be harmful to her health and

> indirectly harmful to the family: it is therefore natural and right that in this respect her liberty should be in some degree limited.[129]

Statements of this kind were not based on or justified by precise references. Their force derived simply from being presented as obvious and unarguable, being so embedded in common sense as to need no explanation. When authoritative evidence was sought, the author most frequently quoted in the writing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the ubiquitous Paolo Mantegazza, a well-known popularizer who wrote health handbooks, articles and books on physiology.[130]

During the nineteenth century the question of women's role in religion became bound up with the issue of proposals for modifying worship, and this still remains an immovable barrier between orthodox and Reform Judaism. As discussed in Chap. 1, the Reform movement failed to flourish in Italy: its linkage to the first tentative demands for female emancipation, while not the sole reason for its failure, cannot have assisted its reception. Some small innovations in religious practice were, however, conceded, including the institution of ceremonies of religious adulthood, which were at the same time accepted in other European countries. For boys, the ceremony had ancient origins and was established as an individual ritual occasion, the bar mitzvah, to be held in the synagogue on the Saturday following a boy's thirteenth birthday.[131] For girls a collective annual ritual, the bat mitzvah, was introduced in Verona in 1844, to be observed during the Passover celebrations by all those who had reached the age of 12 during the previous year.[132] They were required to demonstrate their knowledge of the basis of Judaism and to assume formal responsibility for their role within the community and the family. This was largely a procedural innovation that did not involve a real re-evaluation of women's religious and family role but did relate both to the attention that nineteenth-century culture gave to the education of women and, more generally, to the attempt to bring young people of both sexes closer to religion. The development of these Jewish religious initiation rituals was partly inspired by Catholic practices. The intention was to envelop the girls in a strongly emotional atmosphere, destined, it was hoped, to influence them deeply; as the intellectual and writer Emma Boghen Conigliani emphasized, 'Catholics, and especially Catholic women, never forget the day of their First Communion, whose wholesome influence, they say, affects them for the rest of their lives'.[133]

When the great day came the Jewish girls, not unlike their Catholic counterparts, paraded in white up the central aisle of the synagogue, between their relatives in their best clothes, and accompanied by the choir singing a hymn of praise to God. They stopped in front of the Aron Kodesh,[134] which was often described as 'l'altare' ('the altar'), recited a prayer in Italian, received a blessing from the rabbi and listened in strict silence to his address to them and their families. Afterwards the parents provided a big party for all the family and their close friends, happy for the opportunity to showcase the symbols of their social status. The function of these public gatherings went beyond the confines of the community. Sometimes held in the presence of public authorities, with joint participation by the rabbi and local officials, they were an opportunity both to display the results of that social and moral regeneration that had been so strongly called for by Jews and non-Jews and to make a public show of sharing those fundamental values that were supposed to govern Italian families and Italian society.[135] The social elements and resemblances to the Catholic First Communion were the subject of discussion within the rabbinate, especially in issues of *Il Vessillo* in 1899 and 1900, where there were complaints that boys and girls often arrived at this important point without being able to read even a blessing in Hebrew.[136] Rabbi Alessandro Zammatto also criticized the collective nature of the ceremony and its excessive show,[137] but overall opinion was generally positive.

We can get some idea of the models being promoted for women from the speeches made on these occasions by community leaders, such as the rabbi of Verona in 1863:

> Show yourselves to be Israelite women by keeping the sacred flame of religion always alight within the walls of the home, by being the guardian angel of family harmony, exercising for these just purposes that effective dominance that you can easily acquire with modesty, meekness, kindly ways, good habits and faultless behaviour.[138]

In 1914 Lazzaro Sanguinetti, a lawyer and president of the Jewish community of Bologna, used similar words during a ceremony held in the presence of the rabbi:

> It is your responsibility, in every age and in every state, using that benign influence that you will know how to exert, to preserve and transmit, from generation to generation, that faith that has been both the pride and the

> protection of our people, that held us united and strong during the violent dispersions, and that left us unbroken by every blow of enemy malice. This is your first and particular duty as Israelite women, to which are added the deeply felt duties proper to all women.
>
> It is your responsibility, young women, to lighten the industrious hours of your parents and your brothers with serene sweetness, and to infuse everywhere you enter with the perfume of the most simple and humble virtues; it is for you to contribute with calm diligence to the prosperity of your families, to instil energy into every good intention by offering your smile as the prize. So take care, with unflagging zeal, to make yourselves ever more cultured and kind, so that one day you will be wives and mothers who are wisely and modestly virtuous.[139]

Modesty, religiousness, loyalty and dedication, in a life to be led strictly within the home, especially at a time when men, who were finally free to pursue their real ambitions in society, seemed increasingly busy and incapable of devoting time to family, religion and bringing up their children: this was the guidance presented to the girls.[140] Once again, there was nothing specifically Jewish, apart from their synagogue setting, in these addresses, which sometimes provided the opportunity to inveigh against the movement for female emancipation and against women with careers.

The negative model was, indeed, the intellectual and liberated woman, who was destined to bring unhappiness to her family. The experience of the lecturer Leone Da Fano, protagonist of the story 'Il Purim di un Professore' (1906), was intended to be a warning for all. A young, unbelieving and rebellious university student, he falls in love with a fellow student, Luisa, with whom, 'citing Auguste Comte, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer', he has embarked on his intellectual career. As time passes Luisa remains an activist, travelling round the world lecturing on feminism, while poor Leone, with his 'fleshy aquiline nose', is often alone at home: 'more than ever he felt a strong and innermost need for a woman, a meek and affectionate woman, as sweet as a devoted sister and as protective as a mother'.[141] On this front, Jews and Catholics were fighting with the same weapons and the same arguments. Also in 1906, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, for example, started to publish a tale called 'Donna antica e donna nuova. Scene di domani' ('The Old Woman and the New Woman: Scenes of Tomorrow') in which the modern, immoral, unseemly and

masculinized woman was portrayed negatively, while the woman of the past was extolled. The latter was represented as the real feminist:

> by obliging the man to respect her weakness, dignity and honour, the woman obliges him to treat her as his companion in life, creating with her their family, which is the first schooling ground for the individual and the cornerstone of society. Then, apart from the inevitable exceptions, we would have […] the upright and pure man who by the unbreakable custom of life joins the upright and pure woman; in this he finds, according to the sublime words of Genesis, 'a helper fit for him', and with her creates the sanctuary of home and the domestic hearth.[142]

The same text could equally well have been published in a Jewish periodical.

In this chapter we have entered the imaginary of the family and the role assigned to women, highlighting the strength of the influences exerted by the majority culture, as well as the attempts to express the models of gender and family organization typical of bourgeois mentality in a Jewish key. Even the religious dimension, however, was reinterpreted and 'translated' into a modern language and modern symbolism, which could be understood both within the minority and outside it.

Notes

1. For an introduction to this topic see E. Gugenheim (1992) *Le Judaïsme dans la vie quotidienne* (Paris: Albin Michel).
2. The Halakah is Jewish law and comprises the biblical, Talmudic and rabbinical regulations.
3. The Beth Din (house of judgement) is a court consisting of three rabbis, which can rule on a range of issues regarding religious law.
4. For a general picture and an interesting interpretation of the nature of Judaism see S.N. Eisenstadt (1992) *Jewish Civilization. The Jewish Historical Experience in a Comparative Perspective* (Albany: SUNY Press).
5. S. J. D. Cohen (1985) 'The Matrilineal Principle in Historical Perspective', *Judaism*, 34, 5–13; S. J. D. Cohen (1985) 'The Origins of the Matrilineal Principle in Rabbinic Law', *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, 10 (1), 19–53; M. Hadas-Lebel (1993) 'Les mariages mixtes dans la famille d'Hérode et la halakha prétalmudique sur la patrilinéarité', *Revue des Études Juives*, 152, 397–404.

6. R. Di Segni (1989) 'Il padre assente. La trasmissione patrilineare dell'appartenenza all'ebraismo', *Quaderni Storici*, 70, 1, 143–204 (p. 192). A parallel between Jews and slaves, with an entirely different implication, is implicit in the use of the term 'emancipation', which has its etymological derivation in the granting of freedom to someone under the power of another.
7. On the relationship between sexuality, purity, health and honour in connection with national narratives, the groundbreaking work by G. L. Mosse is particularly important, especially *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). A more detailed discussion is provided in Chap. 3.
8. F. Servi (1864) 'Religione e Patria', *EI*, 12, 73. The opening words come from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, canto IV, v. 26; the closing quotation is from Petrarch, canto 146.
9. Piperno was the chief rabbi of Livorno from 1857 to 1863, the year of his death. When the *Statuto Albertino* was granted, his hymn of thanks was printed in the *Corriere Livornese*, 2 (1848), 70.
10. This clearly echoes Manzoni's poem *Il cinque maggio*: 'Oh, how many times, at the quiet / Dying of an idle day, / His flashing eyes lowered, / Arms folded across his chest, / He stood, and the memory / Of days long gone assailed him!'.
11. Servi, 'Religione e Patria', 301.
12. The basic form of the Amidah dates back to the first century AD. The name of the prayer refers to the fact that it must be said while standing; it is also known as 'Shemoneh Esrei', in reference to the number of blessings (18) it comprises, although the full prayer actually has 19 owing to a later addition.
13. See *Preghiere dei giorni feriali e sabati secondo il rito italiano particolare della comunità ebraica di Torino*, vol. 1, *Giorni feriali*, with translation and explanatory notes by D. Disegni (Turin: Edizione ad uso della Comunità di Torino, 1949), pp. 30–40.
14. On this topic see F. Sofia, *Ebrei e Risorgimento: appunti per una ricerca*, in G.P. Romagnani (ed.), *La Bibbia, la coccarda e il tricolore. I valdesi fra due Emancipazioni, 1798–1848*, Atti del XXXVII e del XXXVIII Convegno di studi sulla Riforma e sui movimenti religiosi in Italia (Torre Pellice, 31 agosto-2 settembre 1997 e 30 agosto-1° settembre 1998), Turin, Claudiana, 2001, pp. 349–367.

15. Servi, 'Religione e Patria', 329.
16. Servi, 'Religione e Patria', 329. The full story is in *EI*, 12 (1864), 75–8, 106–10, 133–6, 271–5, 297–301, 328–33, and 13 (1865), 71–4, 113–17. The entire scene closely follows and quotes freely from Giovanni Berchet's *Clarina*, lines 37–66: see G. Berchet (1911) *Opere*, ed. E. Bellorini, vol. I, *Poesie* (Bari: Laterza), p. 30 (originally published Milan: Manini, 1864). For an analysis of the *topos* of the woman who incites men to patriotic action, see A.M. Banti (2000) *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 103–7.
17. On the category of ethnicity applied to the Jews, one of the very few discussions in Italian historiography is B. Armani (1999) 'L'identità sfidata: gli ebrei fuori dal ghetto', *Storica*, 5, 15, 69–103.
18. E. Benamozegh (1881) 'Sui matrimonii misti', *VI*, 29, 357–8.
19. On conversions in Italy in the modern age see L. Allegra (1996) *Identità in bilico. Il ghetto ebraico di Torino nel Settecento* (Turin: Zamorani); L. Allegra (1991) 'Modelli di conversione', *Quaderni storici*, 78, 3, 901–15; B. Armani (2006) *Il confine invisibile. L'élite ebraica di Firenze 1840–1914* (Milan: Franco Angeli), pp. 289–307; R. G. Salvadori (1993) *Gli ebrei toscani nell'età della Restaurazione (1814–1848). Uscire dal ghetto: divenire ricchi, divenire cristiani, divenire italiani* (Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano) (the appendix contains a list of requests by Jews for admission to the Case dei Catecumeni [Houses for Converts] of Livorno and Florence in the period 1814–1848). Regarding forced conversions, the essential reference is M. Caffiero (2004) *Forced Baptisms: Histories of Jews, Christians, and Converts in Papal Rome*, translated by L. G. Cochrane (Berkeley: University of California Press). For more general discussion of the issue of conversion see G. Calvi and A. Malena (eds) (2007) 'Conversioni', *Genesis*, 6, 2.
20. D. Biale (2007) *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley, LA, and London: University of California Press), p. 6. For a noted discussion of the sixteenth-century statutes of the *limpieza de sangre* as evidence to support backdating the origins of 'modern' racism, see Y. H. Yerushalmi (1993) 'L'antisémitisme racial est-il apparu au XX^{e} siècle? De la limpieza de sangre espagnole au nazisme', *Esprit*, 5–35.
21. See L. Mangoni (1985) *Una crisi fine secolo. La cultura italiana e la Francia fra Otto e Novecento* (Turin: Einaudi). On the subject of

racism, an important reference is still G.L. Mosse (1978) *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York: Howard Fertig). The bibliography on this topic is now vast, although as regards Liberal Italy many issues remain unresearched. For some indications, see A. Burgio (ed.) (1999) *Nel nome della razza. Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia 1870–1945* (Bologna: Il Mulino); F. Cassata (2006) *Molti, sani e forti. L'eugenetica in Italia* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri), in particular Ch. 1; M. Nani (2006) *Ai confini della nazione. Stampa e razzismo nell'Italia di fine Ottocento* (Rome: Carocci).

22. See M. Olender (1992) *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*, translated by A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press) (first published in French as *Les langues du paradis: Aryens et Sémites, un couple providentiel*, Paris: Seuil, 1989); L. Poliakov (1974) *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, translated by E. Howard (London: Heinemann) (first published as *Le Mythe aryen. Essai sur les sources du racisme et des nationalismes*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1971). On France, see Z. Sternhell (2009) *The Anti-Enlightenment Tradition*, translated by D. Maisel (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press) (first published in French as *Les Anti-lumières*, Paris: Fayard, 2006); M. Battini (1995) *L'ordine della gerarchia. I contributi reazionari e progressisti alle crisi della democrazia in Francia, 1789–1914* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri); T. Todorov (1993) *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press) (originally published in French as *Nous et les autres: la Réflexion française sur la diversité humaine*, Paris: Seuil, 1989). On the Italian school of criminal anthropology, which was very influential in the diffusion of racial stereotypes, see M. Gibson (2002) *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology* (Westport, CT: Praeger).
23. Despite differences in methodology and content between the various studies on race, some ideas were held in common. See S. L. Gilman (1993) *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press); S. L. Gilman (1991) *The Jew's Body* (New York and London: Routledge), esp. pp. 60–103; S. L. Gilman (1996) *Smart Jews: The Construction of the Image of Jewish Superior Intelligence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press); J. M. Efron

(2001) *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), pp. 105–85.

24. B.-A. Morel (1857) *Traité des dégénerescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l'espèce humaine et des causes qui produisent ces variétés maladives* (Paris: Baillière). See Mangoni, *Una crisi fine secolo*; D. Pick (1989) *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); C. Mantovani (2004) *Rigenerare la società. L'eugenetica in Italia dalle origini ottocentesche agli anni Trenta* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino).
25. Despite his commitment to Zionism and the Jewish revival, Max Nordau (1849–1923), real name Maximilian Simon Südfeld, married a Protestant Christian woman. *Degeneration* was dedicated to Lombroso and enjoyed great international success, with many editions. In the second edition, translated into Italian in 1896, the author responded to criticism from Lombroso himself. See M. Nordau (1895) *Degeneration*, translated from the 2nd edition of the German work (London: Heinemann) (first edition published in German 1892).
26. L. Pirandello (1893) 'Arte e coscienza d'oggi', *La Nazione letteraria*, 1, 6, reprinted in E. Ghidetti (ed.) (1994) *L'umorismo e altri saggi* (Florence: Giunti), p. 246. This pessimism has also been discussed by, among others, G. Mazzacurati (1998) *Stagioni dell'apocalisse. Verga Pirandello Svevo* (Turin: Einaudi). Pirandello also addresses the issue of mixed marriages in his 1922 story 'Il goj', reprinted in *Novelle per un anno*, vol. I, preface by C. Alvaro (Milan: Mondadori, 1956), pp. 506–11.
27. See S. Patriarca (1996) *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); M. B. Hart (2000) *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
28. E. Righini (1901) *Antisemitismo e semitismo nell'Italia politica moderna* (Milan-Palermo: Sandron); 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 48 (1900), 423. Righini was a nationalist and editor of the *Gazzetta di Ferrara*. From the 1890s onwards, it was widely supposed that Jews occupied a disproportionate number of key posts in politics and culture; there was some truth in this, due mainly to their higher rate of literacy, and the issue began to attract criticism and resentful protest.

29. On the use of the term 'race' by Italian Jews see B. Di Porto (2002) 'Il "Vessillo Israelitico". Un vessillo ai venti di un'epoca tra Otto e Novecento', *Materia Giudaica*, 7, 2, 354–5; S. Caviglia (1996) *L'identità salvata. Gli ebrei di Roma tra fede e nazione* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), p. 137. For an interesting critical analysis, see B. Armani (2007) '"Ebrei in casa". Famiglia, etnicità e ruoli sessuali tra norme, pratiche e rappresentazioni', in C. Ferrara degli Uberti and D. Menozzi (eds), *Ebrei e nazione. Comportamenti e rappresentazioni nell'età dell'emancipazione*, special issue of *Storia e problemi contemporanei*, 20, 45, 31–56. In the international historiographical debate, one of the first historians to point out use of the term 'race' for Jewish self-representation was M. Marrus (1971) *The Politics of Assimilation: A Study of the French Jewish Community at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford: Clarendon), pp. 10–27. For a more recent discussion see L. M. Leff and N. Malinovich (eds) (2005) *Jewish Racial Self-fashioning in Comparative Perspective*, special issue of *Jewish History*, 19, 1.
30. E. Renan (1882) *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation? Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 Mars 1882* (Paris: n.p.) (an English translation, 'What is a Nation?', appeared in A. Zimmern (ed.) (1939) *Modern Political Doctrines* (London: Oxford University Press), pp. 186–205). Mortara's article appeared in the same year: M. Mortara (1882) 'Che cos'è una Nazione?', *VI*, 30, 101–2.
31. For interesting research on the use of the terms 'race/*Rasse*' and 'stock/*Stamm*', see T. van Rahden (2006) 'Germans of the Jewish "Stamm". Visions of Community between Nationalism and Particularism, 1850 to 1933' in N. Gregor, N. Roemer and M. Roseman (eds) *German History from the Margins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), pp. 27–48.
32. C. Ferrara degli Uberti (2003) 'La difficile nazionalizzazione degli ebrei italiani', *Storica*, 9, 25–26, 209–36; B. Armani and G. Schwarz (2003) 'Premessa', in *Ebrei borghesi (Identità familiare, solidarietà e affari nell'età dell'emancipazione)*, special issue of *Quaderni Storici*, 114, 3, 621–52; Armani, *Il confine invisibile*, pp. 241–66.
33. On mixed marriages in the Jewish press see C. Foà (2001) *Gli ebrei e i matrimoni misti. L'esogamia nella comunità torinese (1866–1898)* (Turin: Zamorani), pp. 45–104.
34. M. Sarfatti (2006) *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*, translated by J. and A. C. Tedeschi (Madison:

University of Wisconsin Press), p. 28. See also R. Bachi (1931) *La demografia degli ebrei italiani negli ultimi cento anni* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato); S. Della Pergola (1972) *Jewish and Mixed Marriages in Milan, 1901–1968* (Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry); L. Allegra (2001) 'Preface' to Foà, *Gli ebrei e i matrimoni misti*, pp. 9–15.

35. Armani, *Il confine invisibile*, p. 241.
36. I. Pavan (2003) 'Ebrei in affari tra realtà e pregiudizio. Paradigmi storiografici e percorsi di ricerca dall'Unità alle leggi razziali' in Armani and Schwarz (eds) *Ebrei borghesi*, pp. 777–821; B. Armani (2007) 'La sposa ebrea: dote, famiglia e "status" nell'élite ebraica fiorentina' in C. Galasso and M. Luzzati (eds) *Donne nella storia degli ebrei d'Italia* (Florence: Giuntina), pp. 427–45.
37. The great majority of literary texts deal with family scenes; some of these are directly addressed to younger people in order to explain the meaning of Jewish holidays and symbols, thus providing a kind of catechism in the guise of fiction. See for example E. D. Bachi, 'Le serate invernali di una famiglia israelitica. Dialoghi religiosi e morali. Il Scemah, i Tefillim, la Mesusà e il Zizit', *CI*, 13, 7–8 (1874), 108–11; 13, 9–10, 128–31; 13, 11–12, 158–60; 13, 13–14, 174–7; 13, 15–16, 199–203; 14, 11–12 (1875), 134–6; 14, 13–14, 152–4; 14, 21–22 (1876), 251–3.
38. It would be interesting to compare this with similar sources in the non-Jewish press of the period, where violently anti-Semitic writing is sometimes found. On the stories and serialized novels in *Civiltà Cattolica*, see R. Bonavita (2003) 'Grammatica e storia di un'alterità. Stereotipi antiebraici cristiani nella narrativa italiana 1827–1938' in C. Brice and G. Miccoli (eds) *Les racines chrétiennes de l'antisémitisme politique (fin XIX^{e}-XX^{e} siècle)* (Rome: École Française de Rome), pp. 89–119. See also R. Bonavita (2009) essays in G. Benvenuti and M. Nani (eds) *Spettri dell'altro. Letteratura e razzismo nell'Italia contemporanea* (Bologna: Il Mulino).
39. See A. Cavalli Pasini (1982) *La scienza del romanzo. Romanzo e cultura scientifica tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Bologna: Pàtron); W. Greenslade (1994) *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*.
40. C. Rovighi (1845) 'Discorso preliminare', *RI-I*, 1, 1, 25–6.

41. See U. Fortis (2003) *La 'bella ebrea'. Sara Copio Sullam poetessa del ghetto di Venezia del '600* (Turin: Zamorani). On representations of the Jewish woman and their significance in nineteenth-century English literature, see N. Valman (2007) *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
42. Edward Said's *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge, 1978) already has the status of a classic. See also I. Davidson Kalmar and D. J. Penslar (eds) (2005) *Orientalism and the Jews* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press).
43. On Bresciani and Invernizio see A. Coviello Leuzzi (1972) 'Bresciani Borsa, Antonio', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 14, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bresciani-borsa_(Dizionario-Biografico)/; G. Zaccharia (2004) 'Invernizio, Carolina', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carolina-invernizio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. See also E. Picchiorri (2008) *La lingua dei romanzi di Antonio Bresciani* (Rome: Aracne); U. Eco et al. (1979) *Carolina Invernizio, Matilde Serao, Liala* (Florence: La Nuova Italia); G. Davico Bonino and G. Ioli (1983) *Carolina Invernizio. Il romanzo d'appendice* (Turin: Forma); A. Contelmo (1992) *Carolina Invernizio e il romanzo d'appendice* (Florence: Atheneum); L. M. Gunzberg (1992) *Strangers at Home: Jews in the Italian Literary Imagination* (Berkeley, LA and Oxford, University of California Press), pp. 57–89 and 163–218; N. A. Harrowitz (1994) *Antisemitism, Misogyny and the Logic of Cultural Difference: Cesare Lombroso and Matilde Serao* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press).
44. Unlike *Il Vessillo*, the *Corriere Israelitico* tended to publish translations of stories that had already appeared in German and Austrian periodicals, especially the *Israelitische Wochenschrift*. Regarding law, *Il Corriere* naturally continued to refer to the Austrian legislation to which the Jews of Trieste were subject. Civil marriage had been introduced in Habsburg territory with the Marriage Patent of 1783 and the Civil Code of 1786, but no specific form of civil ceremony was envisaged and marriages therefore continued to be conducted in religious forms. Until 1868, marriages between Jews and Catholics were forbidden; after that they were permitted if at least

one of the partners declared themselves *konfessionslos* (without religion).

45. For more examples see L. Kompert (1865) 'Come una volta si prendeva moglie', *CI*, 4, 6, 194–8 and 4, 7, 225–9; A. Curiel (1907) 'Gioia di Purim', *CI*, 45, 10, 328–31; E. Jonigh (1908) 'Purim. Amman ed Esther', *VI*, 56, 119–26; E. Jonigh (1908) 'Due medici', *VI*, 56, 382–6; G. Lattes (1910) 'Il Cantico dei Cantici (Novella)', *VI*, 58, 156–61. In other stories the same message was conveyed through a negative model: G. Lattes (1910) 'Un buon candidato… Novella', *VI*, 58, 14–19, describes the anguished search by a girl with a good dowry; in 'Il vaglio dei Torres' by the same author, *VI*, 57 (1909), 316–21, the rich parents of the heroine Ofelia reject all her suitors, and finally she elopes with a penniless Christian.
46. G. Cammeo (1901) 'Dei matrimoni misti', *CI*, 39, 9, 198. This issue will be discussed in Chap. 4.
47. E. D. Colonna (1914) 'Il giovane rabbino (Novella)', *VI*, 62, 411.
48. Colonna, 'Il giovane rabbino', p. 413. See also Lattes, 'Il Cantico dei Cantici'.
49. Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, pp. 83–93.
50. B. Donati (1900) 'Giulia, l'ebrea', *CI*, 39, 3, 68–9 and 192. See also 'Inganno (Dalla Israelitische Wochenschrift)', *CI*, 35, 11 (1897), 261–3 and 35, 12, 284–6; Fiducia (A. Cagli Della Pergola) (1905) 'Al bivio', *VI*, 53, 126–34, in which Anna Castelfranco, broken-hearted, decides that it is 'a thousand times better to be alone and tormented by regrets and nostalgia than to share the agony with the one you love'; Gino (1912) 'Per i nostri bambini. Chippur. Bozzetto', *VI*, 60, 571–2, in which an old woman recalls how as a girl she understood that she must sacrifice her only love to God. As late as 1922, V. Frenkel's 'L'ebreo e la principessa. Novella' was published in *VI*, 70, 354–9: a mixed marriage for love is planned but called off when it is realized that 'a Jew must marry a Jewess'.
51. G. Foà (1912) 'Religione e amore. Novella', *VI*, 60, 184.
52. Foà, 'Religione e amore', pp. 184, 185.
53. Geremia Bonomelli (1831–1914) was a leading exponent of the conciliatory school of Catholicism, of liberal inspiration. See F. Traniello (1970) *Cattolicesimo conciliatorista. Religione e cul-*

tura nella tradizione rosminiana lombardo-piemontese (Milan: Marzorati).

54. See A. Cantoni (2005) 'Israele Italiano' in F. Barilli and M. Bianchi (eds) *Alberto Cantoni. L'umorismo nello specchio infranto* (Mantua: Il Cartiglio mantovano), p. 530. The young Jew emphasizes that the Dreyfus Affair has been of enormous importance in making him feel more insecure and eager to understand and defend his own particular identity.
55. This issue is discussed further in Chap. 5.
56. A. de Benedetti (1898) 'Incontro. Studio dal vero', *VI*, 46, 359–60.
57. N. Zeminsky (1883) 'La figlia del Rabbino. Racconto storico (Dalla Israelitische Wochenschrift)', *CI*, 22, 11–12, 190. The complete story appears in *CI*, 22, 11–12 (1883), 142–4; 22, 15–16, 190–2; 22, 17–18, 214–6; 22, 19–20, 239–40; 22, 21–22, 263–4; 22, 23–24, 284–6; 23, 1–2 (1884), 22–4; 23, 3–4, 47–8; 23, 7–8, 94–6; 23, 9–10, 118–20; 23, 11–12, 142–4; 23, 13–14, 165–7; 23, 15–16, 190–2.
58. Colonna, *Il giovane rabbino*, 409.
59. Lattes, *Il vaglio dei Torres*, 316–21.
60. E. Jonigh (1908) 'Cal Nidrè – Redenzione. Novella', *VI*, 56, 483–4.
61. On these kinds of description of women, see B. Dijkstra (1986) *Idols of Perversity. Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press), especially pp. 43–101; M. Praz (1999) *La carne, la morte e il diavolo nella letteratura romantica* (Florence: Sansoni), pp. 32–8 and 48–53.
62. Ephraim Moses Lilien, born 1874 in Galicia, arrived in Berlin in 1899. An *Art Nouveau* painter and illustrator, he died in 1925.
63. Said, *Orientalism*.
64. See the discussion in Chap. 5.
65. H. Fraenkel (1882) 'Un accattone. Costumi degli ebrei in Polonia', *VI*, 30, 77. In another story, the arrival in an apartment block of a family of Russian refugees disrupts the life of the protagonist, who is suddenly compelled to reconsider his Jewishness: B. A. Levi (1905) 'Scene della vita moderna israelitica', *VI*, 53, 192–5. On refugees, see also R. Vitale (1905) 'Libero!', *VI*, 53, 419–20; G. Lattes (1906) 'Il profugo russo', *VI*, 54, 219–22; A. Coen

(1906) 'Profugo', *VI*, 54, 480–6; F. Coen (1907) 'Scene drammatiche', *VI*, 55, 272–8.

66. E. Benamozegh (1863) *Le missioni di Terra Santa. Brevi Cenni* (Livorno: Tipografia La Minerva), pp. 18–19; F. Servi (1870) 'Le scuole d'Oriente e gli scolari d'Europa', *CI*, 9, 3, 40–1. On the phenomenon of the missionaries of the Holy Land, see M. B. Lehmann (2014) *Emissaries from the Holy Land: The Sephardic Diaspora and the Practice of Pan-Judaism in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
67. There was a very different denouement to Ippolito Nievo's play *Emanuele* (1852), in which the protagonists succeed in marrying, each retaining their own faith, despite the prohibition by Austrian law, by the nobleman Alberico and by the elderly Jew Giosuè. The work was dedicated to Emanuele Ottolenghi (1830–1889), brother of Giuseppe Ottolenghi, a general and later minister for war. See I. Nievo (2006) *Drammi giovanili. Emanuele. Gli ultimi anni di Galileo Galilei*, ed. M. Bertolotti (Venice: Marsilio), pp. 97–188. The interesting introduction by Bertolotti (pp. 9–80) mentions an unpublished story by the Catholic Giovanni Battista Intra from Mantua: 'Lia o la fanciulla ebrea' recounts a tragic tale of the love between Lia and the Christian Adolfo. This leads to the death of Lia's father and her betrothed Aronne, whereupon she drowns herself in Lake Garda immediately after her baptism by Adolfo.
68. This solution often appeared in stories published in the European Jewish press; it would be interesting to know whether it was put into practice in reality by couples of mixed religion.
69. 'Un matrimonio misto (Dalla Israelitische Wochenschrift)', *CI*, 21, 21–22 (1883), 263–6, 23–24, 285–8; 22, 1–2 (1883), 19–24; 22, 3–4, 47–8; 22, 5–6, 71–2; 22, 7–8, 94–6. See also L. Ottolenghi (1873) *Il matrimonio misto. Scene di famiglia* (Vercelli: Tipografia Guglielmoni); G. Lattes (1902) 'Fratello e sorella', *CI*, 41, 8, 187–90, in which Eugenia finds herself up against her husband Francesco who would like to bring his daughter up as Catholic; G. B. (1913) 'Nel secolo XX. Racconto', *VI*, 61, 80–5; G. Lattes (1915) 'Incontro alla sposa (Scene d'una commedia ebraica moderna)', *VI*, 63, 341–5.
70. M. Nordau (1901) *Il dottor Kohn*, translated by R. Curiel, *CI*, 39, 11, 263.
71. Nordau, *Il dottor Kohn*, *CI*, 40, 2 (1901), 46.

72. Nordau, *Il dottor Kohn*, *CI*, 40, 3 (1901), 69.
73. Nordau, *Il dottor Kohn*, *CI*, 40, 5 (1901), 117.
74. Nordau, *Il dottor Kohn*, *CI*, 40, 8 (1901), 192.
75. Riccardo (1899) 'Espiazione', *CI*, 38, 1, 23.
76. The word 'hasid' ('*hasìd*' in the original Italian text) is being used here in its meaning as 'a religious man'.
77. Colonna, *Il giovane rabbino*, 409.
78. P. Mantegazza (1868) *Elementi d'igiene*, 3rd ed. (Milan: Brigola), p. 436. On Mantegazza, a physiologist and public health specialist, see G. Armocida and G. S. Rigo (2007) 'Mantegazza, Paolo', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 69, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-mantegazza_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.
79. P. Mantegazza (1868) *Un giorno a Madera. Una pagina dell'igiene d'amore* (Milan: Brigola).
80. P. Mantegazza (1877) *Almanacco igienico popolare*, 10, 'Igiene del nido' (Milan: Brigola), p. 77.
81. L. Levy (1903) 'Un vecchio canto d'amore (Dall'Univers Israélite)', *CI*, 42, 2, 37.
82. L. Racah (1885) 'L'educazione religiosa della donna', *CI*, 24, 3, 3–6.
83. Colonna (born Genoa 1867, died Turin 1943), of the family of the Colonna and Finzi Jewish School of the Turin community, was a teacher, publicist and writer. His work was always signed 'E. D. Colonna'. I thank Marco Luzzati for helping to solve the mystery of his identity.
84. 'La morte di Enrico Castelnuovo', *SI*, 6, 5 (1915), 3; E. Castelnuovo (1908) *I Moncalvo* (Milan: Treves). On Castelnuovo, see B. Recchilongo (1978) 'Castelnuovo, Enrico', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 21, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/enrico-castelnuovo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/; A. Levi (1949) 'Enrico Castelnuovo, l'autore dei "Moncalvo"', *RMI*, 15, 8–9, 388–419 and 15, 10, 468–77.
85. Castelnuovo, *I Moncalvo*, p. 17.
86. Castelnuovo, *I Moncalvo*, p. 281.
87. D. Lattes (1909) '"I Moncalvo". Romanzo di Enrico Castelnuovo', *CI*, 47, 10, 293.

88. See S. Levis Sullam (2001) *Una comunità immaginata. Gli ebrei a Venezia (1900–1938)* (Milan: Unicopli), pp. 151–2. On Moncalvo see also the same volume, pp. 9–28.
89. 'Il primo romanzo della rinascita ebraica in lingua italiana', *SI*, 5, 43–44 (1914), 3.
90. E. D. Colonna (1915) *Israel* [in Hebrew characters] *(Israele). Piccolo romanzo moderno* (Milan: Libreria Editrice Milanese), p. 100.
91. Colonna, *Israel*, p. 204.
92. 'Il primo romanzo', 4.
93. On Yom Kippur (the day of expiation), complete fasting (from food and drink) is prescribed for 26 hours.
94. G. Racah (1906) 'Tristi effetti. Bozzetto', *VI*, 54, 549 and 551.
95. A. Coen (1911) 'La zia. Novella', *VI*, 59, 534. See by the same author *Mentre cade la neve. Novelle e leggende ebraiche* (Rome: ed. della 'Vita letteraria', 1907); *Il sogno* (Terni: Tip. A. Visconti, 1913).
96. See Praz, *La carne, la morte e il diavolo*, pp. 80–4; Dijkstra, *Idoli di perversità*, pp. 486–513; D. Pick (1988) '"Terrors of the Night": "Dracula" and "Degeneration" in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Critical Quarterly*, 30, 4, 71–87; J. Zanger (1991) 'A Sympathetic Vibration: Dracula and the Jews', *English Literature in Transition*, 34, 1, 33–44; S. Macfie (1991) '"They Suck Us Dry": A Study of Late Nineteenth-Century Projections of Vampiric Women' in P. Shaw and P. Stockwell (eds) *Subjectivity and Literature from the Romantics to the Present Day* (London: Pinter), pp. 58–67; K. L. Spencer (1992) 'Purity and Danger: "Dracula", the Urban Gothic, and the Late Victorian Degeneracy Crisis', *ELH: English Literary History*, 59, 1, 197–225; F. Jesi (2007) *L'accusa del sangue. La macchina mitologica antisemita*, (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri).
97. G. Lattes (1909) 'L'antisemita moderno', *VI*, 57, 271.
98. Lattes, 'L'antisemita moderno', 273–4.
99. Lattes, 'L'antisemita moderno', 274.
100. The Bible is full of exhortations to beware of foreign women, the symbol of idolatry and evil customs. See, from many examples, Proverbs 2: 16; 5: 20; 6: 20, 24; 7: 1–5.
101. Several examples are quoted and analysed by Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, esp. pp. 83–93.

102. The opera of the same name, by Camille Saint-Saëns and F. Lemaire, had its first performance in Weimar in 1877. Among many other works with oriental subjects by a range of composers we might mention *Nabucco* by Verdi, and works by Rossini such as *Semiramide*, *L'assedio di Corinto*, *Mosè in Egitto* and *L'italiana in Algeri*. On the function of references to biblical characters or heroes of Jewish antiquity, see Chap. 5.
103. On the subject of marriage brokering see B. P. F. Wanrooij (ed.) (2004) *La mediazione matrimoniale. Il terzo (in)comodo in Europa tra Otto e Novecento* (Fiesole–Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura), and in particular the contribution by T. Catalan, 'Mediazioni matrimoniali nell'ebraismo triestino nel corso dell'Ottocento', pp. 127–56.
104. *VI*, 63 (1915), 166–7.
105. 'Il III Convegno giovanile. Il significato e il valore del III Convegno', report by E. S. Artom, 'L'assimilazione', *CI*, 5, 9 (1914), 7. See also 'Una lettera intorno ai matrimoni misti', *SI*, 5, 15 (1914), 2–3; 'Comitato delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane', *SI*, 5, 52 (1914), 3.
106. 'Un problema che si impone', *SI*, 6, 5 (1915), 1.
107. 'Il referendum sul matrimonio misto', *SI*, 6, 5 (1915), 5.
108. 'Il referendum sul matrimonio misto', 5.
109. 'Il referendum sul matrimonio misto', *SI*, 6, 10 (1915), 2.
110. The wish to create social spaces where young Jewish people could meet and perhaps find a companion was long lived and still persists. In his memoirs the engineer Davide Jona, the brother-in-law of Vittorio Foa by marriage to his sister, who died in 1970, eloquently described the atmosphere of these circles: 'the encounters, mostly dance parties, were respectable and sedate. The Jewish mothers of Turin regarded them with approval: they provided an opportunity for their daughters to get to know eligible young bachelors. My mother, who had a more than average number of male children, and therefore potential husbands, was also happy for them to have the chance to meet Jewish girls' (D. Jona and A. Foa (1997) *Noi due* (Bologna: Il Mulino), p. 161). See the chapter 'Fermenti culturali ed esperienze organizzative della gioventù ebraica italiana (1911–1925)' in M. Toscano (2003) *Ebraismo e antisemitismo in Italia. Dal 1848 alla guerra dei sei giorni* (Milan: Franco Angeli), esp. pp. 73–89.

111. E. Bachi (1915), *SI*, 6, 8, 4.
112. See 'Il nostro questionario', *Israel*, 1, 25 (1916), 2; see also 1, 18 (1916), 1; 1, 19 (1916), 4.
113. M. Beilinson (1918) 'Fra due estremi', *Israel*, 3, 40, 1.
114. On Italy see S. Soldani (ed.) (1989) *L'educazione delle donne. Scuole e modelli di vita femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento* (Milan: Franco Angeli); S. Soldani and G. Turi (eds) (1993) *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, 2 vols (Bologna: Il Mulino); I. Porciani (ed.) (1987) *Le donne a scuola. L'educazione femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento. Mostra documentaria e fotografica* (Florence: Il Sedicesimo).
115. For an analysis of the link between the thinking on Jewish schools and the issue of regeneration, see C. Ferrara degli Uberti (2006) 'La nazione ebrea di Livorno nella prima metà dell'Ottocento. Istruzione popolare e studi universitari tra rigenerazione ed integrazione', *Annali di storia dell'educazione*, 13, 243–60. On the Jewish press and female education see M. Miniati (2008) *Le emancipate. Le donne ebree in Italia nel XIX e XX secolo* (Rome: Viella).
116. On the role of women in the preservation of Jewishness and the simultaneous promotion of national integration, see M. A. Kaplan (1991) *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press). A more general account is given by P. Hyman (1997) *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press).
117. G. Lattes (1910) 'Le due vedove', *VI*, 58, 218. The complete story appears in pages 216–20, 258–62, and 309–12.
118. Lattes, 'Le due vedove', 260.
119. Lattes, 'Le due vedove', 312.
120. See G. Lattes (1892) *Educazione e civiltà israelitica* (Livorno: Belforte), esp. pp. 55–7; G. Lattes (1922) *Memorie d'un Insegnante* (Asti: Tipografia Editrice Segre), pp. 35–6. Note that the Jewish schools were mainly for poor children, as better-off families had been sending their children to state schools as soon as this had become possible. In the period preceding emancipation many rich families had in fact already chosen to educate their children with a private teacher or in private schools. The situation began to change in response to Giovanni Gentile's reform of education and altered

again in 1938 when the racial laws forced Jewish communities to give more resources to their schools in order to receive all the children. See A. Minerbi (1998) *Tra nazionalizzazione e persecuzione. La scuola ebraica in Italia, 1930–1943*, *Contemporanea*, 4, 703–30.

121. B. Levi A. (1900) 'A proposito dell'iniziazione religiosa delle fanciulle israelite', *VI*, 48, 377. Bettina Levi sometimes signed herself B. Levi A. and sometimes B. A. Levi, where 'A.' stood for Allara, her husband's surname.
122. See L. Scaraffia (1994) '"Il cristianesimo l'ha fatta libera, collocandola nella famiglia accanto all'uomo" (dal 1850 alla "mulieris dignitatem")' in L. Scaraffia and G. Zarri (eds) *Donne e fede: santità e vita religiosa in Italia* (Rome–Bari: Laterza); M. Werner (1976) *Alone of All Her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Vintage).
123. C. Franceschi Ferrucci (1847) *Della educazione morale della donna italiana* (Turin: Pomba), p. 1.
124. L. Ravenna (1858) 'La donna in Israello', *EI*, 6, 292–9. See Franceschi Ferrucci, *Della educazione morale*, pp. 172–3.
125. Ravenna, *La donna in Israello*; E. Pontremoli (1869) 'La famiglia. Consigli a mia figlia', *EI*, 17, 74–8; D. S. Calabi (1863) 'La professione di fede delle fanciulle israelite di Verona', *EI*, 11, 171; R. L. (1879) 'L'emancipazione della donna. Considerazioni d'una donna', *VI*, 27, 373–4; G. Cammeo (1884) 'Influenza della donna sulla educazione religiosa della famiglia', *VI*, 32, 75–7; 'La donna ebrea' (1898) *CI*, 37, 7, 148; G. Lattes (1899) 'Una israelita esemplare', *VI*, 47, 47–50; D. Camerini (1905) 'La famiglia', *CI*, 44, 2, 35–7; C. Fano (1908) 'Femminismo!', *VI*, 56, 586–7; G. Lattes (1913) 'Pia (Profilo dal vero)', *VI*, 61, 701; Soldatino d'Italia (1918) 'Profilo di donna. Bozzetto dal vero', *VI*, 66, 108–10. On the subject of women in Judaism more in general and the central role of the mother in education, see from *L'Educatore* L. Della Torre (1857) 'Nuovi studi sulla donna israelita', *EI*, 5, 129–36; G. Levi (1864) 'La donna nella Bibbia e nel Talmud', *EI*, 12, 136–43; G. Levi 'L'origine della donna', *EI*, 12, 195–202; G. Levi (1864) 'L'anima della donna', *EI*, 12, 319–28; G. Levi (1865) 'L'importanza sociale della donna', *EI*, 13, 33–7; G. Levi 'Antropologia, scimia, ebreo e donna', *EI*, 20, 291–5. From *Il Corriere*, see C. De Rothschild (1871) 'La donna ebrea', *CI*, 10,

11–12, 160–1; L. Racah (1885) 'L'educazione religiosa della donna', *CI*, 24, 3, 34–6; G. Cammeo (1902) 'Un rimedio efficace', *CI*, 40, 10, 229–30; R. Morpurgo (1909) 'La condizione della donna nel Diritto Mosaico', *CI*, 48, 5, 81–4; 48, 6, 102–5; 48, 7, 121–5; 48, 8, 145–7; 48, 9 (1910), 167–9; 48, 10, 185–7 and 213–5; Emme (1911) 'La donna nell'ebraismo', *CI*, 50, 1, 15–17. From *La Settimana*, see H. P. Chajes (1910) 'La donna nel Talmud', 1, 4, 1. *Israel* also returned to this topic: see G. Manasse (1917) 'Nazionalismo ebraico e educazione materna', *Israel*, 2, 26. For further references see Miniati, *Le emancipate*.

126. S. Colombo (1907) 'Femminismo. In occasione della maggiorità religiosa delle fanciulle il 6 Sivan 5667', *VI*, 55, 332–3. On Samuele Colombo see A. S. Toaff (1973) 'Cinquant'anni dalla scomparsa di Samuele Colombo. La vita e il magistero rabbinico di Samuele Colombo', *RMI*, 39, 9, 483–90. See also F. S. [F. Servi] (1895) 'La donna israelita nella società', *VI*, 43, 353–4, and 44 (1896), 6–7 and 106–7. The role of women was also the subject of rabbinical sermons and studies published independently: see for example L. Della Torre (1870) *La donna di virtù nell'ultimo dei Proverbi* (Verona); L. Della Torre (1864) *Nuovi studi sulla donna israelita* (Padua); L. Della Torre (1846) *La donna israelita* (Padua); L. Della Torre *Les mères de la Bible*, in AI (these writings are collected in L. Della Torre (1908) *Scritti sparsi*, vol. 1 (Padua: R. Stab. P. Prosperino), pp. 421–91); B. Mossè (1881) *Histoire des femmes de l'antiquité judaïque* (Avignon); S. Momigliano, 'La donna', sermon preached in the Synagogue of Alexandria on the day of Sivanhod, 9 June 1886; F. Mayer (1896) *La femme juive à travers l'histoire* (Valenciennes); U. Passigli (1899) *La donna ebrea* (Trieste); S. Colombo (1904) *Lettere di Clementina De Rothschild a un'amica cristiana* (Livorno: Belforte); E. Weill (1907) *La femme juive. Sa condition légale d'après la Bible et le Talmud* (Paris: Durlacher). Most of these texts were printed in *Il Vessillo*, which paid great attention to writings in French on Jewish issues.
127. See Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, esp. pp. 244–318; Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, pp. 1–22 and 90–113.
128. The reference, not indicated in the text, is to the passage in Numbers 30, which includes the rules regarding vows.
129. D. Camerini (1914) 'La donna nella Bibbia', *VI*, 62, 475.

130. See especially U. Passigli (1898) 'La donna ebrea', *CI*, 37, 4, 77–9 and 37, 10, 226.
131. J. Katz (1931) *Attaining Jewish Manhood* (New York: Bloch).
132. E. Boghen Conigliani (1899) 'Iniziazione religiosa delle fanciulle', *VI*, 47, 185.
133. Boghen Conigliani, 'Iniziazione religiosa delle fanciulle', 186.
134. This is the ornamental cabinet containing the *sefarim*, the Torah scrolls, placed at the east in every synagogue.
135. With regard to France, where the ceremony was gradually introduced in all the communities between 1844 and 1850, see J. R. Berkowitz (2004) *Rites and Passages: The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Culture in France, 1650–1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 224–5.
136. A. M. (1899) 'Della maggiorità religiosa', *VI*, 47, 120–2.
137. A. Zammatto (1899) 'Sulla cerimonia della maggiorità religiosa delle fanciulle', *VI*, 47, 221–2.
138. Calabi, 'La professione di fede', 171.
139. L. Sanguinetti (1914) 'Corrispondenza da Bologna', *VI*, 62, 309.
140. See, for example, from *Il Vessillo Israelitico*: Zammatto, 'Sulla cerimonia della maggiorità religiosa delle fanciulle'; D. C. (1899) 'La cerimonia della Maggiorità Religiosa delle fanciulle a Milano', *VI*, 47, 270–271; 'La maggiorità religiosa delle fanciulle', *VI*, 48 (1900), 197–9; 'La festa della maggiorità religiosa delle fanciulle in Casale', *VI*, 53 (1905), 251–4; S. Colombo (1906) 'Parole pronunciate nel Tempio Maggiore di Livorno il 6 Sivàn 5666, primo della Pentecoste, per la celebrazione della Maggiorità religiosa delle fanciulle', *VI*, 54, 325–8; S. Colombo, 'Femminismo', 330–3; 'La cerimonia della maggiorità religiosa delle fanciulle', *VI*, 56 (1908), 298–303; R. M .I. Levi (1914) 'Per la maggiorità religiosa delle giovanette (Discorso pronunciato nel sacro tempio di Mantova)', *VI*, 62, 394–7. From *Il Corriere Israelitico*, see: 'Venezia, 25 giugno 1900. Iniziazione religiosa delle fanciulle', *CI*, 39, 2 (1900), 39; 'Per la confermazione religiosa delle fanciulle. Discorso tenuto il 5 giugno dal Dr. S. Colombo', *CI*, 49, 2 (1910), 27–8.
141. A. Coen (1906) 'Il Purim di un Professore', *CI*, 45, 4, 119–20. See also Ascer (1908) 'Il circolo … matrimoniale', *VI*, 56, 581–3.
142. A. Passivich (1906) 'Donna antica e donna nuova. Scene di domani', *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 57, 2, 321.

CHAPTER 3

Boundary Lines: The Body in Religion and Science

> All agree with the idea that we are going through a profound religious crisis, which manifests itself in three elements: the conflict between religion and science, currently in an acute phase and therefore of the most concern, antagonism between the different religions, and the difficulties of change within each religion. […] essentially this is one and the same crisis, which is nothing other than the struggle between faith and reason. […] Are we perhaps about to see Jewish monotheism in its three forms—Jewish, Christian and Muslim—reduced to impotence and swept off the face of the earth, as happened to polytheism nineteen centuries ago? And, if this were to come about, what would replace it? Rationalism, perhaps?[1]
>
> (Elia Benamozegh)

> So powerful is the influence of Religion upon every mind, so difficult is it to break loose from the habit of belonging to some church directly or indirectly, that even the atheists, who are trying to substitute for the ancient faith a new ideal more in accordance with our view of the universe, are so wanting in courage that they retain for their new conceptions founded upon reason the title of Religion, which is so connected with the follies of the human race.[2]
>
> (Max Nordau)

Elia Benamozegh and Max Nordau had little in common in terms of age, background and interests, but as the new century approached they both stated that one of the crucial problems for the society and culture of their epoch was the crisis of traditional religions when faced with science and

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modernity. While Benamozegh pursued an approach that identified Judaism as the future universal religion of humanity, Nordau noted the progressive shift in the dimension of the sacred away from traditional religious faiths, in particular Christianity and Judaism, towards new 'rational concepts'. Both emphasized the persistent attraction that people felt for religion and its hermeneutic powers, which could give meaning to life by inviting individuals to go beyond themselves. In the course of the nineteenth century, positivism had put forward a rigorously scientific and rational conception of the natural and human world, although this did not mean that it was immune from dogma. At the turn of the 1890s, 'regressive evolution, the fatal hostility of the races, and the inevitable decadence of civilized peoples' became the 'common references' of a European culture that was increasingly subject to currents of irrationalism and mysticism and prone to interpret reality through the sanctification of particular categories such as class, race and nation: the movement was towards the construction of new 'political religions'.[3]

3.1 'My Covenant in Your Flesh Is to Be an Everlasting Covenant'

'Such shall be the covenant between Me and you and your offspring to follow which you shall keep: every male among you shall be circumcised. [...] [E]very male among you shall be circumcised at the age of eight days'. (Genesis 17: 10, 12)

[…] [W]e do not wish to break the covenant that our parents made with Italy and which is endorsed in the Constitution. […] But we ask: should the respect that we owe to the covenant of loyalty made by our fathers to the country's institutions, and the sincere devotion to the august Head of State that we, because we are Jews, should feel […] prevent us from observing the covenant with our original fatherland and with our forefather Abraham, the head of our line of descent, from whom we draw life and thought, heart and mind, and the solidarity of race that has never seen us divided because it is inherent to our flesh and blood?

How many in Italy have forgotten this covenant?

I am not now venturing to ask the leaders of the [Jewish] communities for statistics on the uncircumcised, and particularly on those who were only circumcised when the family and the witness were free from all other concerns and work. […] The cause is not always aversion to the covenant, but sometimes a simple concern arising from paternal love. 'Ultimately', say

> the doubters, 'it is an operation, which although minor could have serious consequences'. [...] Thus in some communities, including my own, in fact especially in my own, circumcisions no longer happen on the eighth day according to the covenant, but after a month, or two, or six … […].[4] Meanwhile, complications arise; the child falls ill […], sometimes, unfortunately, he dies, and then we quibble as to whether we can circumcise the dead, at least up to thirteen years of age.[5] […] If [uncircumcised] children survive, then they begin to think that they may have to contract mixed marriages. And thus little by little the distinguishing mark of the Jews disappears. […]
>
> Use the statistics to show that circumcisions (even when not performed by doctors) never had serious consequences, and tell the doctors, especially if Jewish, that they should not be so indulgent in following the wishes of midwives, parents and godparents.[6]

'Le circoncisioni' ('Circumcisions') was the title of this article of December 1914 published in *Il Vessillo* by Anselmo Colombo, an assiduous contributor to this periodical and its deputy editor for some years, who was sympathetic to Zionism as a movement for the revival of Jewish culture and religious practice.[7] The community in question was Rome, one of the most important in Italy in terms of both numbers and symbolism, which had very specific socio-economic features and a particular history.[8] By the end of 1914 the Great War was already under way, although Italy was not yet directly involved. Reiterating the validity and sanctity of the covenant of 'loyalty […] to the country's institutions', Colombo criticized the scant consideration given by Roman Jews to that other, more ancient covenant 'from which we draw heart and mind, and the solidarity of race that has never seen us divided', and whose strength derived from its inherence 'to our flesh and blood'. The relationship with the Italian fatherland seemed, to Colombo, to be characterized by a rational and voluntary adherence, further confirmed by legal endorsement, despite the fact that on other occasions he had been dubious about a voluntaristic interpretation of the idea of a nation: he had been certain that 'to establish the bond of nationality will alone is not sufficient, unity of race and common customs, knowledge, history and traditions must also contribute'.[9] In the search for lines of demarcation that would protect Jewish identity from the risk of disappearance, while still ensuring membership of Italian society, culture and the nation, the mark left by circumcision could not be ignored. The invisible boundary,[10] which had replaced the fence erected by Talmudic

Judaism and medieval tradition to protect the law,[11] inevitably passed through this mark on the body and its interpretations.

Various problems are raised by addressing the religious themes and linking these to an analysis of the dynamics of identity over time. There may be profound differences between the meaning ascribed to ritual by tradition, and the value it assumes in a given era for the community, the family or the individual, who often do not have the education that would permit a thorough understanding of the different levels on which the polysemous ritual symbolism operates. In addition, there is the problem of collecting data and identifying sources that can provide us with a more concrete and quantifiable picture of religious practice, going beyond the complaints of rabbis about apathy and indifference. Finally, we need to analyse the image projected onto these rituals from outside by the anti-Jewish tradition and by intellectuals, including Jews, who had little inclination to make a positive assessment of correct practice and ritual observance, as well as by the more modern currents of scientism that we have already discussed.

As regards Italy, most of the historiography to date has neglected issues of religion and ritual, relegating them to the margin. Progressive secularization and the decline of religious practices, characteristic of the nineteenth century as a whole, can be invoked in order to justify this approach; however, some consideration of how Jews and non-Jews represented the rituals specific to Judaism is essential if we want to complete an analysis of the level and manner of this minority's social and cultural integration.[12]

The duty of circumcision first appears in Genesis 17: 10–13.[13] The injunction is closely connected to the birth of the Jewish people and the promise of a land, that 'original fatherland' mentioned by Colombo in his article: it provides the beginning of a grand national narrative which finds a further and definitive endorsement in the story of Exodus and culminates in the granting of the Ten Commandments to Moses. Circumcision foreshadows the establishment of the people to the extent that only after this test has been passed can the couple Abraham and Sarah become fertile and give birth to Isaac (Genesis 17: 15–21).

The exclusively masculine nature of the covenant appears clear: women are structurally excluded, and there is no equivalence in the female context,[14] although the importance of the mother in determining descent is suggested in the same story in Genesis: Isaac and Ishmael are both circumcised by their father Abraham, but only Isaac, son of Sarah, can be his legitimate successor. The mark on his body performs the function of confirming his identity and distinguishing him from the wider population

and contributes to creating a sense of community, friendship and solidarity among all those who believe in the uniqueness of God. In Maimonides (1138–1204) there is a clear distinction between the covenant of Abraham, which sanctions a monotheistic faith and also includes Muslims, and the covenant of Moses, which marks the birth of the Jewish people through their acceptance of the Ten Commandments and the spoken law revealed by God on Mount Sinai.[15] In the catechism compiled by Giuseppe Levi and published in 1867, the *milah* (the Hebrew word for circumcision) is described as 'the rite that best links us with the Israelite nation and with God': a moment of consecration and a physical link to 'our brothers in faith'.[16]

Tradition has emphasized the redemptive and protective power of circumcision, which cannot be directly deduced from the biblical text; in the rabbinical writings of the High Middle Ages the practice acquired sacrificial connotations, and a near-magical value was ascribed to the blood shed during the procedure.[17] In particular, this blood has been seen as similar to the blood of the Passover sacrifice that spared the Jews, enabling their liberation, on that terrible night when the angel of death killed the first-born children of the Egyptians;[18] this directly links the mystical and symbolic dimension to what we would call, in modern terms, a national and patriotic narrative. Male blood was thought to have a purifying function, like that of animals offered in sacrifice for the expiation of sins, in contrast to female blood, from menstruation and childbirth, which was thought to carry impurity; circumcision is thus also connected to the concept of purification.[19] Western culture has been strongly influenced by the tradition that awards an expiatory and redemptive value to male blood willingly shed, like that of Christ; much more recently, this has been expressed in depictions of wartime heroism and sacrifice.[20]

The Torah gives no instructions on how circumcision should be practised, except that it must be not later than eight days after birth. The various phases and the symbolism of the rite were developed in the period after the Babylonian exile, in the context of anti-Christian polemics and the struggle against assimilation into Hellenistic culture. After the teaching of St Paul, especially his Epistle to the Galatians, circumcision came to signify Jewish particularism and materialism; this image was to re-emerge in modern anti-Semitism.[21] The procedure consisted of the complete surgical removal of the prepuce, followed by the *metzitzah* in which the circumciser applied oral suction to remove blood from the baby's wound.[22] Analogous to Christian baptism as a rite of passage,[23] and also associated

with baptism on the sacramental level by the mystical and cabbalistic tradition that goes back to the thirteenth-century *Zohar*,[24] circumcision leaves an indelible mark: it physically distinguishes the male Jew from the non-Jew and, as a result, is fertile territory for development of the most diverse, and often fantastical, legends and representations. In the medieval imaginary, for example, circumcision and its bloodshed were associated with depictions of ritual murders; the practice of the *metzitzah*, with the image of a man bent over a baby sucking its blood, only gave further strength to this sinister legend.[25] The most celebrated accusation of ritual murder of the modern era is the Damascus Affair of 1840, which erupted after the disappearance of a Catholic monk.[26]

On a methodological level, one issue is especially problematic: the degree of consciousness of the ritual's actors and spectators in the context of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Western Europe. For most Jews, the circumcision of male children was a simple formality, though its non-observance would have been interpreted as an expression of the wish to leave Judaism. This analysis is supported by an article of 1887 by Salvatore Momigliano, the rabbi of Alessandria, in which he laments the lack of awareness and understanding of the rite: 'some have the act performed like a mere surgical operation, without imbuing it with its essential religious nature, which intensifies its significance'.[27]

3.2 The Uncircumcised

In the course of the nineteenth century, the rabbis and leaders of Jewish communities found themselves facing particular problems that were not in themselves new but that clearly had new importance and implications in a time of emancipation and integration. 'Assimilation', secularization and mixed marriages would result, they feared, in the birth of children with ambiguous status. For the most part these children were illegitimate from a religious point of view, as they were born within civil marriages or out of wedlock altogether.[28] While officials and rabbis could do nothing as regards those children whose parents were completely unconcerned by the matter and distanced themselves from the communities, they had to address a series of religious and, in the wider sense, political issues in relation to requests for membership by uncircumcised males. Such requests might involve the child of a Jewish mother and a Christian father who was happy to see his son belong to a Jewish community but not to be circumcised, or the child of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother who were

requesting his recognition as Jewish; they could also, however, involve children whose parents were both Jewish but for the most diverse reasons had chosen not to comply with the *milah* regulation.

What strategies should be adopted with these *arelim* (the uncircumcised), and how would their presence affect the dynamics of the integration and secularization that were under way? This question raised the issue of the sometimes difficult coexistence between the rabbinate and officials of the Jewish communities, and of the relationship between between these figures and the public authorities: to decide who should be regarded as Jewish also implied deciding who could belong to the communities. At the time, enrolment was often compulsory and the only way to leave the Jewish community and not pay the related charges was to reject Judaism and convert, typically to Catholicism.[29] This debate was unfolding at a point when the issue of citizenship and the criteria for official and national belonging were at the heart of intellectual and political discussion across much of Europe.

Issues of belonging particularly exercised the Germanic world, which contained a much larger number of Jews and from the eighteenth century, if not earlier, had seen a Jewish culture that was more lively and varied than that in Italy.[30] In Germany, discussions and debates on the topics of circumcision and Jewish ritual slaughter proceeded in tandem; these started in the 1840s, experienced phases of intensity in the periods 1843–1845 and 1869–1871 and markedly intensified during the 1890s when the practices became the target of anti-Semitic attacks of a racist nature that denounced the deviant nature of Jewish sexuality, the stereotype of the bloodthirsty Jew and the alleged cruelty inherent in the method of ritual slaughter.[31]

In February 1843 an enquiry began in Frankfurt into deaths that had followed circumcisions, and five months later a manifesto opposing the rite, signed by the Verein der Reformfreunde (Association of the Friends of Reform), was made public: circumcision was declared to be a relic of the covenant of Abraham and entirely irrelevant to modern Jews. Weapons were being sharpened for the battle, still under way today, between theorists of reform and defenders of orthodoxy.[32] The issues facing the Western European Jewish elite related to what constituted Jewishness and had important implications in legal terms. In Germany, registration of people as members of a Jewish community was dealt with until 1876 by government officials, who based this solely on the criterion of matrilineal transmission of Jewishness: an interference that was not always welcomed by the rabbinate and Jewish community officers. From that year onwards

it was possible to leave these religious communities, with the result that the problem, in all its complexity, was in the hands of the Jews themselves. The war over circumcision raged.[33]

It is hardly surprising that one of the first Italian reactions to events in Frankfurt came from Samuel David Luzzatto, the rabbi who was seen as the Italian spokesman of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism').[34] ShaDaL, the acronym by which he is still known,[35] was appealed to personally by his Frankfurt colleague Solomon Abraham Trier, who sent him and 79 other European rabbis a report on the events and a request for their opinion. In 1844 Trier published 28 of their responses, including that of Luzzatto, in a volume entitled *Rabbinische Gutachten über die Beschneidung* (Rabbinical Opinions on Circumcision).[36]

Luzzatto argued that circumcision was an essential element of the strict covenant between God and Moses and therefore could not be ignored: 'from the time when Israel was established as a nation, indeed even when Israel was no more than a union of families, circumcision was always the distinction between Israelites and non-Israelites'.[37] In his view the Talmudim and the *Shulchan Aruch* did not provide precise instructions on how to deal with a father who refused to circumcise his son, or with the son himself, but his own ideas on this were very clear.[38] The father had to be shunned, barred from religious services and treated as if a foreigner; if he did not repent before dying, he must be treated like a criminal.[39] As for the son, he had to be persuaded to undergo circumcision before reaching the age of 20. If he did not do this he had to be excluded from the community, unless he stated his willingness to obey all the precepts and to have his own sons circumcised.

> As regards marriage with an uncircumcised man, it is clear that we cannot give our daughters to someone who refuses to be circumcised; it is permitted, however, to give the daughter of an uncircumcised Israelite in marriage to our sons. But we must exercise caution in the situation where she has had to recognize the beliefs of her father; even though the husband can sometimes bring his wife back, the consequences will still always remain uncertain.[40]

In his letter reporting events, Trier had also asked his colleagues if they believed that the state should intervene to compel reluctant Jews to have themselves circumcised, but most of the respondents expressed opposition to this interference.

The issue was a very delicate one. Despite the connection acknowledged between circumcision, purity and closeness to God, and the severity of Genesis 17: 14, which stated that 'the uncircumcised male [...] will be cast out from his people', Talmudic and post-Talmudic legal tradition had decreed the dominance of the matrilineal principle, by which the uncircumcised male born to a Jewish mother remains Jewish and may contract a marriage with a Jewish woman that is valid in religious terms. As well as the specifically religious problems, which necessitated long and erudite discussions on interpretation of the legal sources, issues of expediency also had to be considered. In the context of the continuing struggle against assimilation and religious apathy, excessive rigidity shown by rabbis was viewed by many as dangerous because it might definitively alienate those with doubts, especially the young.

Rabbi Alessandro Zammatto attacked this approach in a pamphlet in which he expounded his position on the 'Judaization of those born to a non-Jewish mother', taking his cue from a case presented to the rabbinical council of Padua in 1884. Eude Lolli, Giuseppe Basevi and Zammatto himself were faced with a complex issue. A Jew of Padua had had two children with a Christian woman. The first child had received no form of religious initiation, but on the birth of the second the parents decided to enrol both of them in the Jewish community. However, they asked that only the younger child be circumcised and for the older to be admitted without undergoing the ritual of the *milah*. The request was accepted after a discussion involving not only the three Paduan rabbis but also a number of Italian colleagues, including Marco Mortara and Isacco Pardo, and foreign colleagues, including Adolf Jellineck and Zadoc Kahn, who had been asked for their opinion. Zammatto argued in his report that religious questions were too often resolved by the logic of the 'lesser evil', abandoning 'any positive guidance, and basing the calculation only on expediency, convenience and good sense', whereas laws such as that regarding circumcision demanded greater strictness. In particular, a consistent approach was absent, and it was often the case that an individual rabbi took contradictory decisions: Lolli, for example, approved the enrolment of two Paduan children in 1884 but in 1903 rejected an uncircumcised child's enrolment in the community of Mantua.[41]

Fearing that excessive strictness might accelerate the loss of individuals and families from the communities, Leone Racah, in an article published in 1899, proposed the use of 'persuasion' and an emphasis on religious instruction rather than exclusion. Moreover, he stressed 'the scant prestige

still retained by the rabbinate', and the growing gap between the facade of orthodoxy officially espoused by all the Italian communities and an increasingly lax observance of the laws, effectively endorsed by the rabbis' leniency.[42] This situation provides another example of the problems created by the absence of any legislative uniformity and of a coordinating body for the rabbis and community officials. The Jewish press was called upon to at least partially fill this gap by performing the role of a public forum, permitting the exchange of opinions and, hopefully, some coordination between rabbis and community leaders.

Isacco Raffaele Tedeschi wrote from Ancona that the uncircumcised, even if enrolled in a community and expected to observe its laws, should be seen as unsuitable for the performance of some religious roles such as the ritual butcher or circumciser, should not lead public prayer and should not testify before a rabbinical court; they could not celebrate religious initiation, or approach the *Sefer*.[43] In addition, he suggested that communities and rabbis should seek to 'dissuade anyone of noble and Jewish sentiment from promising their daughter in marriage' to an uncircumcised Jew.[44]

Not least because of the lack of sources, we cannot know the extent to which these ideas were shared or how they were implemented in practice. Some years later, in 1904, the rabbi Giuseppe Sonino of Naples returned to the problem of marriage, highlighting the lack of consistent opinions within the rabbinate and reporting a degree of reluctance to publicly address the issue, which was only raised 'privately, among Rabbis', as it was held to be too delicate to be aired in the press and even too uncomfortable to be properly recorded in community records.[45] The most intransigent argued that in no case could an uncircumcised man be permitted to marry a Jewish woman, drawing support for this argument by citing Genesis 34: 1–31, a passage that was more accessible to a public with limited education than references to the Talmud and the Mishnah. It tells of the reaction of Jacob's sons to the rape of their sister Dinah by the Canaanite Shechem who 'took her and lay with her by force', but then, 'being strongly drawn to Dinah daughter of Jacob, and in love with the maiden, he spoke to the maiden tenderly. So Shechem said to his father Hamor, "Get me this girl as a wife"' (2–4). Hamor did more, offering Jacob's sons an alliance sealed by an exchange of women, but their response was that they would only agree if Hamor and all his men were circumcised, because to give a sister to an uncircumcised man 'is a disgrace among us'. Hamor and Shechem had themselves and all the country's men circumcised, but while their wounds

were still healing the sons of Jacob attacked and killed them, sacked their city and carried off their women, children and animals. Dinah is not mentioned again: she has no importance in the scheme of the Covenant.[46] This bloody episode underlines the connection between circumcision, sacrifice and purity and also evokes ideas that can be related across time to the nineteenth-century 'honour of the nation', finding actual concrete expression in the defence of women. As Shaye Cohen has commented, this story, removed from its context, 'seems to understand circumcision not in terms of covenant but in terms of a tribal mark, an ethnic habit'.[47]

Given that marriage between an uncircumcised Jew and a Jewish woman was to be regarded as inadvisable and damaging but was still religiously valid, Sonino raised another difficulty, generated by the sometimes conflictual relationship between Jewish law and state legislation:

> Let me be clear: if the marriage cannot happen without the Rabbi's involvement, for example in countries where only religious marriage is valid, the Rabbi absolutely *should not*, in my modest opinion, agree to this, since it is in his power to dismiss such a union, other than in exceptional cases where marriage is indispensable. But in our country, where civil marriage operates, or rather is as legally valid as religious marriage, how can this be avoided? How could we ensure that the person who has no concerns about marrying an uncircumcised man does not do this, if the marriage is not celebrated religiously by the Rabbi?[48]

The option of contracting civil marriage in effect reduced the rabbis' power and engendered the fear that any excessive intransigence might only serve to alienate increasing numbers from religious observance and encourage mixed marriages.[49] In this context the rabbinate was increasingly compelled to take on the difficult role of mediating between the sacred and the secular, a customary responsibility of the Christian priest but alien to Jewish tradition.[50]

In 1911 there was a fresh flurry of opinions in the press on the enrolment of uncircumcised people in the communities, with contributions from Mantua, Modena, Venice and Vercelli all reporting an increase in this phenomenon. The rabbi of Mantua, Isaia Levi, was the only person to offer a specific figure, stating that in his community there had been 'for many years [...] at least eighteen families who have not practised and do not practise circumcision of their sons'.[51] On the basis of the opinions previously expressed by Isacco Samuele Reggio and Marco Mortara, Levi put

these people on a list of 'suspended'.[52] The rabbi of Modena, Giuseppe Cammeo, argued in response that only uncircumcised children below the age of 13 could be considered 'suspended', after which, unless they conformed, they had to be excluded. On the question of marriage, he reiterated the negative opinion previously given by ShaDaL.[53]

The presence of a certain number of uncircumcised people, the sons of both exogamous and endogamous couples, was seen as a negative effect of emancipation, or rather of the assimilationist trend that had followed it in a large segment of Italian and Western European Judaism. The uncircumcised embodied the problems posed by secularization, integration and coexistence with a Christian majority society; with their inherently ambiguous status, they made it extremely urgent to reconsider traditional regulations and the meaning of Jewishness at that point in time.

3.3 Moses the Medical Hygienist

During the nineteenth century the European public was exposed to accounts of the travels of explorers, colonial administrators and scientists (anthropologists, ethnologists and naturalists), published either as stories or academic essays and often heralded by periodicals with a wide international circulation like the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* There was thus a growing familiarity, including at a popular level, with the idea of the existence of a diverse humanity living in cultural, mythical, symbolic and material worlds very different to that of the readership; a curiosity developed about these 'others', not disconnected from a strong sense of superiority. Among the many practices of African, American and Asian tribes and peoples who were seen as at or beyond the borders of civilization, male circumcision and female genital mutilation were widespread; disapproval of these practices as barbaric and inhuman was part of a more general judgement of backwardness and inferiority made regarding populations outside the white and Christian West.

Jewish circumcision was an unusual case, because it was performed on very small children and by a community living in the heart of the western world which for the most part had the same cultural perspectives and values. Male Jews were the only instance of a group with very debatable ethnic and racial characteristics that distinguished itself by an indelible sign made on the body; this peculiarity drew much attention, adding to other reasons for interest in the Jews, such as their extraordinary survival in the Diaspora and their supposed wealth, influence and intelligence. Scientific debate influenced the imaginary of both the lower classes and the intel-

lectuals and contributed to the codification of what could be considered 'normal', and therefore healthy or good, or 'abnormal', and therefore unhealthy and possibly harmful.[54] The practice of circumcision, analysed by anthropologists, ethnologists, doctors, psychiatrists, and exponents of the most disparate racial theories, was open to a particularly ambiguous and multi-layered understanding.

One field of study was medical hygiene. The development of medical science during the nineteenth century led to substantial improvements as regards personal hygiene and the treatment of infections.[55] Circumcision posed problems that the science of this period could identify and overcome without difficulty, such as sterilization of the instruments used for cutting the skin. The Jewish communities of Western Europe respected these advances and addressed the issues of training and overseeing the *mohalim* (circumcisers) and medicalization of the procedure itself. In some German communities proper sets of equipment were created that included antiseptics, sterile knives, alcohol and a glass tube for performing the *metzitzah* that avoided direct contact between the *mohel*'s mouth and the child's penis.[56] In France a decree of 1845 ordered the registration of all circumcisers and ritual butchers, who could only operate after receiving official authorization from the departmental consistory, closely supervised by the Israelite Central Consistory in Paris.[57] As regards the *metzitzah*, which could lead to herpes, hepatitis and syphilis, the practice was denounced not just by doctors but also by broad sectors of the Jewish world.[58] Although it was definitively abolished by the Central Consistory during the 1880s, in reality it proved hard to eliminate completely.[59] In Italy numerous rabbis had long recommended the abolition of both the *metzitzah* and washing the wound with wine, arguing that new medical knowledge had highlighted the pointlessness and potential danger of these customs which moreover were not deemed essential from a ritual point of view. As there was no central authority for Italian Judaism, there was never any binding official declaration.[60]

Little mention was made in the Jewish press of the incorrect performance of circumcision due to the minimal medical knowledge of the *mohalim*. In 1892 Flaminio Servi noted the news from Venice that a child had died ten days after circumcision, 'undoubtedly for another reason', and the *mohel* had been reported for the illegal practice of surgery. He was acquitted by the civil court with a judgement that in fact evaded the issue of the cause of the child's death, approving the non-involvement of the civil authority in matters of religious practice and comparing circumcision to Christian baptism: an analogy that might seem a sign of respect and

tolerance but which also obscured the differences in meaning between the two rites. The grounds for the judgement, much appreciated on the Jewish side, were as follows:

> Considering in this case that the procedure of circumcision is not the treatment of a sick person but is in fact a rite of the Jewish religion, held to be of great importance, as is baptism in the Catholic religion, and moreover a procedure accompanied by prayers, which will *also bring praise in the future* to whoever performs it.
>
> Considering that the circumciser cannot therefore be regarded as an illegal practitioner of surgery censured by the law on health, if in performing circumcision he might on occasion cause any harm, he will only be responsible for this under the laws of the Penal Code.[61]

I have found no other cases mentioned in the periodicals where *mohalim* were brought to trial, although there has been no specific research on this.

Medical interest in circumcision was not confined to health precautions. All sorts of opinions were aired on the practice's long-term effects on the sensitivity of the sexual organ and on resistance to some diseases. The procedure was often seen as a factor inhibiting sexual activity and especially masturbation, because the keratinization of the constantly exposed skin of the glans would reduce the possibility of experiencing pleasure, with a resultant decrease in desire. For nineteenth-century sex-phobic morality, which was inclined to pathologize sexuality and obsessed with fear of the 'solitary vice', this outcome was much to be appreciated.[62] On this point it was in total agreement with much of the medieval rabbinical tradition, led by the very important figure of Maimonides:

> this 'precept' serves not to correct a defect of nature, but to correct a moral defect, and the physical damage suffered by that member is its objective. With it […] the insane lust for coitus is weakened.[63]

In fin-de-siècle culture sex appeared as the source of almost all human behaviour. A good example is Guglielmo Ferrero's *L'Europa giovane* (*Young Europe*), published in 1898 and destined for remarkable success, which the author dedicated to Cesare Lombroso. To explain the differences between the 'Latin races' and 'Germanic races' in the fields of political and social organization, attitudes towards the arts and entrepreneurship in industry and trade, Ferrero stated that 'you will find that

the Englishman and the Norwegian are sexually less precocious, or more frigid, than the Frenchman or the Spaniard, and that in this organic difference lies the root of all, or almost all, the other differences in psyche between the two races'.[64] Moreover, it was already commonly accepted that sexual and reproductive activity were among the most costly in terms of physical and mental energy and therefore impinged on the development of other human abilities, including the intellectual and artistic. Paolo Mantegazza wrote in his *Elementi d'igiene* that men of 'great genius' are highly virile and therefore have strong sexual drives, but 'when they can be chaste […] they attain such heights as to make a whole nation amazed and proud of them. […] [W]hen I read a few pages lit up by genius I usually say: *it tastes like sperm and coffee*'.[65] The supposed intellectual inferiority of women was partly attributed to their reproductive role, on which all their energy was concentrated.

Part of the medical world of the period saw circumcision as a panacea for all ills, and in the Anglo-American world it was widely performed among non-Jews as well.[66] The health arguments put forward in favour of the practice were appreciated and taken up by the Jewish press, which frequently offered rational and positivistic interpretations of religious precepts. Circumcision was referred to alongside the laws on the sexual purity of couples, especially the prohibition of sexual relations with a woman during menstruation and the duty to wash one's hands on rising in the morning or before eating: instructions shown to be consistent with medical advice on caring for one's health and mental and physical well-being.[67] The dietary laws imposed by Leviticus were also attributed to health explanations, following an ancient line of interpretation which had already had an eminent exponent in Maimonides but which completely neglected the religious and social meaning of the concepts of purity and contamination in favour of finding a place for dialogue with modernity and non-Jews.

In how the regulations were presented, 'medical materialism'—a happy definition by Mary Douglas—was in fashion.[68] This was a general European trend, as can be seen in *La Settimana Israelitica*'s publicization in 1910 of the plan for an exhibition on 'Igiene ebraica' ('Jewish Hygiene') within the International Hygiene Exhibition that was to be held in Dresden in 1911. The organization of this Jewish section had been entrusted to the Austrian rabbi Max Grunwald. The article's conclusion was most emphatic:

> When the private life and the whole history of the Jewish people are known in their true worth, the world will then understand how much Jews have

> done and still do for health, as for everything; it will then be acknowledged that the thousands of children of Israel who now fight against diseases, in innumerable hospitals, in hushed laboratories and from university chairs, are continuing the work of the ancient rabbis and the Jewish doctors of old, and in their everyday working lives are perhaps fulfilling the religious ideal formulated for the people of the Old Testament as for all the peoples of the earth: the ideal of the harmony of man's body with man's spirit, in something that is more than human.[69]

The Jewish press particularly emphasized the positive opinions expressed by non-Jewish publicists and doctors, who were above suspicions of partiality. Regarding the studies of Claude-François Lallemand and Paul Claparède,[70] both French, Rabbi Giuseppe Lattes declared himself filled by 'a very great and real heartfelt joy' because 'the progress of science confirms and illustrates a religious precept [circumcision]' and emphasized that 'divine law aims […] towards the best development of the physical health of its followers'.[71] The pamphlet 'Della circoncisione sotto il punto di vista profilattico e terapeutico per il Dr Tomès' ('On Circumcision from the Prophylactic and Therapeutic Perspective According to Dr Tomès'—the pseudonym used by a Florentine Jewish doctor), published in 1895, was much praised and recommended, in particular by *Il Corriere*, in order to counter prejudices that were also common among Jews: circumcision, it said, would cure the 'disease of Onan', as well as sterility, cancer, nervous diseases, epilepsy, tuberculosis and so on.[72]

One person who devoted much time to studies of this kind was Ugo Passigli, in publications that brought his medical and historical interests together with apologetics.[73] An emblematic article by him, dedicated to 'the purity of the Jews', appeared in *Il Vessillo* in 1898: in this he explicitly put forward a rationalistic correspondence between the concepts of purity and hygiene. Passigli also intended to defend the Jewish laws against charges of carnality and materialism and to highlight their spirituality, thus avoiding the dualism of body and spirit apparent in Pauline Christianity:

> If one compares the laws of the Jews with those of the Egyptians and of other peoples, one is struck by the fact that Moses greatly simplified the practices of purification, eliminating everything that was based upon superstition and retaining only what could be truly useful for health and helpful to customs. However, the purity of the body had another aim of an infinitely higher order: it was the symbol of inner purity and had been placed by the lawgiver in a close relationship with the worship of Jehovah and with

> the health that this worship demanded. Judaism is thus a religion of the body and the soul. […] [T]he marvellous vitality that [Israel] enjoys must in large part be attributed to the cleanliness which was always more carefully observed by Jews than by Christians, whether rich or poor. […] [The Jew's] greatest concern, across twenty-five centuries, has been to keep himself pure: legal purity, bodily cleanliness, and purity of the soul. This thought pursues him from birth to death: from circumcision to the bathing of his corpse on the funeral slab. It accompanies him everywhere: in his food, in his dress, in his marriage bed … The pious Jew lives in perpetual terror of contaminating himself.[74]

A small volume of 1912, *Igiene e Cristianesimo*, also emphasized Judaism's lack of a dualistic conception of man and deplored the harm done to western civilization by Christian disregard for the bodily and material dimension. Its author Guilio Gozzoli argued that explanations for the resistance of the Jews to persecution should include their respect for strict health rules, which had ensured them 'a miraculous and astounding immunity'. This work included a preface by Alfredo Niceforo, one of the leading Italian criminologists and anthropologists of the school of Lombroso; it is not surprising that *Il Vessillo* thought it worthy of a lengthy review.[75]

Not everyone, however, was so conciliatory. Some important figures from Italy's scientific and literary establishment of the period spoke out against circumcision, the most respected of these being Paolo Mantegazza and Cesare Lombroso. Mantegazza, in particular, generated bitter controversy with his critical opinions. An initial dispute followed the publication of his *Almanacco igienico popolare* in 1877, devoted to 'l'igiene del nido' ('home health'). After attacking masturbation and extolling the energizing effects of chastity, the author appealed against circumcision, described as a 'brutal and savage mark' that brought the Jews close to 'inferior races'. With a wealth of quotations from Austrian and German medical publications, as well as from an enquiry undertaken by the New York health authorities, he dwelt on the perils of the procedure and especially the *metzitzah*, a potential cause of gangrene, syphilis and other diseases. His striking conclusion was addressed directly to women, who were seen as pivotal to preservation of the religious rites:

> O sweet daughters of Sarah, with your velvet eyes, your young lips and your alabaster skin, no longer let your sweet little babies have their smooth flesh and their rosy skin bloodied by the knife of a cruel man. O dear and volup-

> tuous sisters of Rebekah, raise high the banner of reform and your companions will bless you and bless again your baby girls, when they become women and understand the sweet mysteries of love. Your God cannot be so cruel as to punish your pity for the flesh and blood of your sons; once he had to launch thunderbolts from the summit of Sinai to punish peoples who were still rough and half wild, but today when civilization imposes its laws with kindness, and charity widely dispenses joys to both friends and enemies, even your God must smile on your reform and bless the thinking that will have inspired your hearts.[76]

While Jewish women are pictured in very ambiguous terms—exotic, sweet but voluptuous, and apparently ready to turn from loving mothers into bloodthirsty monsters—the circumciser is unmistakably a 'cruel man', who in an almost vampire-like manner bloodies the 'smooth flesh' of 'sweet little babies'. This crude image was intended to impress the readers and recall for them ancient and deep-rooted ideas, fears and stereotypes.[77]

The most famous episode, however, occurred in 1885 when Mantegazza published two articles, 'La questione antisemitica' ('The Anti-Semitic Issue') and 'La razza ebrea davanti alla scienza' ('The Jewish Race under Scientific Examination'), in *Fanfulla della Domenica* on 20 September and 27 September respectively. In the first, while harshly criticizing anti-Semitism, as he had done on other occasions, he pointed out the dangerousness of a race 'rich in […] money and knowledge', reported some 'odious defects' of the Jews, and found 'a great deal of truth' in the widely held idea that the Jews were 'lumps, growths and tumours scattered here and there to obstruct the free circulation of our feelings and our energies'.[78] At the end, he offered his solution:

> to blend these envied nabobs of Israel within each nationality, one single thing would suffice: namely, that the Israelites of each land should cease mutilating themselves and declaring themselves, from birth onwards, to be different from all the other men of Europe. While they still give themselves an indelible mark with blood and iron, this will remain a tyrannical barrier that separates them from all the other peoples, in the midst of whom they live, grow and prosper. Let each man have his temple, and pray to his God as he finds most fitting; […] but when men stand naked before each other, their garments of vanity and shame removed, may all find themselves equal under the sun that created them. An indelible mutilation is a mark of slavery, and when the slaves are bound in a sworn pact they are dangerous, and often invincible.[79]

In his second article Mantegazza reviewed studies by Renan, Blechmann, Neubauer and Jacobs on the Jewish race,[80] concluding that a pure Jewish race did not exist and hoping that there would soon be no reason for studying 'this human family separately',[81] as the Jews would become indistinguishable from other people.

These statements provoked a range of reactions, some in the press and others as pamphlets. Leone Carpi responded in *La Domenica del Fracassa* on 13 and 20 December.[82] *Fanfulla della Domenica* itself allowed Beniamino Soria his response, in the issues of October 4 and 11, with two articles in which he sought to disprove the claim that the Jews had no fatherland but did not mention circumcision, thus avoiding responding to the objections Mantegazza had raised.[83] In *Il Vessillo* the most articulate reply came from Salvatore Momigliano, who, acknowledging the presence of an 'anti-Semitic issue' in Europe, recalled:

> [...] the many battlefields bathed in our blood, the sacrifices of all kinds willingly made for love of our country of birth, and the responsibilities taken on for the evident welfare of all. The honoured names of a Massarani, a Luzzatto, a Maurogonato, a Malvano,[84] and a thousand others, whose patriotism no-one has ever doubted, show what sentiments animate the Israelites.[85]

Regarding Mantegazza's comments on circumcision, Momigliano also avoided the issue raised by the eminent physiologist, restricting himself to exalting its positive effects in terms of health and reporting positive statements by well-known Italian and foreign doctors.[86]

Mantegazza's hostility to circumcision was expressed on other occasions and in other writings. In *Gli amori degli uomini: Saggio di una etnologia dell'amore* (*The Loves of Men: Essay on an Ethnology of Love*), in the chapter 'Mutilazioni dei genitali', he stresses the ethnic and tribal significance of the mark made on the body:

> Before allowing a man to engage in intercourse, the woman had to establish with her eyes and hands whether he belonged to the circumcised or the uncircumcised, and there could be no excuse for mixing her blood with that of a foreigner. [...] Circumcision is a mark that distinguishes between races; it is a cruel mutilation of an organ that protects the glans, and of an organ of pleasure. It is a bloody protest against universal brotherhood, and although Christ was circumcised he protested on the cross against any mark that made men different from each other.

Addressing the Jews of his era, he concluded:

> Do not mutilate yourselves, do not give your flesh an odious mark that distinguishes you from other men: for as long as you do this, you cannot claim to be our equals. You yourselves with the blade, from the first days of life onwards, proclaim yourselves a race apart which neither wishes to nor can mix with ours.[87]

This was the crucial objection, which makes a strong connection with the issue of mixed marriages discussed in the previous chapter and highlights the problematic nature of integration from both the symbolic and the concrete point of view. It was not, however, accepted for discussion.

Reservations regarding many religious rites, including the *milah*, were also expressed by Cesare Lombroso. In *L'antisemitismo e le scienze moderne* (*Anti-Semitism and Modern Sciences*), for example, he describes circumcision as a 'savage custom […] that, as Spencer demonstrated, is a true symbolic element of human sacrifice', and later as a 'savage wounding'. He argued in forthright terms that this and other practices 'naturally give rise to ridicule and disgust' and that they should be abandoned.[88] The book was reviewed in the Jewish press with some hesitation, not just because of these judgements but also because Lombroso argued for complete assimilation as the way of defeating anti-Semitism.[89] However, Lombroso's research was generally well received in the Jewish press. The *Archivio di Psichiatria* was frequently praised in the 'Bollettino bibliografico' of *Il Vessillo* as a 'publication that does much honour to Italy',[90] and the presence of 'various distinguished Jews' among its contributors was noted with satisfaction.[91] On Lombroso's death, his Jewishness was asserted forcefully. Although nothing was known about his Jewish origins, *Il Corriere* wrote, 'this can be demonstrated simply by, as well as his precocious intelligence, so many other characteristics that belong to our race';[92] 'he was […] one of those figures that the genius of Israel gives to the world, and who leave behind a profound mark on civilization', echoed *Il Vessillo*.[93]

3.4 Performance Anxiety

While sexual continence was one of the virtues most appreciated by a prudish century, a true man nonetheless had to have emphatic sexual potency in terms of both libido and physical vigour. This was one of the many

contradictions that characterized the cultural construction of masculinity in the western world.[94]

This issue was discussed in 1897 by Isacco Segre, a doctor and lieutenant colonel in the military reserves, in *L'igiene nella Bibbia e nei libri Rabbinici* (*Hygiene in the Bible and the Rabbinical Books*).[95] After lavishly praising circumcision as a prophylactic practice, Segre raised the issue of the supposed reduction in sexual pleasure produced by circumcision and concluded that Moses, 'knowing his people to be somewhat lustful, as in fact are all the oriental peoples, wished with circumcision to avoid them having the vice of incontinence with all its disastrous consequences'.[96] A lower capacity for sexual enjoyment did not, however, mean reduced virility; Segre was keen to make this clear, with no lack of orientalizing stereotypes deployed to this end:

> We are usually led to believe that because of circumcision the woman experiences a reduction of erotic pleasure during intercourse. No woman that I know of has given their opinion on a problem so delicate, nor do I believe that one will decide to do so in the future, in order not to offend her modesty, which is the most splendid glory that adorns her countenance; but should it become the object of study, I have reason to suppose that the reply would be in the negative, and what leads me to this supposition is the fact that in the oriental peoples, who are for the most part circumcised, a greater development of the male member can be observed. This is due to circumcision, which by exposing the glans leaves the member free to develop and to acquire greater erectile energy.[97]

In this way Segre countered an ancient stereotype that portrayed the Jew as effeminate, weak and certainly not very 'male'.[98] The fact that moderation and control of his physical drives had for centuries constituted positive features of the virile figure, supported by both the Jewish and Christian traditions as a contrast to the supposed lasciviousness and incontinence of pagans, did not reduce the value attributed to physical vigour and the capacity of the true man to unleash, at the appropriate moment, his sexual potency, which should be capable of subjecting, satisfying and therefore controlling the woman. A collateral effect that had already been attributed to circumcision in the medieval controversies between Christians and Jews was a reduction in virility, with its psychological, spiritual and social as well as physical consequences.[99] 'For whoever has been possessed by an uncircumcised man, separation from him is hard,' the rabbinical tradition had

noted in its commentary on Genesis.[100] The circumcised Jewish male was seen as having female characteristics, including a particular vulnerability to forms of mental illness such as hysteria and various types of neurosis, and the inability to control emotions and achieve equilibrium, with the resultant perpetual movement between brilliance and corruption, or between revolution and capitalist accumulation.

As the result of the difficulty in setting boundaries around Jewish difference, this lent itself to many descriptions, some contradictory.[101] Naturally degenerate and physically weak, the Jews did not seem fit to undertake any work that required physical vigour, courage, the capacity to sacrifice oneself for others and a sense of honour and virtue: the military profession above all. As regards the sexual arena, the stereotype oscillated between images of impotence and unbridled lust, especially towards Christian women, with possible leanings towards homosexuality. This image had many similarities with the contemporaneous construction of fear of the 'negro'.

The idea that Jews were particularly prone to mental illnesses became a commonplace, and nobody thought to challenge its validity. Drawing on the thinking of Mantegazza, Charcot, Freud and Lombroso, among other well-known names, and on statistics put forward by Livio Livi,[102] many contributors to the Jewish press began with this assumption in their discussion of the need for a physical regeneration of the Jews as a complement to their moral regeneration. One of the first to highlight this issue was Flaminio Servi in his *Gli Israeliti d'Europa nella civiltà* of 1872.[103] In 1892 Guglielmo Lattes thought it 'undeniable that in Jews the nervous system prevails over the muscular system and for this reason they often experience mental and nervous disorders' and attributed this condition to the 'complete lack of muscular exercise in times of persecution'. In the memoirs he published in 1922, basing his ideas on his experience as director of the Rabbinical College and religious schools of the Jewish community of Livorno, Lattes also argued for the establishment of courses in Jewish schools especially for 'all the weak and deficient'.[104] Reflecting the essential ideas of the criminal anthropology of the Lombroso school[105] and applying them to one of the favourite issues of late eighteenth-century theories of regeneration,[106] Lattes envisaged a ghettoization within the Jewish minority that would control its weaker elements and improve the image of the community as a whole in the eyes of Italian society.

The longest and most detailed contribution published by the Jewish press on the psychiatric pathologies of the Jews came from Felice Momigliano, who speculated on 'the social causes of Semitic neurosis' (1896–1897).[107]

He set out to show that 'Semitic neurosis' could be ascribed to social rather than racial causes, given that it was impossible to imagine the existence of a Jewish race that had kept itself distinct during the Diaspora. Momigliano saw the marked propensity of the Jews for nervous disorders as stemming from the prohibition on owning land, their exclusion from military life and living in ghettos: restrictions that had forced them to dwell in cities, devoted to commercial activities, and far from work in the fields and physical activity. With Momigliano's tendency to generalize and his statement about the inheritability of acquired physical and mental characteristics, and with his references to atavism, the language of race that he had rejected in his opening pages nevertheless emerged in his writing too. He attracted a very critical comment from the editors of *Il Vessillo* for his mention of the ritualism of the Talmud as among the degenerations induced by the persecutions; to his great satisfaction, this was to be definitively overcome by emancipation.[108] Momigliano's lengthy article closed with a powerful invective against marriages to close relations and arranged marriages, which he believed had greatly contributed to the progressive degeneration of the race because the Jews were already carriers of harmful 'inherited predispositions'.[109]

Felice Momigliano was also one of many Italians to comment on Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character*, an essential point of reference for discussion of the analogies between the image of the Jew and representations of women.[110] Born in Vienna in 1880 to a Jewish family, and with homosexual tendencies, Weininger converted to Protestantism in 1902 and committed suicide on 4 October 1903, shortly after publishing this book.[111] It was extremely successful in Italy, not least because it fitted neatly alongside attacks on Benedetto Croce by many intellectuals, especially those aligned with *La Voce*. Weininger's perfect blend of misogyny and anti-Semitism, intertwining of gender and race, and claims to a scientific basis gained the approval of Lombroso and his school, as well as that of Mantegazza. The book was also greeted with appreciation and interest by some Jewish intellectuals, including Giulio Augusto Levi,[112] and was referred to by André Spire (*Quelques Juifs*, Paris: Mercure de France, 1913) in his reflection on the biographical and intellectual paths taken by figures as diverse as Otto Weininger, James Darmesteter and Israel Zangwill. Spire's book, in its turn, triggered a lively debate.[113]

In the Jewish press, *Il Vessillo Israelitico* reviewed the Italian translation of Weininger, describing his statements as 'eccentric'. It quoted a long passage that was not content to emphasize the degeneration of the Jew

and the close match between the Jewish male and women in their lack of logical thinking, their physical weakness, and their tendency to materialism, which echoed the old charge of carnality levelled at Judaism and also the more recent link made between Judaism and socialism;[114] it went further, saying that these characteristics resulted in a total lack of a sense of the state and the impossibility that Jews could be good citizens. In *Sex and Character*, a limited aptitude for abstract rational thought in fact makes the Jew incapable of grasping the concepts of 'state' and 'citizenship'. Once again, the solution proposed by the reviewer was to publish 'figures and statistical data' that would refute Weininger's position.[115] In the early twentieth century most Jews still believed that anti-Semitic stereotypes could be countered by exemplary conduct, the publication of statistics on the achievements of individual Jews, resulting in a kind of catalogue which would now seem tinged with racism, and rational argument, without any understanding of the fact that the actual behaviour of individual Jews could not affect the abstract 'Jew' of the collective imaginary.

An essential part of the strategies of regeneration implemented by the Jewish elites was the physical education of young people, a theme that became very important for the Zionist movement.[116] It is worth quoting at length from an article published in *La Settimana Israelitica* in 1910:

> The promotion of this physical education is not a duty that we only have to our race, which has been depleted by the tribulations of centuries of martyrdom, but a duty that we also owe to our country of Italy, to which we must offer citizens full of vigour and male beauty who are worthy of fighting glorious battles for it with indomitable energy, for the new civilization towards which it is travelling.
>
> This our land, which has demolished the fetid walls of ghettos everywhere and has led its Jewish citizens into the free light of its world of purity and clarity, is worthy of calling on its Jewish children to give it the best examples of that glorious race from which sprang the heroic Maccabees, and from which arose those even more glorious fighters who at the dawn of the Jewish centuries rebuilt the walls of the Holy City, clasping in one hand their deadly weapons against invaders and in the other wielding masonry tools and cornerstones.
>
> We must no longer be the poor, wretched, gaunt Jews of the Middle Ages, but strong, energetic, handsome Jews, overcoming all our nervous disorders, just as we overcome time, which gnaws at the roots of every stock.[117]

We are by now familiar with the inter-relationships between national and patriotic language relating to Italian citizenship and an ethnic and racial language intended to express Jewish difference and with reminders of the debt of gratitude contracted after emancipation. The very high level of integration of the Jewish minority is also clear; they were full participants in all the currents of thinking that permeated Italian and European culture at both the high and the popular level.

We have come to the end of that part of the book dedicated to the private sphere, which according to the dichotomy of identity formulated in the period of emancipation should have held within it a Jewishness played out in an exclusively religious sense. The themes discussed have shown how inapplicable this proposal was both on the theoretical, symbolic and discursive level and on the practical level: this incompatibility was heightened by the movement in European culture towards an increasingly rigid classification of the differences between people. In the second part, which is organized in a more linear chronological way, we will be examining aspects of the relationship of Jewish consciousness with the public sphere.

Notes

1. E. Benamozegh (1990) *Israele e l'umanità. Studio sul problema della religione universale* [first published 1914], foreword by M. Cunz (Genova: Marietti), pp. 11–13.
2. M. S. Nordau (1884) *The Conventional Lies of Our Civilization* (Chicago: Schick), p. 35. (first published in 1883 in German as *Die conventionellen Lügen der Kulturmenschheit*)
3. L. Mangoni (1985) *Una crisi fine secolo. La cultura italiana e la Francia fra Otto e Novecento* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 7–8. See E. Garin (1980) 'Il positivismo italiano alla fine del secolo XIX fra metodo e concezione del mondo', *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, Series V, 59, 1–4, 1–27; G. L. Mosse (1975) *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press); E. Gentile (2001) *Le religioni della politica: fra democrazie e totalitarismi* (Rome–Bari: Laterza).
4. Delays in baptisms of children were being discussed by Catholics in the same period.
5. See S. Gantzfried (2001) *Kitzùr Shulchàn Arùch* [1864] (Milan: Lamed), Ch. 163, pp. 877–8: 'If a child dies before being circum-

cised […] the *milah* must be performed before burial, in order to eliminate his shame, so that he is not buried with his prepuce, which is an element of dishonour for him'. For centuries Christians, especially Catholics, had been raising an analogous problem regarding children who died before receiving baptism: See A. Prosperi (2005) *Dare l'anima. Storia di un infanticidio* (Turin: Einaudi).

6. A. Colombo (1914) 'Le circoncisioni', *VI*, 62, 677–8.
7. Colombo was also vice-president of the Jewish Community of Rome, and in 1911, when the Committee of Italian Israelite Universities was set up, he became secretary under the presidency of Angelo Sereni. Zionism is discussed in Chap. 5.
8. See A. Berliner (1992) *Storia degli ebrei di Roma. Dall'antichità allo smantellamento del ghetto*, translated by A. Audisio (Milan: Rusconi) (originally published in 1893 in German); S. Caviglia (1996) *L'identità salvata. Gli ebrei di Roma tra fede e nazione, 1870–1938* (Rome–Bari: Laterza).
9. A. Colombo (1913) 'Ebraismo d'Oriente e d'Occidente', *VI*, 61, 666. This article was written in response to a piece by Felice Momigliano (1913) 'Sionismo occidentale', *VI*, 61, 633–5: 'The essential element of national sentiment is the will of free people who declare that they live together and that they accept the tradition of memories and hopes, undertaking to perform all the duties connected with this sentiment. The ideal unity of Italy is constituted by this common will, expressed by Catholics, Protestants, Jews and freethinkers alike, who accept the legacy of the past with the shared desire to pursue this into the future.'
10. This is taken from B. Armani (2006) *Il confine invisibile. L'élite ebraica di Firenze 1840–1914* (Milan: Franco Angeli).
11. See A. Steinsaltz (1976), *The Essential Talmud* (New York: Bantam).
12. See R. Judd (2007) *Contested Rituals: Circumcision, Kosher Butchering, and Jewish Political Life in Germany, 1843–1933* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), p. 10.
13. See also Genesis 17: 1–2: 'I am God Almighty; walk in My ways and be blameless. I will establish My covenant between Me and you, and I will make you exceedingly numerous'. The Hebrew word *tamim* is translated into Italian as 'integro' and English as 'blameless' and refers to Abraham's state after circumcision. In Genesis 15 there is an earlier version of the covenant between God

and Abraham, in which circumcision is not mentioned. This is sealed by the sacrifice of a heifer, a goat, a ram, a dove and a pigeon: Abraham cut the bodies in two and God passed between them. This procedure for ceremonially agreeing covenants is also mentioned in Jeremiah 34: 18–20.

14. See in particular S. J. D. Cohen (2005) *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised? Gender and Covenant in Judaism* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press); N. Jay (1992) *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
15. M. Maimonides (2003) *La guida dei perplessi*, edited by M. Zonta (Turin: UTET), pp. 728–9 (III, 49). The original text dates from the 1180s. See J. Stern (1993) 'Maimonides on the Covenant of Circumcision and the Unity of God' in M. A. Fishbane (ed.) *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History* (New York: SUNY Press), pp. 131–54; Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised?*, pp. 146–61.
16. G. Levi (1867) *Catechismo israelitico di religione e di morale ad uso dell'adolescenza* (Turin: Tip. Foa), p. 41.
17. To some extent circumcision replaced the human sacrifice forbidden by Judaism and recalled the daily sacrifice of animals that had survived until the destruction of the Temple, then replaced by the three prayer times that punctuate the day for observant Jews. See *Qohelet Rabbah. Midraš sul Libro dell'Ecclesiaste*, ed. P. Mancuso (Florence: La Giuntina, 2004), p. 165. The original text can be dated to the eighth or ninth century. On this see Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised?*, pp. 28–33.
18. See for example Ezekiel 16: 3–6, which in the Ashkenazi tradition is read during the ceremony, and Exodus 12: 43–50, in which the uncircumcised are forbidden to eat of the Passover sacrifice. See L. Glick (2005) *Marked in Your Flesh: Circumcision from Ancient Judea to Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 53; Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised?*, p. 29.
19. A link between circumcision and leaving the state of impurity can be found in Leviticus 12: 2–3; for the analogy with the sacrifice of animals, see Leviticus 22: 27. See Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised?*, pp. 202–6; D. Biale (2007) *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press), and the bibliography suggested in

these two volumes. On the concept of *niddah*, female impurity, see Busi, *Simboli del pensiero ebraico*, pp. 261–7. For a long time Christianity also retained fairly rigid rules on the impurity of women during menstruation and, above all, in childbirth, the woman being forbidden after delivery to enter the church and approach the sacraments: see O. Niccoli (1980) 'Menstruum quasi monstrum. Parti mostruosi e tabù mestruali nel '500', *Quaderni Storici*, 15, 44, 401–28; E. Betta (2006) *Animare la vita. Disciplina della nascita tra medicina e morale nell'Ottocento* (Bologna: Il Mulino); Prosperi, *Dare l'anima*. For an analysis of the concepts of purity and impurity in the Bible, see P. Sacchi (2007) *Sacro/profano impuro/puro nella Bibbia e dintorni* (Brescia: Morcelliana).

20. See A. M. Banti (2005) *L'onore della nazione. Identità sessuali e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII secolo alla Grande Guerra* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 157–69; see also the discussion in Chap. 5, below.
21. See L. Hoffman (1996) *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 111–26. For a comment on the Epistles of Paul from a Jewish point of view, see D. Boyarin (1994) *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press). For reflections on the parallels with baptism, see E. Baumgarten (2003) 'Circumcision and Baptism: The Development of a Jewish Ritual in Christian Europe' in E. Wyner Mark (ed.) *The Covenant of Circumcision: New Perspectives on an Ancient Jewish Rite* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press), pp. 114–27, and its bibliography. On the relationship between traditional and modern anti-Semitism see C. Brice and G. Miccoli (eds) (2003) *Les racines chrétiennes de l'antisémitisme politique* (*fin XIX^e^-XX^e^ siècle*) (Rome: École Française de Rome).
22. See *Shulchan Aruch, Yoreh Deah*, 264, 3. The *Shulchan Aruch* is a code of Jewish law edited by Rabbi Yoseph Caro in the sixteenth century. It was the only attempt to summarize the vast body of Jewish laws in summary and complete form after the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, and it remains a fundamental point of reference.
23. The essential reference is A. van Gennep (1960) *The Rites of Passage*, translated by M. B. Vizedomand and G. L. Caffee (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul) (first published in 1909 in French as *Les rites de passage*). See H. E. Goldberg (2003) *Jewish*

Passages: Cycles of Jewish Life (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press), pp. 28–76.

24. See Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised?*, pp. 30 and 43–5.
25. The evidence for this lies in numerous illustrations of the circumcision of Christ and of tortures undergone by the presumed child victims of ritual murder. See H. Abramson and C. Hannon, 'Depicting the Ambiguous Wound: Circumcision in Medieval Art', in Wyner Mark (ed.), *The Covenant of Circumcision*, pp. 98–113. The description given by Montaigne in his *Journal de voyage en Italie* is well known: he emphasized the 'bouche sanglante' ('bloody mouth') of the circumciser after the *metzitzah* (M. de Montaigne (1998) *Journal de voyage*, ed. by C. Pinganaud (Paris: Arléa), p. 116). For an analysis of the mechanism that fuelled survival of the myth, see F. Jesi (2007) *L'accusa del sangue. La macchina mitologica antisemita* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri); first published in 1992, this book was re-issued in response to the controversy aroused by the work by A. Toaff (2007) *Pasque di sangue. Ebrei d'Europa e omicidi rituali* (Bologna: Il Mulino); on this, see C. Facchini (ed.) (2007), *Omicidi rituali. Morte della storia?*, special issue of *Storicamente*, 3.
26. See J. Frankel (1997) *The Damascus Affair: 'Ritual Murder', Politics, and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Other famous episodes included the 'Tisza-Ezlar Affair' in 1883 and the 'Beilis Case' in 1913, which aroused public interest and drew the attention of the international Jewish press. On the Italian response, see T. Catalan, 'Le reazioni dell'ebraismo italiano all'antisemitismo europeo (1880–1914)', in Brice and Miccoli (eds), *Les racines chrétiennes*, pp. 137–62.
27. S. Momigliano (1887) 'Il rito della Circoncisione ed i circoncisori', *CI*, 25, 10, 229. Momigliano also wrote that 'neglect [of the rite] is today, alas, becoming more and more frequent' and deplored the scarcity of *mohalim* and the greed of the few available, who often charged high fees, discouraging families. See also D. Camerini (1905) 'La famiglia', *CI*, 44, 2, 37.
28. In such cases the most widespread practice seems to have been acceptance into the community. See X. (1879) 'Strana circoncisione', *VI*, 27, 44; 'Ah, benedetti matrimoni misti! Piccola rivista di varietà', *VI*, 27 (1879), 83; G. Lattes (1879) 'Dichiarazione', *VI*,

27, 120. See also I. Levi (1889) 'Che cosa intendesi per mamzer?', *VI*, 37, 331–2; A. Tedeschi (1889) 'Questioni rituali e casuistiche', *VI*, 37, 381; D. Camerini (1914) 'Circoncisione e bagno rituale', *VI*, 62, 393–4. See also, with reference to the Trieste and Austrian context, 'Importante giudicato', *CI*, 21, 23–24 (1883), 276–9. The topic is discussed in B. Di Porto (2002) 'Il "Vessillo Israelitico" tra Otto e Novecento', *Materia Giudaica*, 7, 2, 363.

29. The regulations governing Jewish communities differed greatly; see Chap. 4.
30. The bibliography on German Judaism is vast. For a political perspective, see in particular P. Pulzer (2003) *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press); for a cultural analysis, D. Sorkin (1987) *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); for detailed study of a local case, T. van Rahden (2008) *Jews and Other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau 1860–1925* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press). On the Organization of German Jews (Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens), see J. Reinharz (1975) *Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), pp. 37–89.
31. See R. Judd, 'Circumcision and Modern Jewish Life: A German Case Study, 1843–1914', in Wyner Mark (ed.), *The Covenant of Circumcision*, pp. 142–55; Judd, *Contested Rituals*. Ritual slaughter provides for cutting the animal's throat in order to ensure the maximum possible bleeding, since Jewish dietary law forbids eating blood. See Leviticus 17: 10–12; Deuteronomy 12: 21. The ritual bath for Jewish women was also criticized for health reasons: see T. Schlich (1995) 'Medicalization and Secularization: The Jewish Ritual Bath as a Problem of Hygiene (Germany 1820s-1840s)', *Social History of Medicine*, 8, 3, 423–42. With regard to Italy, the issue has been mentioned but not yet studied. See U. Passigli (1896) *Un'antica pagina di igiene alimentare* (Florence: Tipografia dell'Annunzio); 'La macellazione ebraica', *VI*, 46 (1898), 13–15; 'Si può proibire la macellazione col rito ebraico? Un odioso arbitrio dell'Amministrazione di San Remo', *VI*, 12 (1910), 540–3.
32. Studies on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German Judaism concentrate mainly on the importance of the *Haskalah*, as the

Jewish enlightenment was known, on the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, and on innovations and reforms, while those sectors that remained tied to a more traditional orthodox vision have been rather neglected. See the discussion by M. Breuer (1992) 'Introduction', *Modernity within Tradition: The Social History of Orthodox Jewry in Imperial Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press). On the reform see M. A. Meyer (1995) *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press); M. A. Meyer (2001) *Judaism within Modernity: Essays in Jewish History and Religion* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press).

33. See Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood*, pp. 118–21; Judd, *Contested Rituals*, pp. 21–57.
34. On Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–1865) see G. Luzzatto Voghera (2006) 'Luzzatto, Samuel David', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 66, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/samuel-david-luzzatto_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. The 'Science of Judaism' refers to a movement of critical historical and philological studies that was applied to the Bible and more generally to Hebrew tradition, which developed in the German-speaking world in the wake of the *Haskalah* or 'Jewish Enlightenment'.
35. Eminent rabbis are often known by an acronym of their name, for example, 'Rambam' for Maimonides, or 'RaMCHaL' for Moshe Chaim Luzzatto.
36. S. A. Trier (ed.) (1844) *Rabbinische Gutachten über die Beschneidung* (Frankfurt a.M.: Bach). The article by ShaDaL was reprinted in 1908 in *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, and in 1924 as an independent pamphlet (see note 36). For a full analysis of this text, see J. Katz (1998) 'The Struggle over Preserving the Rite of Circumcision in the First Part of the Nineteenth Century', in *Divine Law in Human Hands: Case Study in Halakhic Flexibility* (Jerusalem: Magnes), pp. 327–36.
37. S. D. Luzzatto (1924) *Sulla circoncisione* (Modena: Tipografia Aldo Cappelli), p. 5.
38. 'Talmudim', the plural of 'Talmud', refers to the two different versions of the commentary: the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud.
39. Luzzatto, *Sulla circoncisione*, p. 6.
40. Luzzatto, *Sulla circoncisione*, p. 8.

41. A. Zammatto (1907) *Della giudaizzazione dei nati da madre non ebrea* (Padua: Soc. Coop. Tipografica). On this see also Camerini, 'Circoncisione e bagno rituale', 393–4.
42. L. Racah (1889) 'Una domanda a proposito della Circoncisione', *CI*, 28, 3, 49–51; see also S. Momigliano (1889) 'Due parole di replica sulla Circoncisione', *CI*, 28, 5, 99–100.
43. A person goes up to the *Sefer* ('Book') when they approach the scroll of the hand-written Torah, to read part of the *parashah*. The Torah is divided into 54 sections (*parashot*) which are read week by week so that the entire Torah is read across one year. Only male Jews who have reached the age of 13 may approach the *Sefer*.
44. See 'Sopra un quesito religioso', *VI*, 46 (1898), 220.
45. G. Sonino (1904) 'Questioni rituali', *VI*, 52, 579.
46. For an interpretation of the figure of Dinah see C. Chalier (2002) *Le Matriarche. Sara, Rebecca, Rachele e Lea* (Florence: La Giuntina), pp. 236–7. The book was first published in French as *Les Matriarches. Sarah, Rébecca, Rachel e Léa* (Paris: Cerf, 1991).
47. Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised?*, p. 15. In Banti, *L'onore della nazione*, pp. 118–22, another particularly bloody episode of rape (Judges 19–21) is analysed through Jean-Jacques Rousseau's re-working of this in *Le Lévite d'Ephraim* (1762).
48. Sonino, 'Questioni rituali', 579–80. At the end of the article he makes it clear that these marriages should only be celebrated 'after devising all moral means possible to convince the spouse to be circumcised, and only *subject to a declaration signed by the couple, promising to have their children circumcised*'.
49. See the discussion in Chap. 4.
50. See G. Luzzatto Voghera (2008) 'I rabbini in età moderna e contemporanea' in D. Bidussa (ed.) *Ebraismo* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 532–56.
51. I. Levi (1911) 'Sulla circoncisione. Ai Rabbini d'Italia', *CI*, 49, 11, 210. The Jews of Mantua numbered 1,348 in 1901 and 669 in 1931. See S. Della Pergola (1993) 'Precursori, convergenti, emarginati: trasformazioni demografiche degli ebrei in Italia, 1870–1945', in *Italia Judaica. Gli ebrei nell'Italia unita*, conference proceedings (Siena, 12–16 June 1989) (Rome: Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali), p. 71.
52. This position was justified by reference to the fact that during the 40 years spent in the desert after the flight from Egypt the Jews

neither circumcised themselves nor their sons but were nevertheless still considered Jews. They had to circumcise themselves *en masse* in order to enter the Promised Land. See Joshua 5.

53. G. Cammeo (1911) 'Sulla circoncisione', *CI*, 50, 1, 10. See also the letters from Giacomo Maestro and Giuseppe Morpurgo of Venice on pp. 10–11 of the same issue of *Il Corriere*, and I. G. Cingoli (1911) 'La circoncisione', *CI*, 50, 3, 47.
54. On the definition of the 'abnormal', see above all M. Foucault, especially (2003) Abnormal*: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974–1975*, translated by Graham Burchell, edited by V. Marchetti and A. Salomoni (New York: Picador) (first published in French as *Les Anormaux. Cours au Collège de France, 1974–1975*, Paris: Seuil, 1999). Regarding the Jews see J. M. Efron (2001) *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
55. The discipline of Public Health enjoyed notable success, including at the level of popular dissemination. See C. Pogliano (1984) 'L'utopia igienistica (1870–1920)' in F. Della Peruta (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 7. Malattia e medicina* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 589–634.
56. See Judd, *Circumcision and Modern Jewish Life*, p. 253.
57. See P. C. Remondino (1891) *History of Circumcision from the Earliest Times to the Present: Moral and Physical Reasons for Its Performance* (Philadelphia: Davis), p. 157.
58. See J. Katz (1992) 'The Conflict over Metsitsah' in *Jewish Law in Conflict* (Jerusalem: Magnes), pp. 150–83. Controversy over this practice, which is still widely in use, has flared up again recently in the USA: see Judd, *Contested Rituals*, p. 1.
59. See M. Chebel (2006) *Histoire de la circoncision* (Paris: Perrin), p. 44; 'La mezizà: al giornalismo israelitico francese', *EI*, 18 (1870), 91; N. T. Klein (1870) 'De la succion dans la circoncision', *UI*, 25, 11, 333; *Nouvelles diverses*, *UI*, 25, 12 (1870), 378; Z. Kahn (1888) 'A proposito della circoncisione', *CI*, 27, 3, 63–4.
60. See G. Lattes (1867) 'Sulle modificazioni rituali', *EI*, 15, 101–3, 143–6, 197–9; also pp. 167–71. This article was part of the debate over the possibility of changing rituals in the absence of a central authority; see the discussion in Chap. 1. See also B. D. Coen (1864) *Considerazioni sulla circoncisione* (Modena: Tipografia di Andrea Rossi), pp. 23–8. Even the curriculum of rabbinical studies

had not been standardized. As regards training on the basic principles of anatomy needed for performing circumcision, the Rabbinical College of Padua had introduced specific courses in the 1838–1839 period and then again as from 1852. See M. Del Bianco Cotrozzi (1995) *Il collegio rabbinico di Padova. Un'istituzione religiosa dell'ebraismo sulla via dell'emancipazione* (Florence: Olschki), p. 159.

61. F. Servi (1892) 'Una sentenza importante', *VI*, 40, 350. See also 'Notiziario. Italia. Definizione della Circoncisione', *CI*, 31, 5 (1892), 111; 'Notiziario. Italia. A proposito della circoncisione', *CI*, 32, 6 (1893), 133–4.
62. See R. J. L. Darby (2003) 'The Masturbation Taboo and the Rise of Routine Male Circumcision: A Review of the Historiography', *Journal of Social History*, 36, 3, 737–57; R. J. L. Darby (2005) 'Pathologizing Male Sexuality: Lallemand, Spermatorrhea, and the Rise of Circumcision', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 60, 3, 283–319. On masturbation in general see T. Laqueur (2003) *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York: Zone).
63. Maimonides, *La guida dei perplessi*, p. 728. See Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised?*, esp. Ch. 6, 'The Reduction of Lust and the Unmanning of Men'.
64. G. Ferrero (1898) *L'Europa giovane. Studi e viaggi nei paesi del Nord* (Milan: Treves), pp. 124–5. The book sparked reactions in the Jewish press regarding the chapter 'La lotta di due razze e di due ideali. L'antisemitismo' ('The conflict of two races and two ideals. Antisemitism'), in which Ferrero discussed Jewish 'pessimism' and 'pride'. See F. Momigliano (1897) 'Migliorismo o pessimismo ebraico?', *VI*, 45, 303 (previously published in *Critica sociale*); P. Padoa (1905) 'Ottimismo o Pessimismo. Risposta a un questionario', *VI*, 53, 279–83. See also 'Opinioni di non ebrei sul Sionismo. Che pensa Guglielmo Ferrero', *CI*, 44, 9 (1906), 293–4.
65. P. Mantegazza (1868) *Elementi d'igiene*, 3rd ed. (Milan: Brigola), p. 385.
66. See Glick, *Marked in Your Flesh*, pp. 179–214. (and its bibliography for the American case) and R. Darby (2005) *A Surgical Temptation: The Demonization of the Foreskin and the Rise of Circumcision in Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
67. See M. B. Hart (2007) *The Healthy Jew: The Symbiosis of Judaism and Modern Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

68. M. Douglas (1966) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), pp. 31–2; M. Douglas (1999) *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, Ch. 6, 'In Praise of Jewish Ritual: Modern Medicine and the Defence of Ancient Traditions', pp. 186–233.
69. *Gli Ebrei e l'igiene*, *SI*, 1, 11 (1910).
70. C.-F. Lallemand, doctor at Montpellier, had published *Des pertes séminales involontaires*, 3 vols (Paris: Béchet, 1836–1842); P. Claparède (1861) *La circoncision, son importance dans la Famille et dans l'Etat* (Paris: n.p.). See also M. Cahen (1816) *Dissertation sur la Circoncision, sous les rapports religieux, hygieniques, et pathologiques* (Paris: n.p.).
71. G. Lattes (1878) 'Della circoncisione', *CI*, 17, 11–12, 183–5. See also 'Notizie varie. La circoncisione', *CI*, 21, 15–16 (1822), 187, which reports the favourable opinion on circumcision of a Dr. Castellani, 'Christian doctor'; Levi, 'Sulla circoncisione'.
72. See *Della circoncisione sotto il punto di vista profilattico e terapeutico per il Dr Tomès* (Florence: n.p., 1895); 'La Circoncisione. A proposito di un opuscolo pubblicato di recente', *CI*, 34, 4 (1895), 81–3; 'La circoncisione', *CI*, 34, 5 (1895), 102–5; 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 43 (1895), 230.
73. See for example U. Passigli (1896) *Un'antica pagina di igiene alimentare* (Florence: Tip. dell'Annunzio); U. Passigli (1898) *Un po' di igiene del passato. La nettezza del corpo e delle vestimenta presso gli Ebrei* (Forlì: Tip. democratica); U. Passigli (1898) *L'allattamento. Saggio di Pediatria biblica* (Bologna: Tip. Gamberini e Parmeggiani); U. Passigli (1898) *Le cognizioni ostetrico-ginecologiche degli antichi ebrei* (Bologna: Tip. Gamberini e Parmeggiani); U. Passigli (1898) *Dermosifilopatia biblica. Le malattie veneree presso gli ebrei* (Milan: P. Tamborini); U. Passigli (1898) *Le levatrici e l'arte ostetrica nei tempi biblici. Reminiscenze di ostetricia archeologica* (Bologna: Tip. Gamberini e Parmeggiani); U. Passigli (1899) *La prostituzione e le psicopatie sessuali presso gli ebrei dell'epoca biblica* (Milan: P. Tamborini); U. Passigli (1899) *La vita sessuale presso gli ebrei* (Bologna: tip. Azzoguidi).
74. U. Passigli (1898) 'La purità degli ebrei', *VI*, 46, 297. On Passigli, see 'Rassegna bibliografica. Alcuni opuscoli del Dr. Ugo Passigli di Firenze', *CI*, 37, 7 (1898), 157; 'Rassegna bibliografica. La vita

sessuale presso gli Ebrei', *CI*, 38, 7 (1899), 157–9. See also items in the 'Bollettino bibliografico' ('bibliographical list') of *Il Vessillo Israelitico*: 44 (1896), 165–7 and 312–4; 46 (1898), 196–8, 314–6, 341–3 and 422–3; 47 (1899), 58–60, 137–9 and 343–5.

75. G. Gozzoli (1913) 'Igiene e Cristianesimo – con prefazione di Alfredo Niceforo, 1912', in 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 61, 11–13.
76. P. Mantegazza (1877) *Almanacco igienico popolare*, 12, *Igiene del nido* (Milan: Brigola), pp. 50–1.
77. Marco Mortara replied to this attack in 'Della circoncisione (con allegata lettera del dott. A. Monselise)', *VI*, 25 (1877), 1–6. For an account of this controversy see M. Toscano (2003) 'L'uguaglianza senza diversità: Stato, società e questione ebraica nell'Italia liberale', in *Ebraismo e antisemitismo in Italia. Dal 1848 alla guerra dei sei giorni* (Milan: Franco Angeli), pp. 29–33.
78. P. Mantegazza (1885) 'La questione antisemitica' in *Due articoli e quattro lettere comparse nel 'Fanfulla della Domenica'*, editor not known (Rome: Stabilimento Tipografico dell'Opinione), p. 7.
79. Mantegazza, 'La questione antisemitica', pp. 7–8.
80. Mantegazza was referring to B. Blechmann (1882) *Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie der Juden* (Dorpat: Wilhelm Just); E. Renan (1883) *Le Judaïsme comme race et comme réligion* (Paris: C. Lévy); A. Neubauer (2008 [1885]) *Notes on the Race-Types of the Jews* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger); J. Jacobs (1885) 'On the Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.
81. Mantegazza, 'La razza ebrea davanti alla scienza', p. 16.
82. The two articles were later published together in L. Carpi (1886) *La schiatta ebrea davanti all'umanità* (Rome: Tip. Nazionale).
83. See B. Soria (1885) 'La razza ebrea davanti alla storia' and 'La vicenda dei popoli' in *Due articoli e quattro lettere*, pp. 17–22 and 23–9.
84. Tullo Massarani (1826–1905) was a writer, patriot and senator; Riccardo Luzzatto (1842–1923) fought with Garibaldi and was a lawyer and parliamentary deputy; Isacco Pesaro Maurogonato (1817–1892) was a jurist, patriot and deputy; Giacomo Malvano (1841–1922) was a diplomat and senator.
85. S. Momigliano (1885) 'L'antisemitismo?', *VI*, 33, 310.
86. These included F. Castelain (1882) *La circoncision est-elle utile?* (Paris: Coccoz). On Mantegazza see also M. A. (1879) 'I climi e gli

ebrei', *VI*, 27, 9–10; 'Varietà. Di una polemica', *VI*, 33 (1885), 334; R. L. (1885), 'A Paolo Mantegazza. Lettera di una donna', *VI*, 33, 351–3; F. Servi (1887) 'Gli Ebrei dell'India e il Dr. Mantegazza', *VI*, 35, 173–6. See also L. Racah (1885) 'Fatti e parole', *CI*, 24, 6, 129–31.

87. P. Mantegazza (1886) *Gli amori degli uomini. Saggio di una etnologia dell'amore*, vol. I, (Milan: n.p.), pp. 167–8.
88. C. Lombroso (1894) *L'antisemitismo e le scienze moderne* (Turin: Roux), pp. 14 and 107. Echoing Lombroso, the Catholic publicist Giuseppe Panonzi (Ponzian) criticized circumcision as a barbaric relic of human sacrifice in his anti-Semitic pamphlet *L'ebreo attraverso i secoli e nelle questioni sociali dell'età moderna* (Treviso: Tip. Mandler, 1898), p. 417. Arrigo Lattes, in his *Fantasie di un antisemita. Confutazione all'ebreo del Dott. Giuseppe Panonzi* (Livorno: Belforte, 1898), answered Panonzi's accusations of lack of patriotism but did not mention circumcision. See also 'Rassegna bibliografica. Fantasie d'un antisemita', *CI*, 37, 5 (1898), 131. On Cesare Lombroso, see G. Lombroso Ferrero (1921) *Cesare Lombroso: storia della vita e delle opere* (Bologna: Zanichelli); N. A. Harrowitz (1994) *Antisemitism, Misogyny and the Logic of Cultural Difference: Cesare Lombroso and Matilde Serao* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press); D. Frigessi (2003) *Cesare Lombroso* (Turin: Einaudi); E. D'Antonio (2001) 'Aspetti della rigenerazione ebraica e del sionismo in Cesare Lombroso', *Società e Storia*, 92, 283–309.
89. See Lombroso, *L'antisemitismo e le scienze moderne*. For reactions in the Jewish press, see 'Notiziario. Italia. Lombroso e l'antisemitismo', *CI*, 32, 2 (1893), 39; 'Dagli amici mi guardi Iddio …', *CI*, 32, 9 (1894), 200–2; 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 32 (1894), 63–4; 'Nel mondo israelitico', *CI*, 35, 10 (1897), 226–7.
90. 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 28 (1880), 232–4.
91. 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 28 (1880), 323–5; see also C. Lombroso (1881) 'Influenza della razza sul genio e la pazzia', *VI*, 29, 301–2, accompanied by an editorial eulogy.
92. E. Guastalla (1909) 'La morte di Cesare Lombroso', *CI*, 48, 6.
93. *Cesare Lombroso*, VI, 57 (1909), 505.
94. Studies on masculinity have made notable progress in the Anglo-Saxon world but have had limited attention in Italy. For an inter-

pretation in the long term, see C. E. Forth (2008) *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan). For a review of the historiography on this topic see V. Fiorino (2006) 'Una storia di genere maschile: riflessioni su un approccio storiografico', *Contemporanea*, 2, 381–90. For a wider approach, see A. De Biasio (2010) 'Studiare il maschile', *Allegoria*, 61, 2.

95. I. Segre (1897) *L'igiene nella Bibbia e nei libri Rabbinici* (Turin: Tipografia Foa e Sacerdote), p. 21. The book was reviewed by *Il Corriere*: Crl. (Curiel) (1897) 'L'igiene nella Bibbia e nei libri rabbinici', *CI*, 36, 8, 171–4.
96. Segre, *L'igiene nella Bibbia e nei libri Rabbinici*, p. 28.
97. Segre, *L'igiene nella Bibbia e nei libri Rabbinici*, pp. 28–9.
98. See S. L. Gilman (1991) *The Jew's Body* (New York and London: Routledge), pp. 60–103; S. L. Gilman (1993) *Freud, Race and Gender* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), esp. pp. 49–92; G. L. Mosse (1985) *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), pp. 133–152; D. Boyarin (1997) *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press), esp. pp. 151–220; Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, pp. 151–85.
99. For resemblances between stereotypes of the Jew and the intellectual, both considered wanting in virility, see C. E. Forth (2004) *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 67–102. See also R. Nye (1993) *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).
100. See *Genesis Rabbah*, 80, cited in Maimonides, *La guida dei perplessi*, p. 728.
101. The real feature of describing Jewish difference seems to have been their potential to fluctuate between opposite extremes, as lucidly observed by I. Wechsler (1925) 'The Psychology of Anti-Semitism', *Menorah Journal*, 11, April. See D. Itzkovitz (1997) 'Secret Temples' in J. Boyarin and D. Boyarin (eds) *Jews and Other Differences: The New Jewish Cultural Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), pp. 176–202.
102. The book by L. Livi (1918) *Gli ebrei alla luce della statistica – Caratteristiche antropologiche e patologiche ed individualità etnica*

(Florence: Libreria della Voce) received generally positive reviews; the section dealing with the 'unhealthiness of Jews as compared with Christians' was considered interesting, and the author's objectivity was commended. See 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 67 (1919), 157–63. In the same year an unsigned review appeared in *Israel* that was very appreciative of the comments on the 'anthropological character of the Jews' and their 'pathological features, as well as of the statistics provided that gave 'some valuable and optimistic indications for the future of the Jewish race'. See 'Fra Libri e Riviste', *Israel*, 4, 12–13 (1919). On Livi see R. Maiocchi (1999) *Scienza italiana e razzismo fascista* (Florence: La Nuova Italia), pp. 116–23 and 300–2. A good consideration of the implications of demographic and statistical studies is in A. Treves (2001) *Le nascite e la politica nell'Italia del Novecento* (Milan: LED), esp. pp. 275–349.

103. F. Servi (1872) *Gli Israeliti d'Europa nella civiltà. Memorie storiche, biografiche e statistiche dal 1789 al 1870* (Turin: Tipografia e litografia Foa), esp. pp. 290–1. See also F. Servi (1881) 'La pazzia degli Ebrei … in Italia e fuori', *VI*, 29, 104–6, in which the author refers explicitly to Lombroso's research.
104. G. Lattes (1922) *Memorie d'un insegnante* (Asti: Tipografia Editrice Segre), p. 81.
105. See M. Gibson (2002) *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology* (Westport, CT: Praeger).
106. See G. Luzzatto Voghera (1998) *Il prezzo dell'eguaglianza. Il dibattito sull'emancipazione degli ebrei in Italia (1781–1848)* (Milan: Franco Angeli) and its bibliography.
107. F. Momigliano (1896) 'Le cause sociali del nervosismo semitico', *VI*, 44, 44–6, 110–1, 149–51, 187–90, 222–4, 369–71, 407–9, and 45 (1897), 7–9.
108. Momigliano was a unique figure who was not at all hostile to potential change in worship and the prayer books and supported a 'Jewish modernism' that was destined to fail, at least in Italy. See A. Cavaglion (1988) *Felice Momigliano (1866–1924). Una biografia* (Bologna: Il Mulino).
109. Momigliano, 'Le cause sociali del nervosismo semitico', 408.
110. See F. Momigliano (1914) 'Tre israeliti', *La Voce*, 6, 6; 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 62 (1914), 270–1; O. Weininger (1903) *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Vienna: Braumüller) [published in

English in 1906 as *Sex and Character* (London: Heinemann), and in Italian in 1912 as *Sesso e carattere*, translated by G. Fenoglio (Turin: Bocca)]. On the reception of Weininger in Italy, see A. Cavaglion (1982) *Otto Weininger in Italia* (Rome: Carocci).

111. The manner in which Weininger staged his suicide is highly significant: he shot himself with a pistol in the very room that had seen the death of Beethoven, an eminently German artist and a symbol of that Germanic spirit into which Weininger, still a Jew despite his conversion to Protestantism, had made every effort to blend. See S. L. Gilman (1986) *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), esp. pp. 244–8.
112. G. A. Levi (1910) 'Ottone Weininger', *La Voce*, 1, 9. It is interesting to note that in 1926 Levi converted to Catholicism.
113. See Momigliano, 'Tre israeliti'; 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 62 (1914), 270–1: 'André Spire presents us here with three figures typical of the restless and enigmatic Jewish psyche. Underneath their different tendencies these three figures have some essential points of contact, which are the characteristics of their race: acute intelligence, a thirst for justice, and above all the gnawing worry of the Jewish problem'. See also E. Cecchi (1914) 'Alcuni ebrei', *La Tribuna*, 22 January; G. Boine (1914) 'Tre giudei', *Il Resto del Carlino*, 15 July; D. Lattes (1914) '"Quelques Juifs" di André Spire. Israel Zangwill, Otto Weininger, James Darmesteter', *CI*, 52, 9, 161–5 and 52, 11, 213–4.
114. On the supposed connection between Judaism and socialism, sometimes hailed and sometimes strongly denied, there was a brief debate in *Il Vessillo*. See C. Lombroso (1881) 'Influenza della razza sul genio e la pazzia', *VI*, 29, 301–2; F. S. [F. Servi] (1885) 'Il Socialismo e gli Ebrei', *VI*, 33, 151–3. In 1896 the debate was particularly lively, in response to the great success of socialism among the Jews of Piedmont. See E. Jona (1896) 'Ebraismo e socialismo', *VI*, 44, 181–3; D. Lattes (1896) 'Ebraismo e socialismo', *VI*, 44, 263–5; D.C. (1896) 'Quale sia il socialismo voluto dall'ebraismo', *VI*, 44, 409–11; G. Todesco (1918) '"La genuina stirpe"', *VI*, 66, 470; E. Usigli (1863) *Il socialismo e la Bibbia* (Venice: Tip. Naratovich); 'Il Giudaismo e il socialismo', *CI*, 12, 19–20 (1874), 223–4; 'Gli ebrei al Congresso internazionale socialista', *CI*, 35, 4(1896), 82–4; D. Lattes (1905) 'Socialisti,

Rabbini e capitalisti ebrei nella rivoluzione russa', *CI*, 44, 3, 69–70; D. Lattes (1907) 'Lo spirito sociale d'Israele', *CI*, 45, 10, 345–50 and 45, 12, 377–82. For analysis of this issue see A. Cavaglion (1992) 'Gli ebrei e il socialismo: il caso italiano' in M. Toscano and F. Sofia (eds) *Stato nazionale ed emancipazione ebraica* (Rome: Bonacci), esp. pp. 378–9; A. Cavaglion (1993) 'Il sionismo nella stampa socialista di fine Ottocento. Osservazioni preliminari' in *Italia Judaica. Gli ebrei nell'Italia unita, 1870–1945* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali), pp. 223–36.

115. 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 61 (1913), 86–7. In 1915 the translation of Weininger's second book, *Intorno alle cose supreme* (Turin: Bocca, 1914), was reviewed in *Il Vessillo* by Felice Momigliano, who, as discussed, was already interested in this topic. Momigliano thought Weininger weak but also, more positively, a sort of 'Jewish Werther', victim of the 'ancient degeneration of the ghetto', of the 'aggravated encephalitis of learning' and of the 'insurmountable barrier' that 'the suspicions of embattled races' erect against the social and cultural aspirations of Jews. See 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 63 (1915), 69–70. Nine years later Momigliano committed suicide.
116. G. Lattes (1892) *Educazione e civiltà israelitica* (Livorno: Belforte), esp. p. 62; 'Superiorità intellettuale della razza ebraica', *CI*, 28, 5 (1889), 105–6; 'Il Prof. Mosso e l'educazione fisica degli Ebrei, in CI, 41, 9 (1903), 209–10; E. Morpurgo (1903) *Sulle condizioni somatiche e psichiche degl'Israeliti* (Modena: Biblioteca dell'Idea Sionista), reviewed in *CI*, 42, 8 (1903), 208–9 (the text was also published in instalments in *IS*, 3, 4–5 (1903), 42–6; 3, 6–7, 62–6; 3, 8, 88–91; 3, 11, 131–4; 3, 12, 138–41; 4, 1 (1904), 8–12); E. Morpurgo (1904) 'Il problema dell'educazione fisica della gioventù per gli Israeliti italiani', *CI*, 42, 12, 313–5 and 43, 1, 3–7; G. Cammeo (1904) 'Il popolo israelitico è un popolo agricolo?', *CI*, 42, 10, 254–5; D. Lattes (1906) 'Degenerazione', *CI*, 45, 7, 221–5. On Zionism, see the discussion in Chap. 5.
117. 'Per l'educazione fisica', *SI*, 1, 4 (1910).

PART II

Jews in Public: Fellow Citizens and Compatriots

CHAPTER 4

Individual Liberties and Community Ties

4.1 Attempts at Institutional Coordination

To further this investigation into the Jewish minority's reconstruction of its identity in response to the process of integration, we temporarily leave the cultural dimension, in the broad sense, to set out the legal context within which individuals and communities could act. We will be following judicial thinking and developments in the legislation on particular key issues, and reactions to the changes under way by the Jewish press and by representatives of Judaism's institutions. This will broaden the interpretative perspective outlined in the previous chapters, introducing new ideas on the relationships between religious law and civil law and between the preservation of otherness and the desire for integration and recognition.

The basis of the legal context was the *Statuto Albertino*, the new constitution of the Kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont, Article 1 of which stated that 'The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the only religion of the State. The other religions which at present exist are tolerated in accordance with the law'. The decree of 29 March 1848 and the law of 19 June 1848 had recognized the civil and political rights of the Jews. This judicial framework, which in effect brought emancipation to the Jewish minority, was extended to cover the entire Italian peninsula during the process of Unification. Various problems in the management of relationships between the religious minorities and state institutions, however, remained unresolved; in the case of the Jews, the principal issue was the absence of any standardized regulation of the communities. Italian legis-

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lative Unification, a task that occupied the first governments and parliaments of the Kingdom and had already reached an important stage by the period 1865–1866, did not deal with regulation of the Jewish communities, of their legal status and of their relationships with the state.

In Liberal Italy the Jewish communities of Piedmont, Liguria, Emilia and the Marche were subject to the Rattazzi law of 4 July 1857. This allowed for their recognition as legal entities, the compulsory registration at birth of all Jews resident in the district and in those neighbouring districts without their own Jewish community, and the power to impose levies. Other communities were subject to different regulations, such as those inherited from the Austrian regime in the Lombardy-Veneto region, but these still provided for compulsory registration and the opportunity for managing bodies to impose levies on their members. A small number of communities—Rome, Siena and Florence—were constituted as voluntary associations, subject to a regime of private law.[1]

In March 1865 the Chamber of Deputies discussed a proposal presented by the minister of justice, Giuseppe Vacca, to extend the Rattazzi law to the communities of Lombardy, Tuscany and the South; however, this bill failed to complete its parliamentary journey.[2] Unifying regulations were only arrived at with Royal Decree no. 1731 of 1930, issued in a completely different political and cultural context with Fascism in full flow and after the signing of the Lateran Pacts.[3] This law, known as the 'legge Falco' after the lawyer responsible for drafting it, established the *Unione delle comunità israelitiche italiane* (UCII—Union of Italian Israelite Communities) as the official representative body for Italian Judaism. It prescribed compulsory registration with the communities and strong government control over the Union's management and remained in force until the new agreement between Jewish communities and the Italian state drawn up in 1987, which among other important changes decreed the voluntary nature of membership of a community body.[4]

Over a 70-year period, between the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy and the passing of the Falco law, there was animated debate within the Italian Jewish communities on a range of organizational problems, from relationships with the State to relationships between the communities, and the appropriateness of convening rabbinical meetings. Both the rabbis and the community leaders were aware of the need for centralization and standardization, but it was difficult to reach agreement on the way forward: the needs of the different local environments were very varied, as were their histories and social composition. The first attempts to

create an arena for public discussion and to establish coordination were the congresses held in Ferrara in 1863 and in Florence (at the time Italy's capital) in 1867.[5] These generated high expectations, but they failed to establish a shared plan, either as regards the regulatory Unification of the statutes of the different communities, or in relation to the establishment of a central body that could represent Italian Judaism in a united fashion. These assemblies had no decision-making powers: each proposal then had to be voted on by the management boards of the individual communities.

The first proper congress of the Italian Israelite communities took place in Milan on 14 and 15 November 1909.[6] It appointed a commission charged with developing suitable legal instruments for the constitution of an association or federation. This project enjoyed great support but also raised serious concerns: it was widely feared that the creation of a collective body representing Italian Jews would be seen, from the outside, as an indication that the Jewish minority wanted to isolate itself and confirm its difference from other Italian citizens. The editors of *Il Vessillo* expounded on this in 1910:

> It could be said […] that this gathering together of Italian Israelites, […] this segregation of themselves from other Italians, this making their separation from the others more tangible, could be attributed to that feeling of exclusiveness for which the Jew is very often reproached. A sense of propriety, combined with true feelings of Italianness and patriotism, should dissuade us, it could be said, from drawing ourselves apart. […]
>
> Federation of the Italian Israelite communities must not create a new element of separation. The Jewish communities, the Jews, with their laws, rites, places of worship, traditions, and intellectual and moral heritage, already exist in reality. […] [T]his federation gathers together and oversees Jews inasmuch as they are Jews, and not inasmuch as they are Italians.[7]

This text alludes to the clashes between Zionists and anti-Zionists. At that time there had been a series of ongoing squabbles and verbal attacks, but there were also exchanges of ideas between the various factions within Italian Judaism; this will be expanded on in the next chapter. At this point I will just mention that the Zionists were among the most active advocates of the need to reorganize and centralize the network of communities and make it more effective, in order that it could manage its financial resources to maximum effect and engender a positive reappraisal of Jewish culture and formal social interaction through the schools, courses in Hebrew,

attendance at synagogues and better welfare administration.[8] The Italian Zionist Federation had been founded in 1901.

During the second congress, on 26 and 27 February 1911, it was decided to establish a *Comitato delle università israelitiche* (Committee of Israelite Communities), consisting of 11 members and with its headquarters in Rome;[9] the president was Angelo Sereni, vice-president Leone Ravenna, and secretary Anselmo Colombo. It was intended that this committee would develop a draft constitution for establishing the association of Jewish communities, but doubts and arguments persisted. The idea championed by one of the keenest advocates of centralization, Leone Ravenna of Ferrara, was that the association should not confine itself to rationalizing organization of the communities at national level and managing the purely financial aspects but should instead also take on responsibility for 'protecting the legitimate interests of Judaism'. Unlike some opponents of the project Ravenna did not believe that this might arouse mistrust, partly because he insisted that Italian Jews had never set up any collective body on the political front, nor would they ever do this: every person made their own choices according to their own personal beliefs.[10]

The third congress, held in Rome on 11 and 12 May 1914, managed to approve the constitution of the *Consorzio delle università e comunità israelitiche italiane* (Association of Italian Israelite Communities). The Association's headquarters were to be in Rome, and it was to have the involvement of the communities and potentially other Italian Jewish associations, on a voluntary rather than compulsory basis. Its three main objectives were to be work with the communities that were disappearing, work with those that were expanding and 'to make provision for everything held to be of common interest for the communities, according to the aims of their constitutions, particularly as regards Jewish culture and the preservation of its sacred, historical and artistic heritage'.[11] The expression 'of common interest for the communities' resulted from a compromise between markedly different demands. *Il Corriere Israelitico*, declaring itself in favour of the first version proposed which had instead referred to the 'general interests of Judaism', commented wryly on this hesitancy: 'the timid view of older congress members has prevailed over the courageous impulses of other younger ones. It must be a matter of age'.[12] The constitution of the Association as a legal entity, however, had to wait until 1920.[13] This body never in fact dealt with the relationships with state institutions but confined itself exclusively to managing the relationships between the communities, supporting communities that were too small

and collecting funds to be sent to the Jews who were being persecuted in Eastern Europe.

Despite the great commitment of many people, Liberal Italy never had a body that could formally speak for the Jewish minority at the national level. What it had, instead, was a plurality of voices that generated heated debates on a range of disparate topics.[14]

The communities provided their members with a range of services of a religious type and a network of charitable and educational bodies for the less well-off. These were largely funded by contributions paid annually by the members, both to the bodies with compulsory membership and to the voluntary ones. The level of the contribution required from each member was calculated according to the regulations, which remained in force after Italian Unification and differed across the communities. Among the problems that the community leaders had had to tackle in the modern era were the attempts by a part of the membership to defer or suspend payments. In cases of dispute, depending on which pre-Unification judicial framework they operated within, they had been able to appeal to the local judge or local courts. After 1865 and the abolition of localized systems, responsibility across the entire Kingdom passed to the local courts, whose judiciary referred on various occasions to two principles: first, Unification had not brought the abolition of the regulations previously in force; second, in collecting their levies the Jewish communities had the right to avail themselves of all the means the state authority had at its disposal when exacting taxation. The acquisition of the full rights of citizenship and the principle of the secular nature of the State offered individual Jews new reasons, whether sincere or specious, to refuse outright to pay the internal dues. Increasingly often they claimed freedom of conscience, referring to the principle of assimilation and their lack of interest in Judaism.

The Jewish press and pamphleteers publicized particular disputes that arose between members and communities, giving a sporadic and partial account of the rulings. Unanimous condemnation was expressed by the periodicals for anyone who attempted, for whatever reason, to evade the payments owing. Both *Il Corriere* and *L'Educatore* enthusiastically praised the ruling of the Court of Cassation in Turin, 30 September 1872, on the dispute between Gioacchino Terni and the Israelite Community of Ancona. Following disagreements over the payment of his contributions, Terni had written to the officials declaring his wish to cease his allegiance to the Jewish religion, a freedom that was granted to him by rulings in the civil court and then in the Court of Appeal in Ancona. The commu-

nity then appealed to the Court of Cassation, referring to the principle of compulsory membership ratified by the Rattazzi law of 1857. The Court quashed the previous rulings, giving very interesting reasons. Referring to the debates that had accompanied the passing of that law, it recalled that the Piedmontese parliament had expressly rejected the idea that a simple declaration would be enough for someone to no longer be considered as belonging to the Israelite religion: their conversion to another religion would also be required. According to the Court, an individual was entirely free to decide whether or not to be a believer and in what to believe, but he 'cannot require the State to *officially* recognize a class of citizens who repudiate all religion, laying down special legislation for them or going against the general laws expressly in their favour'.[15] Moreover, the Court reported a legislative lacuna, as no existing regulation covered a case of this kind. There was no provision in Italian law, in contrast to Austrian law, for the state of being 'without a religion', and the Jewish communities took advantage of this to seek support from state institutions in their daily struggle against their members' absorption, by osmosis, into the life of non-Jewish society.

In 1896 a further case received wide coverage, especially in *Il Vessillo*. Emanuele Finzi of Rovigo contracted a mixed marriage, had his children baptized and refused to pay the levy owing, stating that he did not intend to use the religious services offered by the Jewish administration. The community's lawyers, Carlo Cohen and Girolamo Errera, argued as follows:

> Finzi was born and remains an Israelite and as such he must pay, until such time as he has declared, in an official document *with legal effect*, that he abandons the Jewish religion.[16]

Three rulings were given on this matter, all of which favoured the community: the decision of the lower court, given on 25 May 1895, was confirmed first by the Court of Appeal in Venice on 30 April 1896 and then by the Court of Cassation in Florence on 11 February 1897.[17] In one of his articles Leone Ravenna quoted a long extract from the ruling of the Court of Cassation, which put forward arguments similar to those in the Turin ruling of 1872:

> In regard to freedom of conscience, every citizen is free to profess one rather than another of the recognized religions, and is free to profess none, or to

> be a freethinker, a deist, a materialist or an atheist. However, freethinkers, deists, materialists and atheists, and their associations when these exist, do not constitute a religion; and no religion exists legally and is recognized by the public if it is not recognized by the law, and therefore included among those that are accepted and protected.[18]

Ravenna also referred to a similar ruling made by the Court of Cassation in Florence in January 1869, in the case between Bondì and the Israelite Community of Florence.[19] On this matter, however, the judicial system was equivocal. A judgement of the Modena Court of Appeal in 1866 stated that 'every citizen may freely abandon the religion of his ancestors', although it signalled the lack of regulation on the procedure to follow. In 1892 the Court of Appeal in Turin ruled as follows:

> The obligation to pay the contributions imposed by the Rattazzi law ceases when a person declares that they do not wish to profess the Israelite religion, without the necessity of a full retraction, and even less so of a formal renunciation.[20]

The precise form that this declaration should take was not clarified, and judicial opinion on this issue continued to be inconsistent in the years that followed.

There has still been no detailed study that systematically collates the judgements made in this area. The importance of the 1892 judgement in Turin has been emphasized, but it seems that this was not a clear and definitive turning-point. Local variations would also be worth exploration. As late as December 1912 the civil court of Verona ruled against Giacomo Levi, Emilio Tedeschi and Vittorio Arcibaldo Leoni, who had asked for exemption from paying contributions to the Jewish community of Verona, pleading their wish not to make use of the religious services. The judgement noted the highly subjective value and variable nature of these intentions; starting with the premise that the law had to be based on objective and verifiable criteria, it ruled that a person's enrolment on the register of a Jewish community by their parents and their residence in the territory of that community were sufficient to define that person as 'Israelite'. In order to change this state officially, the appellants would have had to 'demonstrate that they had divested themselves of their state of origin with a deed that is incompatible with it'. The gap in the legislation, implicitly, was still evident. Once again, *Il Vessillo* rejoiced.[21]

Events within the Jewish community of Florence caused particular upset. In 1868 its council declared in favour of the system of voluntary contribution, following pressure from many influential members. Its regulation of 17 May 1883 established that in exceptional situations a return to a compulsory levy could take place. As the new regime led to a slow but critical fall in the community's income, in 1897 its leaders found themselves discussing the problem again and brought it to the attention of the state authorities. This resulted in official approval, on 17 March 1898, of regulations for application of the system of compulsory levies, and for determination of the amounts, compilation of the list of contributors and related issues. This unleashed a fierce debate, at the centre of which were personal interests but also important principles. The lawyer Angiolo Modigliani produced a pamphlet entitled 'La tassa per il culto e la libertà di coscienza' ('The tax for religion and the freedom of conscience'), arguing that every individual should be entirely free to decide whether to belong to a Jewish community. He reminded his readers that many people were no longer religious and only contracted a civil marriage, even in the case of endogamous couples, and he argued that the privilege of imposing a levy should be rejected by modern communities, to avoid returning to 'times from which the memory recoils in horror'. In his view enforced contributions would moreover contribute to alienating sceptics and unbelievers from Judaism.[22] Modigliani was responding to the arguments of his fellow lawyer Moisè Finzi, who had explained and supported the council's proposal. The latter, in his dual role of lawyer and influential member of the community's leadership, had defended the option of presuming religious belonging on the basis of birth:

> In a civil nation atheism is not presumed. The State is secular, but it naturally supposes that each person has a religion, and that this should be the religion of their elders rather than some other.

With the individual always guaranteed the right to offer the rather ill-defined 'evidence to the contrary', payment of dues would simply be the 'civil consequence of a social and voluntary relationship', entirely in line with the principle of freedom of conscience.[23]

Finzi returned to these issues a year later with a longer piece, in which he reiterated his belief that levies were not in conflict with the principle of freedom of conscience. On a purely academic level he allowed that the

concept of a reform might exempt from contributions 'those who while remaining Israelites state that they no longer wish to continue membership of the community in which they reside', but he argued that this was irrelevant in the Italian situation. He thought that the German situation, where there was a wide and varied range of religious orientation, was different: it could have been the case that an individual did not identify with the perspective of the local Jewish community. But in Italy the communities were all formally orthodox: 'Either in or out! Here the incontestability of conscience has nothing to do with it'.[24]

An entirely different view was taken by the Hebrew scholar David Castelli, who on 12 April 1898 wrote an open letter to his fellow academic Augusto Franchetti, president of the Florentine community, who had been a pupil of eminent figures such as Domenico Comparetti, Pasquale Villari and Alessandro D'Ancona.[25] At that point members had been formally notified of the regulation regarding levies, but arrangements had not yet been made for its application. Castelli took a liberal view of the matter, being opposed to the imposition of labels of identity on individuals and against measures aimed at protecting a Jewish collectivity as a value in itself, independently of religious faith:

> This right [to impose levies] is not an honour for us Israelites, but rather a dishonourable mark of separation that continues to keep us as a distinct society in the midst of that of men and citizens. […] The Israelites could be proud of this sovereign right when they were not considered citizens by the laws and customs, but as we are now citizens like all the others this sovereign right is shameful and reprehensible. […] [I]t is a real moral ghetto, […] and I feel disheartened to be once again confined inside it.[26]

After 1909 Florence was once again the centre of attention, partly due to its role as capital of the avant-garde and the location of some of the most culturally and politically lively and innovative periodicals but also because of the unusual degree of conflict within the Jewish community's management body. The board that emerged from the elections of December 1909, whose validity was contested several times, judged it necessary to implement the compulsory levy for the three-year period of 1911–1913. The first issue of *La Settimana Israelitica*, in January 1910, carried an article by Finzi on this issue, in the form of a proposal addressed in principle to all the Italian peninsula's communities: that they should resolutely return to enforced contributions from all members, with due respect for

the principle of a proportional relationship to incomes, but should allow exemption for those who stated that they did not wish to make use, either for themselves or their family, 'in life and in death', of the services provided. This was to fill, in some degree, 'the silence of the law on the possibility of dissociation'.[27] As many as 114 members filed a petition against the community's president Edoardo Vitta, asking the court to declare this measure unlawful and to launch an enquiry to assess the need for the levy. The judgement of 19 May 1911 ruled in favour of the board, approved the legitimacy of the provision adopted as regards both the contribution and the process of dissociation envisaged and confirmed the court's lack of power to interfere in decisions that the community authority was entitled to make in complete autonomy. The possibility of dissociation had been criticized by the plaintiffs, who were concerned about the impact of increased contribution levels for those remaining should there be a massive departure of members. The Court of Appeal in Florence confirmed the decisions of the civil court with its ruling of 13 January 1912.[28]

During the liberal period numerous modifications were made at the local level: the regulations of many communities were brought up to date and their systems were sometimes radically altered, always with the requisite approval of the Ministry of Justice. Despite this, the issue of belonging was never the subject of any legislative provision valid for general application that clarified the rules of entry to and exit from the communities, and the law on these issues remained inconsistent. There has not yet been enough research to provide a detailed picture of the debates and departures that took place in the Italian Jewish communities, but it is clear that sensitivities on this grew as time passed. Generally, the spirit of the age gradually shifted towards greater acceptance of the idea that individuals had the right to not belong to any religious faith, without them having to be seen as a danger to society.[29]

On the national political stage, a stir was caused by the questions asked in Parliament by Nicola Badaloni in 1893 and Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani in 1914. The latter asked the minister of justice, Luigi Dari, what steps he intended to take for:

> defence of the freedom of thought of those Jewish Italians who have been subjected, including by recent decisions by magistrates, to religious fiscal obligations in opposition to the religious beliefs that they profess and which inform the public conduct of their lives.[30]

This question was discussed in a session of the Chamber on 6 May 1914 attended by the deputy minister for justice and religions, Pietro Chimienti, who stated his belief that no measures were necessary, as various judgements had already approved the freedom of non-religious Jews to not be subject to religious fiscal obligations, and the matter could be considered resolved by the courts. The reference was particularly to the ruling of the Court of Appeal in Turin in 1892.[31] Modigliani cited the much greater number of judgements that in his view still ran counter to the freedom of conscience, especially that of the civil court of Verona in December 1912.[32] A socialist, he was fighting a battle that was not restricted to the position of Jews: the issue he raised above all addressed the secular nature of the state and the application of the principle of freedom of conscience, which should have included the absolute freedom of the individual to not profess any religious belief. Deputy Minister Chimienti concluded his reply by insinuating that the reason for the issue being raised could be found in the proverbial avarice of the Jews. The episode was taken up by *L'Unità Cattolica* of Florence in an article with the heading 'Quell'ineffabile Modigliani…!' ('That incomparable Modigliani...!'), reprinted almost in full by *Il Vessillo*, which accused the Jews of being miserly and devoid of any civic sense and concluded that anti-Semitism had its rationale in the 'inhumanity of the Jews, which even harms their co-religionists!'.[33] *Il Vessillo*, while rejecting the accusations aimed at Jews in general, shared the Catholic publication's judgement of Modigliani and accused him of inciting the anti-Semites. In similar vein, *La Settimana Israelitica* described the parliamentary question as 'the first step of the Jewish anti-Semitic coalition against established Judaism', inveighed against those who 'betray their people' and against an 'enfeebled, weakened, degenerate Israel', and called on the State to bring the lost sheep back into the fold: 'the Jew Modigliani still needs the government of Italy to teach him that his nature as a Jew cannot be lost either with a hasty verbal declaration or with a stroke of the pen':

> One cannot eliminate Jewishness with a statement of belief, as in the mind, heart and very flesh of the Jew there is a quantity of specific features that cannot be suppressed by a simple act of will; these pre-exist the individual, one might almost say, and will survive his attempted renunciation, as the Jew is Jewish even without wishing to be, and will continue to be Jewish even should he say that he no longer wants this.[34]

Examination of these episodes is a very effective way of approaching the elusive and polymorphous issues of belonging and the boundaries of identity. Underlying the bureaucratic disputes and the cases that reached the courts, and the positions of an intellectual such as David Castelli or someone involved in community officialdom such as Moisè Finzi, there were many different ideas as to what Judaism was or should be, and what it meant to be Jewish. Alongside these, there were different conceptions of the state and the relationship it should have with organized religions. As with all human problems of any significance, contradictions abound. In particular, I would emphasize the tension in the contributions of the Jewish press between adherence to a liberal model that protects individual freedoms and the desire to protect the Jewish communities and Italian Judaism as a collective entity, at the cost of restricting some of the rights of individual Jews. Similar themes could be analysed and explored in depth by starting with other issues that appeared frequently in the pages of Jewish publications and in the wealth of pamphlets produced, including for example the recognition of Jewish holidays as a reason for absence from work.[35]

4.2 Religious Law and Civil Law

> Citizens and Israelites, we must study together to reconcile, to the degree that we can, the responsibilities that fall to us in one or the other role […].
>
> It is not appropriate to cite at the wrong moment, as many however do, the rabbinical saying 'Dina de-malkhuta dina' ('state law is the law we must obey'). This only applies, in relation to civil laws, as long as it does not damage the most sacred religious principles; if, however, using the law as a pretext, people wish to impose customs and orders that contradict the spirit of Judaism, then we must with all our strength of mind make our rights understood and respected: those rights which that same freedom of worship allows us.[36]
>
> With these blessed mixed marriages, one no longer understands anything. Here, on this topic, is an anecdote. It is assuredly true.
>
> A Catholic woman wished to marry an Israelite. Both held on to their own religion, but as they talked the matter over between them, the bride said:
>
> –Become a Christian: by marrying in church we shall as husband and wife have an indissoluble bond, even if you do not want this.

> –Become a Jew, answered the bridegroom, because if we don't get on well there is still the last hope of divorce.[37]

Respect for the law of the state and relinquishment of any kind of special jurisdiction were the direct, desired and unavoidable consequences of emancipation. The modern concept of equality provided for an end to discrimination but also for an end to privileges that at some points and in some places had characterized the life of the Jewish minority. But what was to be done when civil law and religious law clashed, or when the principle of equality before the law seemed to conflict with freedom of conscience or religion? These are still burning issues today, which need to be considered and explored in a contemporary Italy that has been unprepared for the challenges of immigration. Their relevance is not, even now, confined to the immigration issue.

'Dina de-malkhuta dina' is a recurring principle in the Talmud; formulated by the Talmudic sage *rav* Shmuel, it can be translated literally as 'the law of the kingdom is law'. It was laid down during a period when the Jewish communities enjoyed substantial autonomy in managing internal legal issues.[38] As a result, application of the principle was limited to the rare cases in which it was necessary to submit to the judgements of state courts; it is quoted in the Talmud within debates on legal and financial issues, generally regarding the exchange of land or goods between Jews and 'idolaters' (non-Jews).

From the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, a period that included the convocation of the Grand Sanhedrin by Napoleon,[39] the debates on emancipation and then the achievement of judicial equality brought radical changes to the status of Jews in Western Europe: 'dina de-malkhuta dina' became the 'judicial framework for the introduction of the Jews within western society', taking on an ever wider and more general importance and ending by being quoted more and more frequently as a guarantee of the patriotism and civic-mindedness of the new Israelite citizens.[40] But as Flaminio Servi pointed out in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section, from an article published in *Il Vessillo* in 1875, in some cases the law of the modern state clashed with religious law and sometimes without any possibility of reconciliation. Servi mentioned, for example, the topics of burial, cremation[41] and divorce. How were people to behave? To what extent would the freedom of conscience recognized by the Piedmontese Constitution allow exceptional judicial treatment to be requested for the minority? And how could this request be reconciled

with the aspirations for the minority's increasing integration within the national structure? The issue was real and very problematic. Whenever resurrected by an event or a public debate it returned to animate the pages of the Italian Jewish press, which drew attention to topics that otherwise tended to remain marginal in the broader context of the media as a whole. In an article of 1893 Donato Camerini urged Jewish periodicals to 'protect the free exercise of our religion', lamenting that 'with the pretext that the state should consider matters from the civil perspective alone, laws of a general nature are passed, but these, being naturally based [...] on the religion of the majority, come to damage the rights and sensitivities of minorities'.[42]

In addition to the problem of the relationship between Jewish communities and the state, such issues also raised the problem of interaction between the communities and individual Jews, who in many cases were aided by civil law in distancing themselves from religious practices and the community context. During the *ancien régime*, even with the differences that existed between states, Jewish individuals could not place themselves in a direct relationship with the public authorities but were forced to go through the filter of the Jewish communities which represented them collectively; in a regime of judicial equality, however, the Jew became a citizen and, as such, possessed rights as an individual, independently of his membership of a religious body. This process took a major step forward when the state assumed control of civil status and especially matters relating to marriage. Jewish law, moreover, was a corpus as weighty as it was many-sided and multiform, open to many interpretations, and without custodians with the power to decide what the correct interpretative approach should be. This made it very difficult to identify suitable advisers and interlocutors when the two judicial worlds clashed. Alongside the cultural, economic and social difficulties in which the rabbinate found itself, academic Hebrew studies had been far from thriving. In her intellectual biography of David Castelli, Cristiana Facchini has highlighted the 'the state of complete neglect of Jewish legal tradition, the absence of any serious theoretical debate, and the shortcomings of Italian culture on this issue': this situation brought a high degree of arbitrariness to interpretations.[43]

Marriage, once again, was a crucial arena. The regulations on marriage, and more generally the issue and custody of documents regarding civil status, differed widely across the pre-Unification states. In particular, there was a varied range of regulations regarding non-Christians and non-Catholics,[44] which in the Jewish communities reflected the extremely

heterogeneous nature of the laws that governed their legal status and the relationships between local and central bodies. After Italian Unification one of the early necessities was the drafting of a new civil code, within the larger project of legislative and administrative unity.

The first proposal for revision of the Piedmontese code in view of its application across Italy, presented in June 1860, foresaw a ban on marriage between people of different faiths, but this was quickly defeated. The bill presented by Minister for Justice Giuseppe Pisanelli, in sessions of the Senate on 15 June and 26 November 1863, was widely discussed both within and outside Parliament; it was definitively approved with minor changes in 1865 and came into force on 1 January 1866. From that date onwards, civil marriage was introduced throughout the Kingdom of Italy as a deed without which a married couple could not be recognized by the state. Article 148 approved the principle of the indissolubility of this bond and ensured the possibility of individual separation in the cases specified in the articles that followed.[45] Marriage was thus removed from the control of the churches, and the celebration of the religious ceremony became completely irrelevant from a judicial point of view. Among the more important consequences of this innovation, some are especially significant for our concerns. The Pisanelli code made marriages between partners of different religions possible; it forced many charitable bodies distributing assistance for dowries to modify their practice and sometimes their statutes, removing the requirement for religious marriage;[46] it took custody of the documents of civil status away from the religious authorities and it denied the option of divorce even to citizens without any religious faith, or whose religion had permitted marriages to be dissolved. During discussions on the proposals, Pisanelli stated many times that the reasons for this decision were not religious and did not imply any reference to the model of the Catholic marriage sacrament but instead derived from moral considerations of a secular nature. Divorce, it was argued, would have represented an element of corruption of morality and social customs and would have undermined the survival of society's fundamental unit, the family, endangering the education of children, female honour and public order. On such a delicate issue, the prevailing sensibility profoundly impinged upon reservations that had originally been dictated by religion.

There were, nonetheless, lawyers, politicians and commentators of liberal inclinations who declared the incompatibility, or at least the problematic coexistence, of Article 148 and the articles that followed with the principle of freedom of conscience; this gave rise to a lively debate in

magazines, newspapers and legal publications. The problem concerned not only Jews and non-Catholics but also the large number of secularized Catholics and the increasing number of 'liberi pensatori' ('freethinkers'), as they were called. Predictably, protests from the Catholic world concerned the institution of civil marriage, although at the same time there was strong support for its indissolubility. On the Jewish side, various positions were adopted; attention focused on the issues of divorce and mixed marriage, and there was also discussion of Articles 38 and 39 which prohibited marriages between close blood relations. Debates on divorce, both within the Jewish minority and outside it, had two particularly intense phases: the first in the 1860s, at the same time as the work in Parliament and the enactment of the code, and the second following the presentation in 1881 of a bill to introduce divorce by Minister for Justice Tommaso Villa.

In Jewish law marriage is a contract: sacred, because it is drawn up in relation to divine law and to fulfil the biblical commandment that enjoins men and women to unite and multiply but still a contract, which can be rescinded by means of a document called a 'get'. Originally an instrument which allowed the man to repudiate his wife, the *get* must be confirmed by a Beth Din (rabbinical court), which should first consider the possibility of reconciliation. The theory and practice, determining in greater detail in what situations and in what ways a deed of divorce or repudiation may be issued, have changed over time, partly in relation to developments in the legislation and in the morality of the majority society.

As the control of matrimonial practice was essential to the maintenance and development of the communities, Jewish representatives were always very alert to the initiatives of state authorities in this field. The desire to express with a single voice the perspective of Italian Judaism on any proposal to alter the civil code stands out among the reasons campaigners gave for the establishment of a body for coordinating the communities. As *L'Educatore Israelita* observed as early as 1858, when reform of the Piedmontese civil state seemed imminent, at stake were 'principles of the greatest interest to Israelitism […] divorce, the law of the levirate, degrees of kinship: all things that are regulated in Israelitism very differently from common custom'. It was necessary to protect 'family interests, and the future of families that might be disrupted, thwarted or damaged'.[47]

Meeting in Ferrara in May 1863, the representatives of the Italian Jewish communities resolved to send a request to the government for

approval of exceptional status for the Jewish minority, in order to ensure that the religious law on divorce would apply. In justification of this request they expressed their belief that the 'indissolubility of the matrimonial bond' derived 'its rationale from the religious faith of the majority of Italians'.[48] Asked to ratify the decisions of the assembly, the councils of the individual communities were unanimous in their approval. However, this seemingly logical approach was not shared by all. Both the Jewish minority and the country as a whole were going through a very delicate phase. With Unification achieved, Italy faced the difficult problem of how to transform political unity, still in fact incomplete, into linguistic, legal and cultural unity. Immediately after its longed-for emancipation the Jewish minority was asked to take its full place within society and to dispel any potential remaining suspicions and prejudices by its exemplary conduct and demonstrations of patriotism. In this context, to ask to be the subject of legal exceptions was an inherently problematic step. It presented the public, both Jewish and non-Jewish, with two key issues: the relationship between freedom of worship and freedom of conscience; and the relationship between equality and freedom, not always a perfect match.

Marco Mortara, the rabbi of Mantua and father of the well-known lawyer Lodovico, made an early contribution to this debate with a pamphlet entitled 'Il matrimonio civile considerato giusta le norme del diritto e dell'opportunità' ('Civil marriage considered in accordance with the norms of the law and of appropriateness'), published in 1864. His argument started with the central importance of the family, from which directly followed the importance of marriage, the 'basis of the family' and 'source of paternity', which can be established only through the control of female sexual behaviour. After a long and erudite historical introduction that sought to illustrate the complexity and equivocation of the Christian churches in their attitude to divorce, aiming to dispute the Catholic origins of the principle that the marital bond was indissoluble, Mortara supported the validity of the political and social reasons put forward by the minister for its insertion in the new code. While not himself fundamentally opposed to divorce, he said, he wondered whether a society that was still barely literate and educated was capable of managing such a delicate instrument. In addition, he expressed the fear that the institution of civil marriage, if accompanied by the possibility of divorce, would increase the number of mixed marriages; these would be dealt with increasingly lightly

and represented a genuine mechanism for the dissolution of both the Jewish minority and society as a whole:

> Religion is […] the only effective bond among family ties. The mixed marriage is for the Minister of Religion a cohabitation, which civil law, in the interest of society, is obliged to legitimize. Within it a true family is not possible.[49]

Mortara argued that after emancipation, however, the Jews had lost 'every claim to privileged exceptions':

> State law is their supreme law, in the presence of which every claim must fall silent, since the state asks its citizens for nothing that is in discord with the rational principles of the laws of Moses, which are in perfect harmony with natural religion.[50]

Concluding his address and partly contradicting his previous argument, Mortara set out a proposal for modifying the planned code, with two central points: first, the possibility of an official of the civil state authorizing the celebration of a marriage before a minister of the religion indicated by the couple and registering the celebration of the deed in the records of the civil state within five days; second, introduction of the possibility of divorce for marriages celebrated according to a religion that permitted dissolution of the marital bond, along the lines of provisions in the Austrian civil code of 1811. In this way only civil marriages (and therefore mixed marriages) and Catholic marriages would have remained indissoluble, while the Jews would have been able to obtain divorce in those situations envisaged by their religion. In this pamphlet Mortara sought a delicate balance between two contradictory needs that were both strongly felt: the need to stress the Jews' full membership of the nation and the state, with their consequent submission to a law that was the same for all and their sharing of the founding values of Italian society and culture, and the need to ensure some control over the marriage market by the rabbinate and Jewish community elites.[51]

In the same year the lawyer Giuseppe Consolo, in a pamphlet entitled 'Del divorzio nei suoi rapporti colle leggi civili e colla libertà dei culti riconosciuti nello stato' ('On divorce in relation to civil legislation and the freedom of religions recognized by the state'), referred back to the Napoleonic and Austrian codes, which in different ways had both autho-

rized divorce. He strongly denied that divorce could jeopardize public discipline and stated that freedom of religion and the indissolubility of marriage were incompatible. To support his argument he discussed the case of a Jewish marriage in which the woman was known to have committed adultery. According to a widely shared interpretation of Jewish law the husband would have had the obligation, not just the right, to dissolve the marital bond, and a civil law that prohibited this would have impeded the exercise of his freedom of conscience.[52] The possibility of obtaining a legal separation was no solution to the problem, because it prevented both spouses from contracting a further marriage.

L'Educatore Israelita made several contributions to the debate, beginning with an unsigned review of Mortara's pamphlet which argued that the indissolubility of marriage was a 'concession to the Catholic religion'.[53] The same opinion was given by the rabbi Leone Ravenna, who drew support for his argument not only from Consolo's pamphlet but also from works on legal theory and philosophy by Antonio Rosmini and Melchiorre Gioia, the latter specifically on divorce.[54] Much of Ravenna's article consisted of quotations from a letter sent to Consolo by the Rovigo lawyer Alessandro Cervesato, observing the principle that any opinion by Catholics in favour of Jewish customs deserved to be highlighted and promoted.[55]

Alongside the prohibition of divorce was the related issue of the prohibition of marriage between close relatives envisaged by Article 61 of Pisanelli's proposals for the civil code, which subsequently became Articles 58 and 59 of the actual code. This would have forbidden, for example, marriage between a childless widow and her brother-in-law, which was prescribed by Jewish law in order to ensure transmission of the deceased man's name. In *Il matrimonio civile* Mortara expressed his approval of the proposed code's provisions, some of which could be justified by the latest discoveries of medicine on the dangers of marriage between relatives. He thought that Article 68, which allowed for the possibility of a royal dispensation in exceptional cases, was sufficient to guarantee freedom of conscience for the Israelites.[56] On this point the rabbi of Reggio Emilia, Giuseppe Lattes, started a public debate with his Mantuan colleague. Appealing to the omnipotence and omniscience of the Creator, as well as to the divine origin of Jewish law, he rejected the idea that practices allowed or prescribed by the divine legislator might be considered harmful and be prohibited by civil legislators. From this viewpoint any conflict between Jewish law and civil law could not be resolved: the divine

origin of the former made it unequivocally superior to the latter. Although the latest scientific research suggested the contrary, Lattes argued that endogamy within the family had never harmed the Jews, who were strong and not 'degenerate', and represented a 'pure and well-preserved race'.[57] Mortara's reply referred to Lombroso and other contemporary anthropologists and scientists,[58] but in particular he reiterated the right of the civil legislator to deal with matrimonial matters according to a logic and perspective that were entirely different from the religious. On the potential conflict between freedom and equality his position was very clear: 'I still love freedom, but even more, and more fervently, I love equality with my fellow citizens'.[59]

A part of the rabbinate had already aligned itself with a position similar to that of Lattes immediately after the presentation of Pisanelli's proposals, as can be seen in a letter drawn up by Elia Benamozegh dated 31 July 1863 and signed by his colleagues Isach Milul, David A. Vivanti, Josef V. Sinigaglia, Salomone Leone, Donato Ottolenghi, David Jacob Maroni and Samuel Cabibbe. The letter was sent to the even more celebrated rabbi Samuel David Luzzatto:

> […] what is Jewish history, the history of forty centuries, if not a continuous, age-old and perpetual marriage between blood relatives? Is our existence not the most eloquent refutation of the evil consequences that are so feared? Is the Jewish race really so reduced and degenerate, due to the fault of interbreeding, that it might serve as an example for the planned prohibition, and that it should bow its head and don a badge of shame, itself condemning its entire past and drawing up the decree that declares it to be the decayed and degenerate among the nations?[60]

These debates and equivocations did not stop with the passing of the new code and its entry into force, as demonstrated by an unsigned article of 1866, presumably by Giuseppe Levi. Alongside a complete acceptance of the new norms 'for tradition, for duty, for love of country, and for religious conscience', the author encouraged the 'Israelite' to 'keep religious traditions at the heart of Judaism'.[61] Some years later Flaminio Servi returned to the issue in *Il Vessillo*, seizing the opportunity presented by the approval of divorce in Prussia and Switzerland: he celebrated this event as a 'return to the Mosaic laws' and repeated his view that 'the indissolubility of marriage is a Catholic principle that is little by little being cancelled by civilization'. After implicitly describing Catholic morality as uncivilized,

he concluded with some significant, albeit not entirely logical, reasoning: indissolubility 'is not part of Judaism, because it does not make sense'.[62] The lawyer Isacco Rignano, of Livorno, contributed to the debate on a strictly legal and non-religious level with his widely read *Della uguaglianza civile e della libertà dei culti secondo il diritto pubblico del regno d'Italia* (*On civil equality and the freedom of worship in the civil law of the Kingdom of Italy*) published in 1861 and subsequently re-issued in revised and expanded editions in 1868 and 1885:

> Only one of the provisions of the Civil Code regarding marriage, that which ratifies its indissolubility, is not in our opinion compatible with civil equality and with the full freedom of religion guaranteed by the public law of the Kingdom.[63]

In the third edition (1885) Rignano repeated this view and emphatically expressed his approval of the proposal presented by the Minister for Justice Villa in 1881: a proposal that fell when the legislative session came to a premature end but was tabled again, with minor amendments, in 1883 by Giuseppe Zanardelli and then supported by Giannuzzi Savelli, his successor at the Ministry of Justice. Rignano's volume has many quotations from parliamentary proceedings and from articles by other lawyers, who were not Jewish; there is no shortage of references to the international context and most importantly to the recent reintroduction of divorce in the French code with the law of 27 July 1884.[64] Rignano favoured two options: his preference was the introduction of civil divorce as a possibility for all citizens, while his second choice was the 'Austrian' solution which involved introducing the option of divorce only for those whose religion allowed for this possibility.

A certain stir was generated in this area by the anti-divorce pamphlet of 1894 from Vittorio Polacco, professor of Civil Law at the University of Padua. Polacco's argument had two parts. In the first he aimed to show that the Torah did not envisage any obligation to divorce but reluctantly permitted this in particular situations as an adaptation by the Jews of the period to their social, cultural and moral conditions. In support of his position he quoted, in Latin, Matthew 19 (8): 'Moses permitted you to divorce your wives because your hearts were hard. But it was not this way from the beginning'.[65] As for the duties prescribed by other Halakhic sources such as the Talmudim, Polacco quickly dismissed these as less binding than those indicated in the Torah; they could in any case be dispensed

with by later generations, according to the interpretation of the Talmud as an open and perpetually unfinished text in which each generation can leave its imprint. In the second part of his pamphlet Polacco declared the pre-eminence of civil over religious legislation and expounded the reasons relating to morality and public discipline that had compelled legislators to ban divorce:

> There is not and there cannot now be one moral rule for the *Jewish* family and a different one for the *Catholic* family, while what civil law has to regulate is the *Italian* family, which is of just one type in its ideals, sentiments and customs, whatever kind of religion is practised within it.[66]

On this point, importantly, Polacco went back to the spirit of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin.[67] In his conclusion he introduced a topic very keenly felt within the Jewish minority, which had come to the fore towards the end of the century: that of mixed marriages. He warned his co-religionists of the possible consequences that a defence of Judaism based on the defence of divorce might have for modern Jews:

> Religion has already suffered enough and continues to suffer because of the possibility and continual increase in mixed marriages, which take away many families from religion's pure worship; and if we now allow admittance to the home, the first place where faith is kindled, of that other dissolving element, divorce, we will have done a great disservice to the religion of our fathers, in the shape of reinstating their ideas on the matter, which were consonant with their times alone.[68]

The very nature of Jewish marriage was being questioned, moreover, and so therefore was religious divorce. The differences between Jewish and Catholic marriage were discussed in 1905 by Emilio Jona, who referred to an article by Filippo Crispolti in *Nuova Antologia* in 1902 with the heading 'Il divorzio in Italia secondo un cattolico' ('Divorce in Italy according to a Catholic'). According to Jona Jewish marriage had a civil and social function, with more of a contractual than a religious nature, and the prohibition of divorce would have resulted in a distortion of the Jewish conception of the family.[69] Much the same line was taken by Alessandro Zammatto, who argued for the purely civil value of marriage, 'to which people later wished to add the involvement of religion, thanks to appropriate blessings to enhance its moral value, but nothing more'.[70] The

purely civil nature of divorce followed from this reasoning. According to Zammatto, since the principle of 'dina de-malkhuta dina' held sway for Judaism, in the countries where the dissolution of marriage was permitted then civil divorce could also occur from a religious point of view. His interpretation was a little extreme, and very few shared his idea that civil marriage, provided that there were Jewish witnesses, could be valid from the Jewish perspective. The chief rabbi of Vercelli Isacco Giuseppe Cingoli, for example, responded to him by saying that for Judaism, marriage and divorce were religious precepts.[71]

The issue of course remained purely theoretical, as there continued to be no provision for divorce in the Italian civil code until 1970. In 1920 the Jews of Trieste, who had been accustomed to the right to divorce under Habsburg rule, attempted to retain this after becoming citizens of the Kingdom of Italy. Their rabbi Israel Zoller referred back to the Napoleonic Grand Sanhedrin, which had permitted Jewish divorce in the context of the code of 1804,[72] but nothing came from this.

After the Civil Code had come into force, Jewish community officials and the rabbinate faced new challenges: the problem of obtaining reliable data on the matrimonial choices of community members, because they no longer had responsibility for maintenance of the records of civil status, and the actual management of matrimonial practices. There was a wide debate, mirrored within Catholicism, on the appropriateness of celebrating religious marriage in the absence of civil marriage, or before the latter had occurred. The new legal framework also opened up a range of diverse and potentially very complex situations which presented problems for individual rabbis, who were often unable to determine a common approach. For example, a religious divorce might have been granted to a couple, therefore giving them both the chance to contract a new marriage according to Jewish law, while their first bond remained entirely valid and indissoluble under civil law. In addition, the status of children born to a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father, or to two Jewish parents only married by a civil ceremony, had still to be determined.[73] The rabbis Samuele Colombo and Gustavo Racah dealt with a case in France where a woman had obtained a civil divorce from her husband, but the latter refused to grant her a religious divorce. She was thus unable to remarry with a religious ceremony and might therefore be induced to abandon Judaism, to not in fact remarry, or to live in the dubious state of an 'agunah' (best translated as 'fettered'). The challenge for the rabbis was to find some way out that

allowed justice for the woman and the observance of civil law and, at the same time, avoided the violation of religious dictates.[74]

Another interesting area related to the law of the levirate, by which the brother of a man who had died without offspring was supposed to marry his widow (Deuteronomy 25: 5): this clearly conflicted with the prohibitions on marriage with close relatives and potentially with the ban on polygamy.[75] In order to avoid such a marriage, the brother-in-law needed to formally declare his unwillingness and submit to the ceremony of 'halitzah' ('unshoeing') (Deuteronomy 25: 7–10), in which the woman had to perform a series of symbolic acts: remove one of the man's shoes, spit in his face and recite a text expressing contempt for anyone who failed to fulfil his duty. If the man did not submit to *halitzah*, the woman could not formally contract a new religious marriage.[76]

4.3 From Judicial Abstraction to Real Life

There are no studies on the impact of civil legislation on the Jewish marriage market during the period of integration,[77] and there are also many gaps as regards the incidence of mixed marriages. Examples that have emerged from my own research into the Jewish community of Livorno throw light on the practical implications of various problematic areas discussed by the Jewish press and brought to light by rabbis and lawyers.

The establishment of civil marriage caused a small revolution in the world of religious charities and especially among those whose principal activity was the provision of dowries for less well-off young women, which had required religious marriage if aid was to be granted. After 1866 numerous disputes arose between representatives of the charities and women who wished to obtain dowries despite only having contracted a civil marriage, and these arrived on the desks of the prefects and in the offices of the Ministry of the Interior. According to the opinion issued by the Council of State on 12 October 1872 and repeated in a circular sent by the Ministry of the Interior to prefects on 24 May 1876, religious marriage could only be required if the founder of the charity had explicitly specified this as his wish. In all other cases the civil deed was deemed valid and if necessary changes should be made to the charity's statutes.[78] In theory, after 1866 religious marriage had no legal effect and therefore could not be required by the charities as a condition for obtaining their assistance with dowries, but in reality the situation was far from clear. Charities' founding deeds and ordinances, and their various regulations,

were sometimes ambiguous. For the Jewish communities and the charities that they or their members administered, assistance with dowries had always been a means of exercising control over the weaker sections of their population, with the aim of upholding morality, promoting endogamy and discouraging conversion. After emancipation, the intention to protect the poorer young women from the temptation of a mixed marriage came to the fore among community leaders and the rabbinate; the establishment of civil marriage somewhat complicated the life of the communities.

In 1912 alone, Livorno witnessed a variety of interesting cases.[79] In 1856 the officials of its Jewish community had devised a system to bring together the two needs of female education and control over matrimonial choice, ruling that young women who had completed their studies at the religious schools would receive a dowry grant of 50 lire. This sum would be delivered to a woman either when she married or when she reached the age of 30, if still unmarried, on condition that she could prove that she 'had maintained good moral and religious conduct'. In 1911 Corinna Misul, who had completed her studies at the community's schools in 1903, applied to the secretary of the community to claim her dowry grant. Her application was firmly rejected on the grounds that she had not first obtained a certificate of good conduct from the rabbi and that she intended to contract a mixed marriage. Undaunted, Misul appealed to the Charity Commission of the province of Livorno, arguing that the grant was essentially an award for the completion of studies and therefore should not be subject to any restriction.[80]

In a judgement dated 30 January 1912 the Commission accepted Misul's appeal. Regarding the issue of good conduct, it decided that 'an interpretation must be given that is favourable to the young woman, and that is as far as possible characterized by modern social ideas', all the more so because the community's documents made no explicit reference to religious marriage. According to the commissioners and the prefecture, mixed marriage could not be viewed as a sign of poor moral and religious conduct and the community should therefore pay out. At this point its officials decided to resolve the issue once and for all by appealing to the Higher Council for Assistance and Charity within the Ministry of the Interior.[81] Letters and documents were exchanged between the prefecture of Livorno, acting as mediator with the Ministry, and the community.[82] Two issues were debated: whether the grant was essentially a prize or dowry, and whether a mixed marriage indicated poor moral and religious conduct. The prefect and the provincial Commission argued that con-

tracting only a civil marriage could not be seen as discrediting the appellant, because the civil deed did not imply abandonment of the Jewish faith, and they urged the community to conform with 'modern social ideas'. In the documents they produced it can be seen how difficult they found it to understand the importance that endogamy still had for the Jews in the new context of the liberal state. Moreover, from the state's perspective the only valid marriage was a civil one. In the draft of a letter dated 29 February 1912, the community's officials responded in an embarrassed and somewhat reticent manner:

> The view that *civil* marriage (or rather *mixed* marriage, as perhaps it should be understood) does not imply a change of religion appears to the undersigned as entirely unconnected to this submission. No-one, not even this Jewish community, has ever argued that contracting a mixed marriage implies the renunciation of one's own religion, nor that such an issue could arise in regard to Misul's appeal. To lose the right to payment of the grant *it is not necessary for the young woman to have renounced her religion*: it is sufficient that *she cannot provide documentation of having maintained good religious conduct*. This is the issue. Whatever opinion one has of mixed marriage, and whatever one thinks about its moral and social value, this can in no way refute the fact that for the Jewish religion mixed marriage is an infringement of Mosaic law. Moreover, the undersigned do not intend to issue any judgement in this regard.[83]

On 13 February 1913 the prefect informed the community that their appeal had been accepted by a royal decree of 23 January, because Corinna Misul had been unable to produce a certificate from the rabbinical authority; this was therefore not a judgement of the merits of the case but was simply the recognition that a document was missing from the papers presented by Misul. The senior rabbi Samuele Colombo, when consulted, had however stated that he could never have issued a certificate of this kind to someone who had made or was about to make a mixed marriage.

The case that in fact reverberated in the press featured another young woman, Adriana Funaro, who wished to receive a dowry from the community. Far from wishing to contract a mixed marriage, Funaro asked Colombo to preside over the religious ceremony, but this time it was the rabbi who withdrew. Funaro was a 'mamzeret', meaning a descendant from a prohibited relationship,[84] and as such should have married a Jew in a similar position: the status of *mamzer* in fact entails a more restricted endogamy within the Jewish endogamy. Funaro's intended husband was

not a *mamzer*, and the absence of religious approval for the marriage threw into doubt the young woman's eligibility for a dowry grant. She and her lawyer Angiolo Coen brought a case against both the rabbi and the community.[85] The community's council, at a meeting on 5 August 1912, finally decided to pay the amount due subject to the presentation of a document confirming celebration of the civil marriage, which took place on 8 August. With regard to the case against the rabbi, the magistrate's court of Livorno argued that it was not competent to intervene in issues of religion:

> The exercise of spiritual jurisdiction, as in some respects the exercise of any other kind of jurisdiction, implies the freedom and incontestability of the judgement. The parties who of their free will engaged in promoting its exercise implicitly agreed to have full confidence in the conscientiousness of those who exercise it: and this not only as regards the way this particular act of religion is exercised, but also in the degree that it reflects the judgement of the conditions necessary for its fulfilment.[86]

On this occasion the case was too complex and unusual for the Jewish press not to respond; it would appear from references made that it was also commented on by the Livorno newspapers, which seized the opportunity to accuse Jewish religious law of being medieval and uncivilized. The rabbinate generally took the side of Samuele Colombo, whereas Felice Momigliano declared that the time was ripe for revision of the excessively ritualistic Mosaic law, on the basis of the more open pronouncements of the prophets.[87] The secretary of the Livorno community Arrigo Lattes, also a rabbi and son of the Guglielmo Lattes who has featured in earlier chapters, tried to act as peacemaker between the opposing parties. Lattes observed that Colombo had certainly been right not to violate Jewish law, as the civil court had confirmed, but also pointed out that 'the Israelite community cannot be guided by Jewish law alone in its decisions; it is a body subject to protection, and whether it likes it or not must have regard to the laws of the state'.[88] As regards the conflict between civil and religious law, Momigliano accused Colombo of inconsistency for having accepted a knighthood from the Italian government:

> Be consistent: just study the Talmud and the *Shulchan Aruch*: do not go looking for certificates that equip you for a culture that you actually repudiate … and then interpret the law in your own way.[89]

We have to put to one side the fascinating religious issues generated by this last case, as they would take us too far away from the argument. Our brief incursion into the real life of a specific community has confirmed the importance in practice, as well as theory, of the issues addressed in this chapter. There is a relationship of constant and largely inevitable tension between civil and religious law which arises from their different objectives, different sources of legitimacy and different ways of defining the holders of rights and responsibilities within their juridical systems. In our case, this tension was mainly apparent in regard to marriage and divorce. As Lois Dubin has rightly observed when discussing the consequences of the introduction of civil marriage for Jewish communities, 'to lose control over matrimonial law is to lose control over the essential elements of collective identity'.[90] These communities found themselves in difficulty in managing their relationship with the state on one hand, and with single individuals on the other: they were forced to live with the fear of seeing their authority undermined by the establishment of a direct relationship between Jewish citizens and state institutions, a possibility that was inherent in a regime of legal equality. Jewish community leaders were upholders of liberal principles in the defence of the rights of the minority but much less so when the freedom of the individual was at stake: a freedom that increasingly often led people to abandon the collective dimension of Jewishness, as well as its religion and tradition.

Notes

1. See S. Dazzetti (2008) *L'autonomia delle comunità ebraiche italiane nel Novecento. Leggi, intese, statuti, regolamenti* (Turin: Giappichelli), pp. 3–13, and its bibliography. See also M. F. Maternini Zotta (1983) *L'ente comunitario ebraico. La legislazione degli ultimi due secoli* (Milan: Giuffrè); E. Capuzzo (2004) *Gli ebrei italiani dal Risorgimento alla scelta sionista* (Florence: Le Monnier), pp. 79–107; T. Catalan (1997) 'L'organizzazione delle comunità ebraiche italiane dall'Unità alla prima guerra mondiale' in C. Vivanti (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11. Gli ebrei in Italia*, 2, *Dall'emancipazione a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 1243–90; M. Toscano (2003) 'L'uguaglianza senza diversità: Stato, società e questione ebraica nell'Italia liberale', in *Ebraismo e antisemitismo in Italia. Dal 1848 alla guerra dei sei giorni* (Milan: Franco Angeli), pp. 24–47.

2. See *Relazione che accompagnava il progetto di legge presentato dal Ministro di Grazia, Giustizia e dei Culti alla Camera dei Deputati nella tornata del 9 marzo 1865 per la promulgazione della legge del 4 Luglio 1857 sulle Università israelitiche nelle provincie del Regno nelle quali non era in vigore*, and *Relazione della Commissione nominata dalla Camera dei Deputati sul progetto di legge per la promulgazione della legge del 4 Luglio 1857 sulle Università Israelitiche nelle Provincie nelle quali non era in vigore presentata dal Deputato Levi nella tornata del 24 Marzo 1865*, given in I. Rignano (1885) *Della uguaglianza civile e della libertà dei culti secondo il diritto pubblico del regno d'Italia*, 3rd edition (Livorno: Francesco Vigo), appendices XXX (p. CXXVIII) and XXXI (p. CXXIX). My quotations are from this edition unless otherwise specified.
3. On the law of 1930 see R. De Felice (2001) *The Jews in Fascist Italy: A History*, translated by R. L. Miller (New York: Enigma), pp. 99–106 and 485–94; M. Sarfatti (2006) *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), pp. 54–62 (originally published in Italian as *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista. Vicende, identità, persecuzione* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000)); A. Cavaglion (2002) *Ebrei senza saperlo* (Naples: l'ancora del mediterraneo), pp. 103–110; S. Dazzetti (2002) 'Gli ebrei italiani e il fascismo: la formazione della legge del 1930 sulle comunità israelitiche' in A. Mazzacane (ed.) *Diritto, economia e istituzioni nell'Italia fascista* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), pp. 219–54; G. Fubini (1998) *La condizione giuridica dell'ebraismo italiano* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier), pp. 51 et seq.
4. See the Supplement to no. 79 of the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of 23 March 1989, appended to Law no. 101 of 8 March 1989. On this see Fubini, *La condizione giuridica dell'ebraismo italiano*, pp. 134 et seq.; S. Dazzetti (1998) 'Un percorso di libertà. Il dibattito e le scelte dell'ebraismo italiano preliminari all'Intesa con lo Stato (1977-1987)', *Diritto Ecclesiastico*, 2, 242–64.
5. See Catalan, 'L'organizzazione delle comunità ebraiche italiane', pp. 1257–65.
6. 'Il primo Congresso delle Comunità Israelitiche d'Italia', *VI*, 57 (1909), 526–9; 'Resoconto del Convegno tenutosi a Milano il 14 e 15 novembre fra le Università e gli Istituti Pii Israelitici del Regno', *VI*, 57 (1909), 545–51.

7. 'Un voto del Convegno di Milano. La Federazione fra le Università Israelitiche d'Italia', *VI*, 58 (1910), 51–2.
8. For an analysis of the various groupings in the Jewish world of the period, within a particular community, see S. Levis Sullam (2001) *Una comunità immaginata. Gli ebrei a Venezia (1900–1938)* (Milan: Unicopli), pp. 31–48.
9. See 'Il II Congresso delle comunità israelitiche italiane', *VI*, 59 (1911), 98–100; L. Ravenna (1911) 'Il secondo Congresso Israelitico di Milano', *VI*, 59, 136–42; 'La prima adunanza del Comitato delle Università Israelitiche Italiane', *CI*, 50, 1 (1911), 14–15; 'Il secondo Convegno della Federazione delle Università Israelitiche d'Italia (Firenze, 19 novembre 1911)', *CI*, 50, 7 (1911); 'Il Secondo Congresso delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane in Milano', *SI*, 2, 6 (1911), 2–3; M. Finzi (1911) 'Intorno al Secondo Congresso delle Comunità Israelitiche a Milano', *SI*, 2, 8, 1; 'Il II Congresso delle comunità a Milano', *SI*, 2, 9 (1911).
10. L. Ravenna (1913) 'Sullo schema di statuto del Consorzio israelitico', *VI*, 61, 381–6. See also A. Colombo (1913) 'Sul prossimo Congresso delle Comunità Israelitiche', *VI*, 61, 605–6; L. Ravenna (1913) 'Ancora del progetto di Consorzio', *VI*, 61, 606–10; 'Sulla costituzione di un Consorzio fra le Comunità Israelitiche Italiane', *SI*, 4, 45 (1913), 1–2; A. Pacifici (1913) 'In tema di Consorzio delle Università Israelitiche', *SI*, 4, 46, 1–2.
11. The text was given in *VI*, 62 (1914), 249–51. See also 'Congresso delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane', *SI*, 5, 20 (1914); 'Congresso delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane', *SI*, 5, 21 (1914), 1–2.
12. 'La prudenza degli uomini rappresentativi d'Israele. A proposito del II Congresso delle Comunità Israelitiche d'Italia', *CI*, 53, 1 (1914), 1–2. On the internal divisions see Catalan, 'L'organizzazione delle comunità ebraiche italiane'; Dazzetti, *L'autonomia delle comunità ebraiche italiane*, pp. 14–23.
13. See 'Comunicato del Comitato delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane', *VI*, 68 (1920), 58–60.
14. See Dazzetti, *L'autonomia delle comunità ebraiche italiane*, pp. 46–67.
15. The full text of the ruling is given in Rignano, *Della uguaglianza civile*, appendix no. XXXII, p. CV. See 'Un'importante Sentenza', *CI*, 11, 7 (1872), 205–9; 'Cronaca mensile italiana', *EI*, 20 (1872), 314.

16. C. Cohen and G. Errera (1896) 'La libertà di coscienza e le tasse pel culto israelitico', *VI*, 44, 155–6.
17. *Sentenza pronunciata dall'Eccell. R. Corte d'Appello in Venezia nella causa civile formale del signor Finzi Cav. Emanuele fu Abramo contro l'Università israelitica di Rovigo* (Rovigo: [n.pub.], 1896): see 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 44 (1896), 196–8; *Sentenza 1–11 febbraio 1897 della Eccell.ma e Suprema Corte di Cassazione di Firenze in causa del Cav. Emanuele Finzi di Badia Polesine contro l'Univ. Isr. di Rovigo* (Rovigo: Tip. Vianello, 1897): see 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 45 (1897), 88–9; L. Ravenna (1897) 'L'Università Israelitica di Firenze e la tassa di culto', *VI*, 45, 226–9 and 243–6: 'Woe if, through exaggerated respect for certain theories which are presented to appear as liberal and progressive, we were to allow our institutes to be enfeebled, our temples to be deserted and our Schools to be closed, and we were to dissolve those bodies that represent us and keep us still united!' (p. 243).
18. Quoted in L. Ravenna (1897) 'La tassa israelitica di culto avanti i tribunali', *VI*, 45, 127. On secularity and secularism, see C. Ghisalberti (2001) 'Laicismo e laicità nell'esperienza italiana', *Clio*, 37, 223–31; G. Verucci (1981) *L'Italia laica prima e dopo l'Unità (1848–1876). Anticlericalismo, libero pensiero e ateismo nella società italiana* (Rome–Bari: Laterza); C. Ghisalberti et al. (2003) *L'Italia laica dalla fine del secolo alla prima guerra mondiale. Atti del convegno di studi svoltosi a Firenze il 3–4 maggio 2002* (Florence: Le Monnier).
19. See *Decisione della Corte di Cassazione di Firenze nella causa Bondì e Università Israelitica di Firenze of 18 January 1869*, full text in Rignano, *Della uguaglianza civile,* appendix no. XXXXII, p. CXXXIV. See also *Sentenza della Pretura del Primo Mandamento di Venezia del 24 Giugno 1876 in causa Sullam e Fraterna generale di culto e beneficenza degli Israeliti in Venezia. Leggi anteriori. Loro perseveranza. Privilegio fiscale,* in Rignano, *Della uguaglianza civile,* appendix no. XXXXIII, p. CXXXVI.
20. The judgements are cited in Fubini, *La condizione giuridica dell'Ebraismo italiano*, pp. 48–9. See also S. Mazzamuto (1997) 'Ebraismo e diritto dalla prima emancipazione all'età repubblicana' in C. Vivanti (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11. Gli ebrei in Italia*, 2, *Dall'emancipazione a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi), p. 1776.

21. 'Gli Israeliti e la tassa di culto', *VI*, 61, 5 (1913), 143. See also *Sentenza nella causa Dott. Giacomo Levi, Emilio Tedeschi, Vittorio Arcibaldo Leoni contro la Comunione Israelitica di Verona* (Verona: Tip. Cooperativa, 1913).
22. A. Modigliani (1897) *La tassa per il culto e la libertà di coscienza* (Florence: Tip. Bonducciana A. Meozzi), p. 20.
23. M. Finzi (1897) *La Università Israelitica di Firenze e il contributo per le sue spese* (Florence: Tip. Luigi Niccolai), p. 12.
24. M. Finzi (1898) *Le Università israelitiche e la libertà di coscienza. Saggio di legislazione comparata* (Florence: Tip. L. Niccolai), p. 89.
25. On Augusto Franchetti (1840–1905) see N. Danelon Vasoli (1998) 'Franchetti, Augusto', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 50, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/augusto-franchetti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. David Castelli (1835–1901), a biblical and Hebrew scholar and historian, made contributions on a series of important questions regarding the relationship between civil and religious law. See D. Castelli (1881) 'Della pena di morte nella legislazione ebraica', *Rivista penale*, 14, 5–6, and his observations in *La legge del popolo ebreo nel suo svolgimento storico* (Florence: Sansoni, 1884). He also took part in the debate on the validity of the Nissim Samama will, reconstructed in C. Facchini (2005) *David Castelli. Ebraismo e scienze delle religioni tra Otto e Novecento* (Brescia: Morcelliana, pp. 76–9, and in B. Armani (2006) *Il confine invisibile. L'élite ebraica di Firenze 1840–1914* (Milan: Franco Angeli), pp. 163–5.
26. D. Castelli (1898) *La tassa obbligatoria per il culto israelitico. Lettera aperta di David Castelli a Augusto Franchetti* (Florence: Bonducciana), reproduced in Facchini, *David Castelli*, pp. 272–4.
27. M. Finzi (1910) 'Una proposta', *SI*, 1, 1. See also 'La tassa nella università israelitica di Firenze', *SI*, 1, 14 (1910).
28. See 'La tassa di culto nelle Comunità della Toscana', *VI*, 60 (1912), 257–60, 285–8, 318–21; 'Una Sentenza del Tribunale Civile di Firenze', *SI*, 2, 21 (1911), 3–4; 'Una sentenza della Corte d'Appello di Firenze', *SI*, 3, 3 (1912), 2–3.
29. As regards the Jews, the gap in the law was not filled until Royal Decree no. 1731 of 1930, which approved the principle of compulsory membership for all Italian Jews and provided regulations for leaving the communities in Article 5: 'The Jew who converts to another religion or who claims he no longer wishes to be consid-

ered a Jew according to the present decree, ceases to be a member of the Community. Such statement must be filed with the president of the Community or with the chief rabbi, in person or by a legal document. The Jew who ceases to be a member of the Community according to the first clause, loses the right to benefit from the Jewish institutions of any community. In particular, he loses the right to ritual acts and to burial in Jewish cemeteries' (quoted in De Felice, *The Jews in Fascist Italy*, p. 485).

30. G. E. Modigliani (1975) *Discorsi parlamentari* (Rome: Grafica Editrice Romana), vol. 1, p. 70. Note the reference to 'Jewish Italians' rather than 'Italian Jews'. On Modigliani see D. Cherubini (1990) *Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani: un riformista nell'Italia liberale* (Milan: Franco Angeli).
31. See I. Pavan (2003) '"Ebrei" in affari tra realtà e pregiudizio. Paradigmi storiografici e percorsi di ricerca dall'Unità alle leggi razziali' in B. Armani and G. Schwarz (eds), *Ebrei borghesi (Identità familiare, solidarietà e affari nell'età dell'emancipazione)*, special issue of *Quaderni Storici*, 114, 3, 817, n. 84.
32. See note 21 above.
33. 'In lettura. Quell'ineffabile Modigliani…!', *VI*, 62 (1914), 370.
34. 'Note e commenti', *SI*, 5, 23 (1914).
35. See I. Rignano (1860) *Sul feriato israelitico. Brevi cenni* (Livorno: Tip. di Francesco Vigo); G. Pereyra De Leon (1860) *Considerazioni sul feriato israelitico in risposta ad un opuscolo del signor avv. Isacco Rignano* (Florence: Felice Paggi); E. D. Bachi (1860) 'Le feste israelitiche e la legge civile', *EI*, 8, 49–55. From *L'Idea Sionista* see D. Camerini (1907) 'Salvaguardiamo i nostri diritti', 7, 8, 74–5; [Apertus] (1907) 'Sulla legge del riposo festivo', 7, 9–10, 103–5. From *La Settimana Israelitica* see [editorial untitled and unsigned], 1, 42 (1910); 'Esami e feste israelitiche', 4, 21 (1913), 3.
36. F. Servi (1875) 'Cimiteri comuni-Cremazione-Divorzio', *VI*, 23, 11.
37. *VI*, 32 (1884), 405–6.
38. See TB, *Nedarim*, 28a; *Gittin*, 10b; *Bava Kamma*, 113a–b; *Bava Basra*, 54b–55a.
39. In July 1806 Napoleon convened an 'Assembly of Notables' in Paris, consisting of prominent Jews from every region of the French empire, and asked this to respond to 12 questions that were regarded as crucial for an assessment of the viability of the minority

being integrated. In February 1807 most of the responses developed by the Assembly were endorsed by the 'Grand Sanhedrin', a reinterpretation of the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, the religious and judicial authority operating during the Second Temple period. See P. E. Hyman (1998) *The Jews of Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 35–52.

40. See G. Graf (1985) *Separation of Church and State: Dina de-Malkhuta Dina in Jewish Law, 1750–1848* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press), p. 2.
41. Cremation had been the subject of long debates within the rabbinate, which was largely hostile to it. See for example B. Artom (1876) 'La cremazione', *VI*, 24, 294–9 and 327–31; G. E. Levi (1895) 'La cremazione dei cadaveri presso gli ebrei', *CI*, 14, 5–6, 60–2; 'In caso di cremazione', *VI*, 44 (1896), 77–9; V. Castiglioni (1907) 'La cremazione dei cadaveri e il rito israelitico', *VI*, 55, 379–83; S. Colombo (1908) *Sepoltura o cremazione?* (Casale Monferrato: Rossi e Lavagno); H. Friedenthal (1911) 'Ancora della cremazione', *VI*, 59, 440–2.
42. D. Camerini (1893) 'Per la libertà di culto', *VI*, 41, 266.
43. Facchini, *David Castelli*, p. 85.
44. The legal codes of Piedmont (1837), Modena (1852), Parma and Piacenza (1820), Modena (1851) and the Two Sicilies (1819) did not provide for civil marriage. See Mazzamuto, 'Ebraismo e diritto', p. 1773; E. Capuzzo (1999) *Gli ebrei nella società italiana. Comunità e istituzioni tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Rome: Carocci), pp. 145–64.
45. For a history of the debates on divorce see M. Seymour (2006) *Debating Divorce in Italy: Marriage and the Making of Modern Italians, 1860–1974* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), and its bibliography.
46. This change happened gradually and did not affect all charitable bodies, as those whose statutes explicitly specified that their beneficiaries should belong to a particular religion were allowed to retain the reference to religious marriage. Controversial cases continued to arise for years, as can be seen in the records of the *Consiglio superiore di beneficenza* (Charity High Council). See ACS, *Ministero dell'Interno. Consiglio Superiore di Assistenza e Beneficenza Pubblica. Verbali 1904–1920.*

47. 'Il Consorzio. Nuova esortazione ai consigli israeliti piemontesi', *EI*, 6 (1858), 93–4.
48. Proceedings cited in L. Ravenna (1865) 'Il divorzio', *EI*, 13, 17–18.
49. M. Mortara (1864) *Il matrimonio civile considerato giusta le norme del diritto e dell'opportunità* (Mantua: Benvenuti), p. 6.
50. Mortara, *Il matrimonio civile*, p. 6.
51. This pamphlet also had some impact outside the Jewish community. See for example 'Rapporto del S.O. ed archivista Avv. G. Malvezzi sul libro "Il Matrimonio civile considerato giusta le norme del diritto e della opportunità; studii di MARCO MORTARA rabbino maggiore degl'Israeliti di Mantova" (Mantova, Virg. Franc. Benvenuti, rapp. da G. Biaggi, tip.-impr. 1864)', *Atti dell'Ateneo Veneto*, series 2, vol. 1 (Venice: Tip. del Commercio Impr., 1864), pp. 299–304.
52. G. Consolo (1864) *Del divorzio nei suoi rapporti colle leggi civili e colla libertà dei culti riconosciuti nello stato* (Padua: co' tipi di A. Bianchi), pp. 13–14, reviewed in *CI*, 3, 7 (1864), 232.
53. 'Il matrimonio civile', *EI*, 12 (1864), 37. The publication of Mortara's pamphlet was also noted in *CI*, 2, 10 (1864), 332.
54. A. Rosmini (1844–1845) *Filosofia del diritto* (Naples: Batelli); M. Gioia (1803) *Teoria civile e penale del divorzio ossia necessità, cause, nuova maniera d'organizzarlo, seguita dall'analisi della legge francese 30 ventoso anno XI, relativa allo stesso argomento* (Milan: Pirotta e Maspero).
55. L. Ravenna (1865) 'Il divorzio', *EI*, 13, 16–19. See also *CI*, 3, 8 (1864), 260–2. *Il Corriere* also mentioned debates on the Austrian law; see for example S. Formiggini (1871) 'Il Matrimonio civile', *CI*, 9, 16-17, 287–9.
56. The first paragraph of Article 68 stated that 'when there are serious reasons for so doing, the king may make exemptions from the impediments specified by numbers 2 and 3 of Article 59'.
57. G. Lattes (1864) 'Alcune considerazioni sul matrimonio fra parenti', *EI*, 12, 231 and 234. See also G. Lattes (1864) 'Risposta al Rab. Mag. Mortara', *EI*, 12, 355–7.
58. M. Mortara (1864) 'Sui matrimonii consanguinei', *EI*, 12, 22–3.
59. M. Mortara (1864) 'Risposta alle considerazioni sul matrimonio fra parenti dell'Ecc.mo Sig. Rabb. Magg. G. Lattes', *EI*, 12, 263.

60. E. Benamozegh (1890) *Lettere dirette a S.D. Luzzatto* (Livorno: self-published), p. 38. On pp. 43–4 the indissolubility of marriage is strongly criticized.
61. 'Il nuovo codice civile', *EI*, 14 (1866), 24–5.
62. Servi, 'Cimiteri comuni-Cremazione-Divorzio', 13.
63. Rignano, *Della uguaglianza civile* (1868 edition), pp. 36–7; Rignano, *Della uguaglianza civile* (1885 edition), pp. 26 et seq.
64. Divorce had been in the Napoleonic Code, only to be abolished in 1816. See L. Racah (1891) 'Gli israeliti e il divorzio. Naquet e Cremieux', *CI*, 30, 3, 53–7.
65. V. Polacco (1894) *La questione del divorzio e gli Israeliti in Italia* (Padua: Fratelli Drucker), p. 39. This pamphlet was cited on various occasions: see for example G. Jarè (1894) 'La questione del divorzio e gli Israeliti in Italia', *VI*, 42, 80, in which the author wondered whether it was possible to be both Jewish and anti-divorce. See also *Le divorce au point de vue israélite. Appel au rabbinat de France*, Consultation par M.le G.R. M.A. Weill (Paris: Imprimerie Jouaust et Sigaux, 1886). Vittorio Polacco is well known for the position he took 30 years later on Giovanni Gentile's reform of education. In his speech in the Senate on 7 February 1925 he described the reform as a 'sacrilegious attack' on the 'sanctuary of consciences' and compared the privileged position awarded to Catholicism to a pogrom. See V. Polacco (1925) *Per la libertà di coscienza e la tutela delle minoranze religiose* (Rome, Tip. del Senato del dott. G. Bardi).
66. Polacco, *La questione del divorzio*, p. 65.
67. On the Sanhedrin see Sofia, 'Il tema del confronto e dell'inclusione'.
68. Polacco, *La questione del divorzio*, pp. 65–6.
69. E. Jona (1905) 'Il divorzio in Italia secondo un ebreo', *VI*, 53, 228–31.
70. A. Zammatto (1907) 'Del divorzio', *VI*, 55, 505.
71. I. G. Cingoli (1907) 'Confutazione allo scritto sul divorzio', *VI*, 55, 562–3.
72. I. Zoller (1920) 'Per la conservazione del diritto al divorzio fra gli ebrei di Trieste', *VI*, 68, 225. On Israel Zoller, who converted to Catholicism after the Second World War, see G. Rigano (2006) *Il caso Zolli: l'itinerario di un intellettuale in bilico tra fedi, culture e nazioni* (Milan: Guerini).

73. See S. Iona (1866) 'Matrimonio religioso', *EI*, 14, 80–2; M. Sorani (1866) 'Il divorzio religioso', *EI*, 14, 129–32; A. Mainster (1866) 'Riflessi su alcuni bisogni dell'israelitismo italiano', *EI*, 14, 321–5; 'Il matrimonio religioso', *EI*, 18 (1870), 146–7.
74. See S. Colombo (1895) *Una questione di divorzio secondo il diritto ebraico. Opera premiata al concorso Belimbau* (Livorno: Stab. tip.-lit. Ulivieri e Fagiolini); G. Racah (1895) *Gli Israeliti e il divorzio. Lavoro premiato al concorso Belimbau bandito in Livorno nell'Ottobre 1891* (Trieste: Tipografia Morterra & comp. Ed.).
75. See from *Il Vessillo Israelitico*: B. Levi (1878) 'Il progetto morale sul divorzio e le Leggi Talmudiche', 26, 241–4; I. R. Tedeschi (1886) 'Levirato e Divorzio', 34, 288–90; E. Lolli (1886) 'Divorzio e Levirato', 34, 320–3; M. Sorani (1886) 'Divorzio e Levirato', 34, 351–3; I. R. Tedeschi (1886) 'Divorzio e Levirato', 34, 384–7; 'Il Levirato e Divorzio', 35 (1887), 5–8. Polygamy was not forbidden by religious law until about the year 1000, when Rabbi Gershom ben Judah at a synod in Worms issued a pronouncement (*takkanah*) prohibiting Jews from taking more than one wife.
76. For an interesting discussion on the *halitzah*, following the ruling of a Hungarian civil court which had felt able to force a man to undergo the ceremony against his will, to protect the rights of the woman, see in *L'Univers Israélite*: 'La "chalitsa" obligatoire', 37, 6 (1881), 172; 'Lévirat et impureté', 37, 7 (1881), 195–7; 'La "chalitsa" devant la loi française', 37, 16 (1882), 485–7.
77. Lois Dubin has studied two very interesting cases concerning the Trieste Jewish community at the end of the eighteenth century. See L. Dubin (1994) 'Les liaisons dangereuses. Mariage juif et état moderne à Trieste au XVIII^{e} siècle', *Annales HSS*, 5, 1139–70; L. Dubin (2009) 'Benedetto Frizzi e Rachele Morschene: teoria e pratica del matrimonio moderno' in M. Brignani and M. Bertolotti (eds) *Benedetto Frizzi. Un illuminista ebreo nell'età dell'emancipazione* (Florence: La Giuntina), pp. 133–44. On mixed marriages see Chap. 2 above.
78. See Rignano, *Della uguaglianza civile*, pp. XXI–XXII.
79. The documentation on the cases described in subsequent paragraphs can be found, unordered and unnumbered, in ACELI, b. 203, 1905–1909, fasc. 'Ricorso Misul per conferimento sussidio dotale'.

80. Misul cited two precedents in which the community itself had accepted this interpretation: the cases of Luisa Tedeschi and Irma De Paz. The documentation indicates that they, too, had contracted mixed marriages, but reveals nothing else.
81. For the exchanges on the Misul case, see ACS, *Ministero dell'Interno. Consiglio Superiore di Assistenza e Beneficenza Pubblica*, *Determinazioni*, b. 22, fasc. *Ricorsi vari*.
82. The picture is further complicated by the addition of the case of another young woman, Lidia Funaro, who was in the same situation as Misul. This was formally linked to the outcome of the Misul proceedings (see the letter from the community to the prefect, 7 April 1912).
83. As only the draft of this letter could be located in the archive, it is not clear whether the letter was actually sent.
84. See Deuteronomy 23: 3: 'No one misbegotten shall be admitted into the congregation of the Lord; none of his descendants, even in the tenth generation, shall be admitted into the congregation of the Lord'. 'Mamzer', rendered here (in the Jewish Study Bible) as 'misbegotten', has normally been interpreted in Jewish law to refer to the offspring of adultery or incest between Jews.
85. The lawyer Dario Corcos wrote a piece defending the president of the Livorno community and the rabbi: *R. Pretura del 2º Mand. di Livorno. Brevi repliche al caso di fanatismo religioso* (Livorno: Belforte, 1912). This was followed by a publication by Samuele Colombo, *La parola al fanatico* (Livorno: Belforte, 1912). Funaro's lawyer published an account of his own: A. Coen (1912) *Comparsa conclusionale a favore della signora Adriana Funaro-Piazza contro il signor Rabbino dott. Samuele Colombo e contro la Università Israelitica di Livorno* (Livorno:Tip. Fagiolini e C.).
86. *R. Pretura del II Mandamento di Livorno. Sentenza in causa Adriana Funaro-Piazza contro comm. Raffaello Rosselli e cav. dott. Samuele Colombo Rabbino Maggiore* (Livorno: Belforte, 1912); see also 'Bollettino bibliografico', *VI*, 61 (1913), 218.
87. See 'A proposito di una causa civile intentata al Rabbino di Livorno', *VI*, 60 (1912), 693–6; F. Momigliano (1912) 'Dal caso di Livorno all'essenza dell'ebraismo (Replica al Rabbino Camerini)', *VI*, 60, 760.
88. A. Lattes (1912) 'A proposito di una causa civile intentata contro l'Università Israelitica e contro il Rabbino di Livorno', *VI*, 60, 759.

89. Momigliano, *Dal caso di Livorno all'essenza dell'ebraismo*, 761. There was a reply by Donato Camerini (1913) 'Ancora del caso di Livorno', *VI*, 61, 5. Momigliano and Camerini had clashed on previous occasions. Shortly before the Adriana Funaro case they had been opponents in another dispute on the possibility of introducing changes to prayer texts. See F. Momigliano (1912) 'Una proposta rivoluzionaria o conservatrice?', *VI*, 60, 15–17; D. Camerini (1912) 'Sulla opportunità di modificare alcune preghiere', *VI*, 60, 105–8; F. Momigliano (1912) 'Per la revisione della "Tefilà"', *VI*, 60, 176–80; D. Camerini (1912) 'Ancora sulla questione delle modificazioni alle preghiere', *VI*, 60, 250–3; F. Momigliano (1912) 'C'è un punto d'accordo? (Per finire)', *VI*, 60, 283–5.The 'In lettura' section, *VI*, 60 (1912), 288, acknowledges the resumption of this debate in *Coenobium* and *Corriere della Sera* of 29 April; following Momigliano, these publications introduced the notion of 'Jewish modernism'. See A. Cavaglion (1988) *Felice Momigliano (1866–1924). Una biografia* (Bologna: Il Mulino), pp. 135–64; A. Cavaglion, *Ebrei senza saperlo*, pp. 147–69.
90. Dubin, 'Les liaisons dangereuses', 1166.

CHAPTER 5

Plural Identities in the Age of Nationalisms

The concept of citizenship that emerged from the American and French revolutions gave male citizens from every social background the right and responsibility to take up arms in defence of their fatherland.[1] Symbols and practices inspired by the idea of honour, previously just the preserve of a restricted oligarchy, were now shared by all members of a nation in arms. Before emancipation the Jews had largely been excluded from this symbolic world: deprived of the rights of citizenship and subject to special restrictive regimes, they were as a rule exempted from military service and not seen as having any relationship with the values of courage, loyalty, dedication and sacrifice. The strong Christian and Christological connotations that this moral and civil dimension had acquired throughout Europe over the previous centuries helped to reinforce perceptions of an in-built Jewish incompatibility. From this perspective, emancipation and the participation of many Jews in municipal police forces from the late eighteenth century onwards was a major turning point; it was not enough, however, to ensure a rapid and definitive demolition of stereotypes that had existed from time immemorial. Furthermore, nineteenth-century anthropological and psychiatric theories, which often assigned female physical and mental characteristics to Jews, appeared to authenticate their ancient and unfavourable image.

The patriotism and fighting spirit of the emancipated European Jews could not be put to the test on a large scale until the outbreak of the First World War; throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the

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early years of the twentieth, Jewish communities in Western Europe felt themselves under suspicion, despite the relatively painless integration of individuals with the rest of society.

On the Jewish part, the opportunity to be part of the 'nation in arms' was greeted with enthusiasm, and those who died in the battles of the Risorgimento acquired the status of martyrs who had given their lives for a double cause: the defence of their fatherland, and the demonstration of bravery and patriotism to their fellow citizens. The idea of having to constantly prove their allegiance to the prevailing values of society and the state, gratitude for the emancipation that had occurred and love for their fatherland: these were all deeply etched in the spirits of participants in the Risorgimento struggles and in those of their descendants. In the first decades after Unification these impulses broke out in a cathartic and liberating manner, whereas from the end of the century a more troubled and defensive attitude can be detected. The climate became more conflictual both without and within the minority: while externally European society was clearly pervaded by anti-Semitic currents, internally there were increasing clashes between Zionists and anti-Zionists. Questions about Jewish dual loyalties developed in Europe at this time; in relation to Italy, these were to become particularly hostile with the Libyan war (1911–1912) and were ceaselessly debated within the continuous arguments between Zionists, anti-Zionists and those in the centre ground. Although Italy did not experience the extensive use of anti-Semitism as a political tool, suspicions of disloyalty and the idea of treachery were frequently mentioned.[2]

A simple re-affirmation of a dichotomy between the public (Italian) and the private (Jewish), which had already had its weaknesses exposed in the previous decades, was no longer sufficient when confronted by phenomena such as Zionism, anti-Semitism and nationalism. The elites of both Italian and European Judaism made great efforts to delineate a specifically Jewish path to honour, heroism and patriotism. At the European level, the Dreyfus Affair marked a moment of crisis and unleashed a fierce attack on these positions. In newspaper articles and illustrations on this topic, the image of the effeminate and cowardly Jew was overlaid with that of the intellectual, in reference to Dreyfus' supporters, and the traitor.[3] It is no coincidence that from the 1890s onwards Jewish military valour was questioned again, and with greater insistence, right across Western Europe. This issue was addressed by Jewish advocates in varying ways: history was invoked to reconstruct all the episodes that might illustrate the military prowess of ancient Israel; the present was scoured for statistics and edify-

ing examples testifying to Jewish valour; and the image was constructed of a Jew who had been regenerated in body and spirit, for his fellow Jews to emulate, which bore much more resemblance to his warrior ancestors than to the ghetto-dwellers or the contemporary well-fed bourgeoisie. Jewish periodicals were assiduous in constantly updating and publishing lists of Jewish soldiers, especially officers, to go alongside the names of Jewish parliamentary deputies, senators, ministers, university professors and other eminent figures.

5.1 Heroes and Martyrs

Throughout the nineteenth century voices within the minority were raised to celebrate an inherent propensity of the 'Jewish nation' for heroism, referring back to images from a remote past turned into legend. The Bible story, interpreted as a great national epic, offered examples of military action undertaken by the chosen people, and many other episodes provided instances of resistance to invaders in times before the Diaspora. In an apologia mentioned earlier in this book, *Morale ebraica e morale cristiana* (*Jewish morality and Christian morality*) (drafted in 1863), Elia Benamozegh identified the love of one's fatherland as an element that distinguished the ascetic, spiritual and supranational Christianity from Judaism:

> The Jew who had a fatherland, and whose love for this was infinitely greater than any other love, was the natural enemy of all those who conspired for its defeat, its shame and its servitude.[4]

This interpretation was diametrically opposed to that which presented the Jew as displaced, without a fatherland, roving the world and incapable of attachment, which enjoyed much more success.

Evidence was sought in the past for the fact that Israel, too, had produced great figures worthy of remembrance and nameless masses of unknown soldiers: the founders of a history and an identity which for Zionism had to be the basis for a new national consciousness, but which for the majority within European Judaism needed to be integrated with the history of their fatherland. The Italian situation, at the edge of the international picture, has not yet been investigated in all its detail. The relationship of Judaism with history, its evolution, and the birth of a Jewish historiography have been central to recent research which has par-

ticularly focused on the German context within which the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* flourished; this research has highlighted the existence of two distinct and complementary lines in the development of historical works produced by nineteenth-century Judaism. On the one hand, there were studies that emphasized the common origins and similar destinies of the various branches of the Jewish Diaspora, representing a 'history of the Jews' at the global level. On the other, histories were written of the German, French, Italian and British Jews that highlighted the specific nature of their different experiences and their place within the history of the nation: in the German and Italian cases, their role in the process of nation building. Two complementary narratives thus took shape, both being essential for a 'minority' that was constantly interacting with the surrounding society.[5]

The Italian Jewish production of histories, handbooks, journalism and literature offers a great wealth of texts celebrating the people of heroes and the martyr people, which were intended to be simultaneously defensive, educational and promotional:

> Israel, say the anti-Semites, is a vile, weak-hearted, cowardly people. […]
>
> But how can one call cowardly a people that can boast of heroes such as those who shine in the marvellous epic that unfolds in the glorious period of the Maccabees: heroes who by the noble deeds they performed for their fatherland are the equal of the most famous immortalized by the inimitable pen of the good Plutarch? Cowardly, a people who […], while everyone bowed before the Roman colossus, alone dared to face its mighty power undaunted […]? Cowardly, a people who in the defence of its dying nationhood gave more than a million lives undeterred in the heroic defence of Jerusalem, and more than half a million in that of Betar, where Israel as a political nation breathed its last? […]
>
> And this courage, this valour […], Israel still displays them now, whenever the country that has become its adoptive fatherland stands in peril, and when the Jew, whatever the anti-Semites say, is a good citizen, a hot-blooded patriot, and unhesitatingly ready, when needs must, to give up his possessions and his life for the land of his birth.[6]

It was thus that in 1885 the Livornese rabbi Leone Racah, who had recently become joint editor of *Il Corriere* and had come through the debate with Mantegazza over circumcision, sought to refute the anti-

Semitic disparagement that was becoming increasingly common in Europe. At the centre of his argument were references to the Maccabees, noted as liberators of Jerusalem from the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century BCE, and to the defence of Betar, the concluding episode of the Bar Kokhba revolt. Between 132 and 135 CE Simon bar Kokhba led a rebellion against Roman rule; by presenting himself as the Messiah he gave his actions a religious significance and thus gained a certain degree of support. He died during the defence of Betar. Both the man and his revolt, as a whole, were given very varying assessments from those who followed but were rediscovered in a positive frame in the second half of the nineteenth century. Zionism promoted the episode as a symbol of national heroism and a model for young people, to the point where associations and publications named after Bar Kokhba proliferated, especially in Eastern Europe.[7] Betar gave its name to the youth group of the revisionist Zionists, founded in 1923 and linked to Ze'ev Jabotinsky.[8]

In the sources I have consulted there are much more frequent references to the Maccabees, warrior heroes *par excellence*, who were extolled as a weapon against the anti-Semites and the spectre of assimilation, and depicted as defenders of the nation and its religion:

> [T]hey fought for their nationhood and their faith at the same time, and had, in the words of the Psalmist, 'praise for God … on their lips, and a two-edged sword in their hand'.[9]

The episode of the Maccabees, with its different layers of meaning, had its potential exploited to the full.[10] As defenders of their fatherland, they were described as illustrious champions of that Jewish nation which according to the anti-Zionists no longer existed but which the Zionists believed was ready to rise again. As defenders of their religion, they were portrayed as soldiers fighting in the name of a higher ideal, with supranational significance, consistent with the common nineteenth-century interpretation of Judaism as invested with a priestly and peace-making mission in relation to humanity as a whole. Moreover, as heroes of the resistance against Hellenistic influences they provided a wonderful example of the struggle against assimilation:

> We, the Jews of today, also have our temple profaned by outsiders, because our hearts and minds are empty of Jewish ideals and principles; they are full instead of alien ideals and principles, which are sometimes even against Judaism.[11]

Evoking the heroic Hasmoneans was particularly effective, not least because these figures were well established in the collective imaginary of Jews across the world, and also in Christian culture. The name given to them, 'the Maccabees' in English, was synonymous with bravery and religious faith, to the extent that it was also given to figures entirely unrelated to the family of Judas Maccabeus, including seven brothers regarded as martyrs by the Christian Church. Book II of the Maccabees, in particular, became part of the Catholic canon, though not the Jewish, and is considered important for its reflections on the resurrection of the dead and on salvation as an immediate consequence of martyrdom. The account by Emilio Artom, father of the partisan Emanuele and brother of the Zionist rabbi Elia Samuele, gives us a rare and very helpful insight into how the story of the Maccabees was received and re-worked. Depicting his family as modest in both their financial situation and education but endowed with 'a strong feeling of Italianness', Emilio particularly remembered the influence of his mother's patriotism, which was strengthened and legitimated in a religious key: '[my mother] taught us that whoever dies fighting for their fatherland goes to paradise, according to the Second Book of Maccabees'.[12]

Mattathias the Hasmonean and his sons became early on the essential point of reference for Jewish gymnastic associations throughout Europe and the USA and remain so today. Moreover, they were frequently to be found in collections of history stories for children of school age, a genre that was much promoted by rabbis and educators:

> Inspired by a holy zeal, [Judas Maccabeus] defeated one by one all the armies that Antiochus Eupator, the successor to Epiphanes, sent against Palestine. With his troops, who were few in number but all brave men, encouraged by love of their country, Judas performed amazing feats of valour. […] With his ability he succeeded in making the Jews respected, and ended his glorious career fighting for his fatherland.[13]

This is one of many passages that could be quoted. The Jewish hero leading a handful of brave men was often likened to the figure of Leonidas, a *topos* of the rhetoric of the heroic and a legendary model of virility and martyrdom who was portrayed by Jacques Louis David in his famous painting of 1814 (*Leonidas at Thermopylae*).

Alongside history textbooks, there was an ample output of reading books for children, among them Leone Racah's *Il Plutarco Israelita* (*The*

Israelite Plutarch) (1881). This was intended to offer young Jews a work of homage that would be a complement to the celebration of Italian heroes, rather than an alternative:

> You, then, my dear young children, while remaining Italians, French, English, Germans and so forth, while retaining as your beloved fatherland the land where you drew your first breath, where your parents were born, where can be found the tombs of your ancestors, and which holds your sweetest memories: while fulfilling all the obligations of a son and citizen to that land, giving your possessions and your lives unhesitatingly to it when it has need of them, you still have the sacred responsibility of remaining Jews in your hearts […].
>
> […] It is because of this that I hope that you, who are already familiar with the famous names of Dante, Petrarch, Michelangelo, Ferruccio, Galileo and other great people […], will read with affection these pages, in which I present characters who are no less illustrious, and no less worthy of being forever held in your memory.[14]

These characters were a diverse collection: Simeon the Just, Judas Maccabeus, Simeon ben Shetach, Hillel, King Agrippa, Philo, Josephus Flavius, Akiba, Judah the Holy, Rashi, Maimonides, Abravanel, Menasseh ben Israel, Baruch Spinoza and Moses Mendelssohn.[15]

In a sermon he gave for the festival of Hanukkah in 1891, Racah called Judas 'the Vercingetorix or the Arminius of the Jews, but greater and more fortunate than them' and exhorted his audience to follow their example in the quest for a 'moral redemption' with the call 'God and the people', which the Pharisees had coined long before Mazzini.[16] He reminded people that Judas is also mentioned in Dante's *Paradiso* (canto XVIII, 40) as 'the noble Maccabeus'. Forgetting is an intrinsic part of such efforts of memory, which have no fear of contradictions and glaring anachronisms; they in fact base their expressive force on these, with the aim of giving historical substance to modern emotions and needs. A well-known piece by Dante Lattes, an enthusiastic Zionist who bore the name of Italy's greatest poet and had a brother called Garibaldi,[17] provides a good example of this mechanism:

> Where are they, the great and noble [Maccabees and heroes of antiquity] who gave us life? Why has fate not wanted their descendants to acknowledge them by mourning at their tombs, and to have their souls draw inspiration

> for great and noble deeds from these?—O hero who sleeps on the sweet island [Garibaldi] and who receives salutations from a new people, listen, we too had our heroes, but to our heroes no-one sings the hymn of glory! Yet they, too, strove for liberty, both for longer and no less heroically; they too suffered, and they too conquered! You now sleep beneath the cypresses and within the urn consoled by mourning, where perhaps the sleep of death is less hard, but my heroes do not even have a clod of earth on which a flower might grow and where their descendants might come to say a lament and a prayer![18]

Later in the text the dead of Mentana, where Garibaldi was defeated in his attempt on Rome in 1867, are associated with the heroes of Thermopylae and ancient Israel.[19] Ugo Foscolo's poem *Dei Sepolcri*, the worship of the dead and the commemoration of Risorgimento heroes are evoked in order to give the living a fuller sense of their Jewish identity.

In the same vein as these returns to the Maccabean epic, new recognition was given throughout Europe to the festival of Hanukkah, which derived from the rededication of the temple of Jerusalem after its recapture by the Hasmoneans. In 1895, an article in *Il Corriere Israelitico* noted that in England and France its celebration had for some years been given greater prominence and that for the occasion various rabbis were accustomed to perform a 'special religious service for Israelite volunteers in all the armed forces'.[20] For obvious reasons Hanukkah particularly appealed to spheres inspired by Zionism, which contributed to reshaping the way it was celebrated and promoted its infusion with new nationalist meaning, in some cases turning it into a real opportunity for education and popular mobilization. This was more marked in Eastern Europe, where anti-Semitism was more virulent and the position of the Jews more precarious.[21] In its first issue, *L'Idea Sionista* notified its readers of the celebrations of Hanukkah announced by the German Zionist associations for 17 December 1900, with a competition between gymnastics clubs and the organization of 'sporting contests' accompanied by 'artistic and literary entertainments'. The writer solemnly commented that the story of the Maccabees 'is our epic'.[22]

The periodicals also published stories that addressed the themes of the modern-day Jew as a soldier and contemporary Jewish pride and honour. In 1911, when both the Italian and European press printed anti-Jewish attacks in connection with the invasion of Libya, one story featured a naval officer, Giacomo Ascona. He was 'a man in the prime of life: not very tall, but slim and robust. His chest was broad, his shoulders wide and

well-proportioned, and his air stern from the habit of giving orders'.[23] He had always been at ease in the military world, until one day he had to take over command of a ship from an old friend who had taken leave without permission. From then on their friendship was compromised and replaced by repeated shows of hostility which one evening found form in a public declaration: 'Blessed are those countries whose army and navy are not sullied by this despicable race'.[24] Giacomo immediately challenged 'the insolent one' to a duel, feeling suddenly amazed by his own reaction as he had never felt close to Judaism. Having returned home, preoccupied by next day's duel, he rummaged through drawers full of dusty trinkets and found a *mezuzah*:[25]

> He took the tiny bundle in his trembling hand and kissed it reverently, as he had not done for many years; the words of prayer he had heard as a child rose again clear and distinct to his lips: *Shema' Israèl, Adonài Eloènu, Adonài Ehàd!* […] Was this a return to the Faith? I know not, but it was surely a noble and comforting truth that soothed his spirit and put him at peace with himself.[26]

Here the story ended, and the outcome of the duel remained unknown to the readers.[27]

In March 1914 a story by Ernesto Colonna was published. 'La nobile ammenda' ('Making Amends') concerned the young and handsome Lieutenant Derossi, a champion in all sporting and military activities and universally esteemed: a true paragon of the 'regenerated' Jew. In spite of his 'tanned' skin and 'bony' profile—clear indications of his Semitic origins—he was 'robust', 'handsome', and to look at him:

> One could not help feeling a warm admiration, as though he embodied the ideal soldier. His whole bearing and the very way he spoke, always strong and martial, evoked something hard, straightforward and manly, giving off an aura of bravery, generosity and nobility.[28]

The colonel decides to reward him with invitations to the reception his wife holds every Friday evening, but to the colonel's surprise the invitation is rebuffed, week after week. Deeply offended, one Friday he goes unannounced to the lieutenant's house in search of the reason for this rudeness, suspecting that a woman—probably a prostitute—is involved. To their astonishment, the colonel and the officers with him discover Derossi with his elderly mother, absorbed in praying beside the lighted Sabbath candles

and the festival table laid for two. On discovery, the young lieutenant regrets not having revealed himself immediately to his fellow soldiers, feeling that he has 'committed the most cowardly act. […] An abominable act!':

> What I most carefully kept hidden from my comrades, from my superiors in Turin, and from my friends: what I felt to be almost a disgrace, and a badge of disrepute, was my faith. Gentlemen, I am a Jew!
>
> And he said this in such a proud and strong tone that the three officers looked at him in amazement.
>
> And it was in fact true. No one would ever have guessed that the gallant Lieutenant Derossi was an Israelite.
>
> —Yes, a Jew! And while I now proudly proclaim this, I have until today made every effort to prevent my acquaintances from penetrating my hidden sentiments, as if the contempt and ridicule with which my race is even now regarded in the world were to cast a shadow on my dignity as a soldier…[29]
> […]
>
> And thus, as they went out into the street a little later, Colonel Delfrate rattled his sabre energetically and said:—A great and noble race, these Italian Jews![30]

Various ideas reappear in this text: the conviction that the behaviour of individual could dispel widespread prejudices; the emphasis on female family ties as the main vehicles for religious sentiment; the hope that military life could be reconciled with religiousness; and a clear correlation between the character's manly appearance and his martial qualities.

We have seen how the Jewish warriors of old had been located within the discursive and symbolic sphere of nationalism and patriotism and presented to contemporary Jews as common ancestors, progenitors and models. These stories with a warlike setting went together with a rhetoric of sacrifice: alongside military courage were celebrated the valour and moral integrity of the martyr, a category that only partially overlaps with that of the soldier, and in which Christian influences were even more clear. Apart from the figure of Christ, which was an explicit or implicit reference in every form of martyrdom or self-immolation, the Church could count on a veritable army of holy martyrs who were deeply rooted in

the collective consciousness and available as an example both for religious and non-religious purposes. In recent years historians have emphasized the central importance of the language of martyrdom and sainthood in the rhetoric of nationalism and patriotism at both the sophisticated and popular levels.[31] This language was a particularly effective device for giving meaning to death and for elaborating mourning; it exerted an immediate and powerful effect of legitimation which flowed from the martyr to all their peers: the martyr, by definition, has died for a just cause. Among the particular features of the Italian case, it is important to note the bitter cultural, political and military conflict that the national movement had to sustain with the Catholic Church, in which both parties laid claim to the rhetoric of sacrifice and martyrdom in a game of mirrors that favoured a particularly assertive use of this type of discourse. Moreover, as Lucy Riall has observed, Italian nationalism developed from the idea of a decline of the nation—Manzoni's 'dispersed people that has no name'—and had to undergo numerous bloody defeats before triumphing: '[m]artyrdom made sense of these experiences on a personal, political, and metaphorical level'.[32] This finds its counterpart in the representation of Jewish history as a path of suffering and discrimination, to be translated into a moral and physical resurgence, and for some a national resurgence as well.

Rabbi Donato Camerini addressed this theme in a lecture at the Pro Cultura Ebraica society of Padua on 21 May 1911, with the title 'I nostri martiri' ('Our martyrs'). Camerini was picking up the thread of a debate triggered by statements by Luigi Luzzatti some years earlier; these had first been made in an article in 1888,[33] then reiterated in his book *La libertà di coscienza e la scienza*, published in 1909, and repeated in his presentation to the third congress of the Italian Philosophical Society that October. In Luzzatti's discourse the Jewish martyrs of the Middle Ages were compared with the early Christian ones, with the difference that the former died without hope and without believing in a world to come: 'they perished miserably alone, and they move us more to the extent that voluntary death is more devoid of any human or divine reward'.[34] Rather than discuss the specifically religious aspect of this issue, the thinking of Judaism on the immortality of the soul, we look here at the rabbi's response to what was felt to be a provocation:

> Martyrdom, in the history of the Jews, is not just a chapter on particular epochs or individuals, it is their whole history and relates to the entire martyr people. […]

> There is one observation that perpetually recurs: it is the only eulogy for the dead, and also the most beautiful: *nhat chedushád ashém*. *They died for the sanctification of the name of God*. Yes, gentlemen, not miserably resigned, but with full awareness of the value of their sacrifice, with the firm conviction of teaching the world, at the price of their own blood, the greatest of all truths.[35] […]
>
> They sacrificed themselves calmly […] and made heard the cry *The Lord is one*, a cry of protest and of certain future victory. From the great learned Akiba to the most recent wretch perishing in the pogroms in Russia, all died with those words on their lips.[36]

In these few lines there were various allusions and contaminations. The martyrs of Jewish history who were persecuted for their religion died, Camerini noted, for the 'sanctification of the name of God' (thus performing *Kiddush Hashem*): a noble, impersonal and universal idea. Unlike Christianity, Judaism has no organized worship of martyrs and saints, which would in fact be officially forbidden. The Torah prohibits any mutilation of the body and condemns suicide, which is in some instancies equated with murder. The possibility of killing oneself or allowing oneself to be killed is allowed by religious law in very few situations, but across the Middle Ages a wider interpretation of the concept of *Kiddush Hashem* spread, taking in the suicides and homicides committed by Jews in order to escape the Crusaders.[37] The phenomenon developed mainly in Germany and Northern France following the First Crusade and involved individual or collective suicide in order to avoid capture or enforced apostasy. Poems and accounts were written which glorified the martyrs, encouraged people to follow their example if need be and offered instructions on how to perform what was increasingly presented as a true act of sacrifice, to be carried out according to a codified ritual. The most frequent biblical references were the rules for sacrifices set out in Leviticus and the episode of the sacrifice of Isaac (in Hebrew 'akedat Itzhak', 'the binding of Isaac') which illustrates both Abraham's willingness to kill a member of his own family for the glorification of God and the cooperation of his victim.

The voluntary element of sacrifice is extremely important because it gives dignity to the martyrs, who are protagonists in their own death; it is this that allows them to be absorbed into the modern conception of honour. Leviticus emphasizes that the designated victim should be pure and perfect in every way and that their blood has a purifying function in relation to the community. The construction of a self-representation based on

the Jewish people's status as victims, albeit active and courageous, played a part in their claim to a presumed innocence and their consistent alignment with the just and the good in history, which was also due to their lack of involvement in the wielding of power.[38] This image of political powerlessness, moreover, could if necessary be utilized to reinforce an exclusively religious interpretation of Judaism. In this light martyrdom becomes a symbol of justice and the Jews, always victims and never executioners, become the standard-bearers of a moral vision of the world, ready to lay down their lives for a holy cause.[39]

The poems and accounts relating to the First Crusade, in large part produced in the twelfth century, were studied and published during the nineteenth century as part of the creation of a unifying history of the Jewish people and as an element of what Simon Dubnow called the 'lachrymose' view of its history.[40] The *Kiddush Hashem* evoked by Camerini in his lecture 'I nostri martiri' represents an updated and very inclusive martyrology, from 'Akiba to the most recent wretch perishing in the pogroms of Russia'. His reference to the rabbi Akiba, who according to tradition died reciting the *Shema* after terrible torture, related his discourse to a patriotic dimension; Akiba was captured and killed by the Romans for teaching the Torah in public but also for supporting the revolt led by Simon bar Kokhba against the forces of Emperor Hadrian. In the symbolic and discursive framework of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, religion and patriotism appear to offer each other mutual legitimation: heroic dedication to one's fatherland takes on a religious value, and Judaism acquires the blessings of morality and respectability due to its accord with national and patriotic ideals.

Death, the moment that reveals the personality and moral stature of individuals and peoples, and the point when the figure of the hero and soldier fuses with that of the martyr, is the perfect arena for the demonstration of profound instincts and loyalties. It is not surprising that in the European and American Jewish press, in stories and somewhat romanticized accounts of the war, there was a recurrent motif of two enemy soldiers who in their dying moments recognize each other as brothers in faith the moment one of them recites the opening words of the *Shema*.[41] At the moment of departure from this world, national rivalries ceased and a different form of commonality prevailed: the 'two brothers in faith […] die with the name of the One God on their lips'.[42] The medieval martyrs were also often depicted in the act of professing their faith—'Hear, Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one'—at the point of death.

In the contemporary age, the crown of martyrdom was evoked for Alfred Dreyfus at the time of his imprisonment on Devil's Island and in particular for the victims of pogroms which in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seemed to be reviving the dark times of the crusades. The dead and the refugees were portrayed as indistinct and anonymous masses, fated to arouse more compassion than respect among western Jews. As Camerini said, they were 'wretches' who seemed to reclaim their souls only when taking up the defence of their country and bad mother, or when after many wanderings they reached Palestine, where a slow process of regeneration and masculinization might begin.[43]

In their repeated displays of solidarity and brotherhood, alongside actual initiatives undertaken at the philanthropic and diplomatic level, the texts reviewed express a clear detachment of the 'western' Jews from their unfortunate co-religionists. Moreover, Jewish communities in Italy did not experience immigration until much later, and then only to a limited extent, unlike those in France, Britain and Germany.[44] The blood of martyrs both past and present was evoked in order to revive the flagging Jewishness of the assimilated bourgeoisie. Seeing the young Zionists, Rabbi Margulies noted with satisfaction that '[a]lready in some of the young the ancient Jewish pride reawakens; already the noble blood of our martyrs and heroes courses through their veins again'.[45]

Once again, the way of representing otherness illustrated the minority's profound cultural integration not only on the literary but also on the symbolic and religious level. The worship of martyrs and the dead was fuelled by secular exchanges with a world that was predominantly Christian and, in the contemporary era, by the absorption of patriotic rhetoric.

5.2 Agreements and Disagreements: Zionism and Related Issues

In earlier chapters we have seen an essential convergence among Italian Jewish periodicals on some key topics. Despite differences in editorial policies and in matters of style and terminology, to a large extent the publications had the same contributors and readers, and the same hopes and fears. Among the recurrent issues that they dealt with in a similar manner were the effects of mixed marriage, the need for a 'regeneration', religious apathy, the struggle against assimilation, firm support for Jewish institutions and the rabbinate, and the noteworthy achievements of Jews in public life. These issues were clearly central to the expression of Jewish consciousness,

and all Jews, even those most detached from religious tradition and from any tie with the communities, had to deal with them. Many did this privately, and almost covertly; others made public their reflections. We now need to highlight some important divergences.

The fiercest clashes, from the 1880s onwards, had to do with the nature of Zionism, the significance to be given to this movement on both the Italian and international fronts, the choice of self-referential terms ('nazione', 'razza', or 'popolo') and the ways of structuring the bond with the Italian fatherland. The way that the debates developed was determined in part by events internal to the Jewish communities and in part by domestic and foreign politics: the Russian pogroms, trials for ritual murder in Eastern Europe, the Dreyfus Affair, the Libyan war, the First World War and the Balfour Declaration. The enormous amount of material written in the 30 years between 1890 and 1920 by those figures who enlivened the Italian Jewish press was characterized both by its great variety of forms, including articles, books, pamphlets, speeches, sermons, poems and translations, and by its great variety of interpretations, starting out with a limited series of concepts and references which then recur repeatedly.

Italian Zionism was at the periphery of the international movement. The birth and development of this movement on a pan-European scale was based on the increase in virulent manifestations of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, especially in Russia and Romania, on the growth, in Western Europe as well, of nationalist movements making deliberate political use of anti-Semitism, and on the crisis, in Germany and France as well as Italy, of the nineteenth-century cultural and political systems within which the ideology and practice of emancipation and integration had been constructed. Conventionally, the birth of political Zionism is dated to the publication of *Der Judenstaat* by Theodor Herzl in 1896, while the First International Zionist Congress was held in Basle the following year.[46] The Italian branch of the movement has been neglected in the international historiography of Zionism, because Italian Jews were few in number and wielded little influence at the European and world level. In addition, Zionism engaged only a minority within the Italian communities, at least until the 1940s. Despite the small numbers, however, the movement manifested itself in many ways and deeply influenced the course of Jewish consciousness; it in fact forced out into the open many of those difficult and potentially uncomfortable questions that until that point had not been expressed. The intention of this chapter is not to provide a history of Italian Zionism, for which the reader is referred to other

studies,[47] but to indicate how the dialogue between Zionists, anti-Zionists and those not taking a position influenced the development of that Italian Jewish identity which is the real protagonist of this book.

In order to quickly sketch a map of the Zionist points of reference in the Italian peninsula, we should refer to *Il Corriere Israelitico*. In 1896 this publication noted the birth of a new movement[48] and subsequently published an article by Leone Racah with the heading 'La fondazione di uno Stato Giudaico' ('The Foundation of a Jewish State'). Racah, who at the end of the year was to cease being the paper's joint editor, expressed moderate sympathy with Herzl's project but emphasized the need to reflect on its compatibility with 'those lofty ideals that underpin the mission entrusted to Israel, that of regenerating humanity by gathering all together beneath the sacred banner of monotheism'.[49] Similar ambivalences were expressed by much of the rabbinate, including those who were subsequently 'converted' to the Zionist project, such as Giuseppe Sonino;[50] Zionism presented a fundamental challenge to interpretations of the Diaspora as divinely ordained, reinforced by the spread of an understanding of Judaism in a religious key. The position taken by *Il Corriere* became clear during 1897: opposed to *Il Vessillo*, which it portrayed as spreading 'false ideas that are in bad faith', it declared that it had reached the 'moment of awakening', and quoting Nordau, it praised the role of Zionism as a '*shofar* that calls all the Jews of the world to come together'.[51] *Il Corriere* had long been linked to the figure of Dante Lattes; it printed contributions with contrasting views on the movement and its meaning for Italian Jews but always maintained an approach of a religious nature.[52]

A different line was taken by the Italian Zionist Federation (FSI), created in 1901 by a group of militants from the Veneto, which became the advocate for a secular Zionism that was non-religious when not actually anti-religious.[53] In the first issue of its review, *L'Idea Sionista*, Carlo Alberto Conigliani accused emancipated Jews of encouraging anti-Semitism because they had themselves defined Jewishness as being 'a few antiquated religious procedures', whereas they should have shown 'solidarity with our distant brothers, and improved both us and them'. In his opinion Zionism was to be practised as 'a sacrosanct defence of individual and social liberties, and a moral and intellectual promotional activity', in order that 'the Jewish race' would once again be 'an effective element in the civil progress of humanity', by broadcasting that elevated conception of justice which, in this narrative, had been introduced into the world by the Judaism of antiquity.[54] These efforts, he believed, would lead to the

defeat of anti-Semitism. This was a new version, in a modern and secular key, of the principle of regeneration, which also went hand in hand with a negative view of the moral condition of the Jews, the need for redemption and re-education, and the belief that knowledge, dissemination and good deeds would make prejudice disappear. *L'Idea*, which represented the position of a minority within the restricted numbers of Italian Zionism, was the only periodical in sympathy with the 'territorialist' positions according to which it was both possible and necessary to identify a territory as the destination for Jewish emigration, without any assumptions about Palestine. The territorialist approach was conclusively defeated at the Seventh International Congress of 1905.

The position expressed by the group clustered around Shmuel Hirsch Margulies, the founder of *La Settimana Israelitica* which appeared from 1910 to 1915, was different again. A native of Galicia, today part of Ukraine, and in Florence from 1899, Margulies was very involved with educating young people. Among those who grew up within his sphere of influence were Elia Samuele Artom, Umberto Cassuto, Gustavo Castelbolognesi, Dario Disegni, Alfonso Pacifici, David Prato, Angelo Sacerdoti, Armando Sorani and Carlo Alberto Viterbo.[55] This group around *La Settimana* described itself as supporting a religious and nationalistic Zionism, with an aggressive stance, which particularly addressed young people. Margulies also founded the completely different *La Rivista Israelitica*, which appeared from 1904 to 1915; its intention was to be 'for Italy, what the *Revue des Études Juives* was for France, the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for England, and the *Monatschrift* for Germany'.[56] *Il Corriere* and *La Settimana* merged in 1916 to become *Israel*, the first Italian Jewish weekly to be on public sale, which went on to enjoy a very long life.

Italian Zionism has as a whole often been defined as 'philanthropic'; this could be misleading if interpreted in the purest sense, as it was in fact first and foremost a cultural movement characterized by its continual reflection on the role of Jews in contemporary society; for the generations born and raised after Jewish emancipation it provided an opportunity to give fresh meaning to an identity and a history inherited from the past. Once equality before the law had been established and the euphoria and gratitude felt by that generation had dissipated, their children and grandchildren found themselves faced with a diversity that had been emptied of its content: hard to abandon because of the prejudices of fellow citizens and European anti-Semitism, this diversity lived on within family traditions that had sometimes been passed down like empty shells.[57] While in

the mid-nineteenth century the young person was typically in flight from Judaism, seeking recognition and anxious for assimilation within Christian society, at the start of the twentieth it was principally the young Jews (although by no means all of them) who were demanding a more authentic, vital and assertive Jewishness.

I would say that broadly there were two plans of action, which made this sparse and disjointed minority a decisive element in this Italian Jewish panorama at the beginning of the twentieth century. First, those in sympathy with Zionism were the biggest promoters of the 'Pro cultura' associations, which organized courses of classes and lectures on Jewish topics, and were the moving spirits behind the first youth conferences which took place between 1911 and 1914;[58] they made real efforts to set up formal networks for Jewish social exchange, both within communities and between communities, at a time when this trend towards the organization of social life was also a feature outside the Jewish context.[59] Second, they encouraged the use of a language that was combative, proud and militant; the intention was to affirm a Jewish identity that could hold its own in the public arena where increasingly extreme ideologies were in conflict. In *La Settimana*'s approach, the discourse fed on the anti-bourgeois and anti-individualist rhetoric which in the same period typified the language of the Florentine avant-garde and which particularly addressed those Jews who were assimilated, disinterested and spiritless. There was no shortage of criticism for international Zionism, which typically expressed indifference to or outright rejection of religion. As regards anti-Semitism, right from the start this was recognized as having a determining role in relation to the new Jewish vitality, perhaps even assisting its development: presented as an ally in the struggle against assimilation, it was described in *Il Corriere* as a 'salutary medicine'[60] and hailed as 'providential'.[61] The Zionist periodicals were in fact generally more alert to the development of anti-Semitism, but reactions of this kind suggest that there was little awareness of its harmful potential and, above all, of how deeply rooted it was in Western Europe. Despite the complaints resulting from Italian manifestations of anti-Semitism, especially Catholic ones, people still believed that Italy was not an environment where the phenomenon would grow. The book *Israele nella società moderna e il suo problema angosciante* (*Israel in Modern Society and its Troubling Problem*) was published in 1911 by Raffaele Ottolenghi, a lawyer, philanthropist, socialist, Zionist and scholar of the origins of Christianity and ancient Judaism, who had been born in 1860 in Acqui. Ottolenghi reported that the anti-Jewish stereotypes that had originated

in the Catholic sphere were emerging anew in other sectors of society and politics, and highlighted the publication of a series of articles on ritual murder in *La Lupa*, edited by Paolo Orano, whom he regarded as his personal friend, as well as a colleague, in view of their shared interest in the genealogy of religions. In Ottolenghi's review of historical development, the anti-Semitism of the trade unionism that followed Sorel was just the most recent in a series of great disappointments for the Jews which included the Reformation, modernism, Pius IX and socialism.

Ottolenghi, who committed suicide in 1917 not long after Leopoldo Franchetti, another prominent Jew, was a particularly unusual character and would repay more detailed study. His condemnation of anti-Semitism in fact only appears far-sighted because of its relationship to the views of others. It primarily sprang from what he saw as the betrayal by a political position in which he had put his faith, and especially by Orano, with whom moreover he always remained in contact; it did not examine the real cultural and social framework of the phenomenon, or the potential for its establishment in Italy. In the conclusion of his pamphlet he turned to statistics—'Fifty thousand Jews in forty million Italians!'—to discredit the suggestion of an excessive Jewish hold over the country.[62] This approach, however, was of little consequence to the myth-making machinery.

Il Vessillo Israelitico, first edited by Flaminio Servi and then after 1904 by his son Ferruccio, remained faithful to the nineteenth-century paradigm of the dichotomy between the public and the private and was hostile to Zionism, which threatened it. While it lauded and supported some individual initiatives, such as the 'Pro cultura' associations, conferences for young people and collections of funds for refugees, *Il Vessillo* opposed any position that preached the rebirth of Jewish nationhood and accused international Zionism of playing the same game as the anti-Semites. At the end of an article on the Basle congress of 1897, Flaminio Servi described anti-Semitism as the creator of Zionism and Édouard Drumont as the principle beneficiary of the event, which had provided him with the evidence to 'state that the Jews have no fatherland and are foreigners everywhere, rather than citizens'.[63] Zionism 'is a direct cause of anti-Semitism', he was to say the following year.[64]

Servi's position was in fact more complex than these statements of his might suggest, as we can see from an interesting episode. In 1897 the Jewish community of Casale Monferrato, where *Il Vessillo* was published, organized a memorandum of protest for despatch to the congress in Basle; while this praised the humanitarian intentions of the participants towards

persecuted Russian and Romanian Jews, it dissociated itself from any attempt to define Judaism as a nation and from any territorial aspirations. The text, clearly aimed much more at the general Italian public than at congress participants, declared as follows:

> [The Italian Jewish communities] affirm their unwavering love for just one fatherland, which is Italy with its capital Rome, for whose happiness they intend to address all their faculties of intellect and heart, as they have already done in the past, with their brothers of other faiths, shedding their blood on the battlefields and languishing in the prisons of the oppressors, in their efforts to make the country united, free and independent, convinced that no religious faith, and certainly not Judaism, should foment antinational aspirations.[65]

Many would surely have endorsed these statements, if the document had not also declared that the project to recreate a kingdom of Israel in Palestine was 'contrary to the laws of history'. Faced with the evident clash with religious tradition, in which Messianism and the hope for a return to the Promised Land were integral, there were protests from the communities of Florence, voiced by its secretary, the lawyer Giacomo Foligno, Venice, through its secretary Benedetto Dina, and Vercelli, through its rabbi Isacco Giuseppe Cingoli. Servi himself withdrew his support,[66] although *Il Corriere* questioned his good faith.[67]

In the years that followed, *Il Vessillo* continued to publish its customary patriotic declarations and lists of Italian Jews engaged in politics, culture and the economy. Rival publications were responsible for the development of its image as a standard-bearer for assimilated and assimilationist Judaism, devoid of Jewish culture and lacking any backbone, which was to become a commonplace in the historiography after the Second World War.[68] As we have seen in earlier chapters, however, *Il Vessillo's* position was in reality not at all assimilationist: its advocacy of the value of Judaism, against the spectre of assimilation, was a constant at the centre of its cultural battle. Moreover, Zionism itself can in some degree be interpreted as a sign of Judaism's extreme assimilation into the European culture of nationalism and patriotism.

The clashes between Zionists, anti-Zionists and a-Zionists were often bitter and laden with malice and exchanges of insults, but it should be remembered that within the relatively small Italian Jewish population, people professing very different ideas could be closely linked by kinship or friendship. The apparent clear dichotomy presented by the Jewish press

and pamphleteering may in fact misrepresent the actual dynamic complexity of real social relationships. Furthermore, many people were not firmly aligned with one side or the other: the lack of a clear theoretical approach for addressing many key questions, such as the meaning of 'nation', 'race' or 'stock', left plenty of leeway for some very different individual standpoints. Between the late 1890s and the Libyan war the debates continued to be somewhat confused.

The prophet Jeremiah stands out among the shared reference points that were adapted to serve different rhetorical needs in turn. This book provided one of the texts most quoted, along with the Talmudic 'dina de-malkutah dina', as support for and proof of integration and patriotism:

> Build houses and live in them, plant gardens and eat their fruit. Take wives and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters. Multiply there, do not decrease. And seek the welfare of the city to which I have exiled you and pray to the Lord in its behalf; for in its prosperity you shall prosper. (Jeremiah 29: 5–7)

Mosse has observed that the prayer recited in Berlin synagogues on the occasion of the coronation of Friedrich Wilhelm II reminded congregations of this exhortation in Jeremiah, serving to encourage them to be loyal to the king.[69] But the prophet 'for our times', as Samuele Colombo described Jeremiah, also announced the end of exile, reunification of the people of Israel and their return to Zion (29: 14).[70] This dialectical tension between exile and return seemed to have been made for a portrayal of the contemporary Jewish condition. Max Nordau, with his robust appearance, face framed by a bushy white beard, and critical attitude towards modern individualism, was often represented by Zionist material as a new Jeremiah.[71]

This is not the place to expand at length on the different versions, justifications and theories of Zionism, and of Judaism, that were put forward by Pacifici, Lattes, Margulies and others, often in an unsystematic and contradictory fashion. I have therefore chosen a small number of examples that will help to highlight how Zionist demands forced into the open some contradictions inherent in the narrative of the relationship between Jews and the nation, and between Jews and the fatherland.

In 1898 the Second Zionist Congress was held in Basle, while in Italy the fiftieth anniversary of the Piedmontese Constitution took place, with

every community organizing celebrations.[72] Rabbi Giuseppe Sonino went to Basle and gave a speech emphasizing the patriotism of Italian Jews and the philanthropic and religious benefit Zionism could bring to Italy. Someone signing themselves 'X' commented in *Il Vessillo* that probably nobody had been able to understand this, due to linguistic issues if nothing else.[73] In the same year, which on an international level was also marked by the developments of the Dreyfus Affair,[74] *Il Vessillo* printed an interview with its editor with the provocative heading 'Sionista o italiano?' ('Zionist or Italian?'). With unusual clarity, this set out the reasoning behind a position that opposed the national and political demands of Zionism. In conformity with his religious training, Servi acknowledged the essential connection between the Jewish people and Jerusalem, and the legitimacy of Messianic hopes, but argued that a return to the Holy Land could only make sense within the context of religious redemption. Many foreign Zionists, by contrast, were declaring themselves to be Jews merely for nationality, did not observe the religious laws, and contracted mixed marriages:

> But what sort of Zionists do you want these to be? With the inhabitants of Palestine being so orthodox, if some of these people went there to set up a new kingdom they would be pelted with stones and thrown straight out.[75]

On the issue of solidarity with Jews experiencing persecution, he supported the philanthropic approach of the Alliance Israélite and the Anglo-Jewish Association, which were not coloured by nationalistic ambitions. In his conclusion Servi reiterated his own allegiance to the nineteenth-century paradigm: Jews must be 'Italian, French, British or German citizens, and so forth […] both steadfast, sincere and practising Israelites by faith […] and hardworking, upright and moral citizens'.[76] His position was certainly old-fashioned but had flashes of lucidity. In response to the interviewer's request for a comment on the declarations made by many Zionists to the effect that they believed they could reconcile two national allegiances, he would only say: 'Tell them that they are too naïve.'[77]

The new century began with a controversy that became well known. In a speech given to mark the funeral of King Umberto I, the chief rabbi of Turin Giuseppe Foà stated that 'we feel that we are first and foremost Italians, rather than Jews'. This was enough to arouse the wrath of the young Dante Lattes, who wrote a very harsh article for *Il Corriere*:

> This profession of political faith, so exaggeratedly assimilationist, sounds discordant when voiced by a rabbi, the purest representative of historic Judaism. That the rabbi does not feel completely Jewish is something incomprehensible and monstrous. […] In short, it means that the rabbi feels himself able to sacrifice the *revealed* and *absolute* truths of his religion and the *commandments of his God*, in which he believes, to the needs and opportunities of a particular moment and a particular location. It means that […] God is subordinated to Felix Faure, or Crispi, or Lueger, and his word has authority only until the moment when the prefect or the minister wish to oppose it. […] This represents the complete destruction of Judaism, or at the very least its dependence and subordination to all the consequences of feeling oneself to be first and foremost Italian. […] In summary, it would seem from the words of the reverend rabbi that there is an antagonism between the principle of Italianness and the principles of Judaism.[78]

Another target of Lattes' indignation was Eude Lolli, rabbi of Padua, who was harshly criticized for choosing to recite some psalms in honour of the king in Latin, as well as for making a speech without a single Jewish reference: 'if Crispi had delivered this in the theatre in Palermo it would not have sounded out of place, and in fact would probably have been greeted with applause'. Since the Jewish faith and culture of the two rabbis could not seriously be questioned, the issue related to the modes of expression and the language employed by these two learned men; Lolli had been born in 1826 and Foà in 1840, and thus both had been educated in a climate where being Italian citizens could absolutely not be taken for granted. Writing in a periodical that was published outside Italy, Lattes removed the two rabbis' speeches from the context of celebration in which they had been given and which had dictated their form and vocabulary and seized this opportunity to launch a new campaign of Jewish pride, as it could be described, against what he had called on another occasion 'patriotic mawkishness, eroticism, and fervour'.[79] The episode makes sense when located in a broader context and linked to a debate in 1898, again in *Il Corriere*, that set Eude Lolli against Guglielmo Lattes and an anonymous correspondent. Lolli had expressed his perplexity regarding the political demands of Zionism and the lack of a religious aspect to the leading international currents within the movement, illustrating his belief that wherever Jews had been recognized as citizens, they should have just one fatherland and just one nationality.[80] Lattes' response was that Zionism in no way negates the love of one's country and that every religious person should believe that one day the Jewish nation would be reunited, as fore-

told by the prophets;[81] this was an idea that he had also repeated at the second Italian Zionist Congress:

> [for] those who believe the Prophets, Zion can only be the first step towards their ultimate aim, which is the restoration of the state in Palestine and the establishment of Israel in its role as Priest for humankind.[82]

A few issues later there was a further contribution from Lolli and an unsigned and rather confused reply, which suggested an ontological difference between the idea of the 'eternal and immutable' Jewish nation and its concrete manifestations in the German, French or Italian Jews. Quoting Ernest Renan, Victor Jacques, Gustave Le Bon and Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu in turn, as if these authors shared the same interpretations of Judaism and of the concept of a nation, the article moreover stated the existence of a racial and ethnic dimension to Judaism, which along with religion and other elements of Jewish culture constituted its national essence.[83] This brief account provides a good idea of the nature of the disputes that enlivened Jewish periodicals between 1897 and 1914, without any arrival at a clear and articulate position, and with an imprecise use of quotations and references which aimed to give rhetorical force to a discourse that was more emotional than rational. In the Zionist positions one can generally detect under the surface an implicit statement of the crisis of a liberal conception of the nation state, accompanied by the need for a strong and combative identity. Only in this context does the attack by Dante Lattes on Rabbi Foà and Lolli make sense. Moreover, as Lattes observed, 'we feel patriotic sentiment and a deep love for the nations that are our hosts no less than [Foà and Lolli] do, nor our deep love for the countries to which we belong. But *est modus in rebus* ['there is a proper measure in all things'], even in patriotism.'[84]

The Jewish nation put forward by many religious Zionists was an entity independent of the political dimension, which did not necessarily require a shared territory or manifestation as a state. What it did require was a profound reawakening of awareness. In this narrative, one could simultaneously be Jewish and Italian, or Zionist and Italian. The targets were the assumed condition of psychological and cultural subjection, corruption, the moral weakness in which contemporary Italian Judaism found itself, and certainly not patriotism. Both Zionists and anti-Zionists continued to call themselves both Jews and Italians.[85] There was a lack of understanding that the political and cultural climate of the early twentieth century demanded an exclusive

national allegiance, from both the official and the ethnic and cultural perspective, and that this even-handed approach was very dangerous.

The entry of *La Settimana* into the debate did not radically change its essence. In one of its first issues, dated 1 April 1910, it carried an article rejoicing in the appointment of Luigi Luzzatti as prime minister, which went so far as to describe the Jews as more Italian than the rest, in view of their lesser concern for regional differences and for the call of the 'piccola patria' ('small fatherland').[86] In August, in preparation for the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Unification which were to happen the following year, the editors stated:

> The Jews now commemorate […] two resurgences with a dual enthusiasm. Today, thanks to the unification of Italy, and thanks to the resurgence of their fatherland, in this world they can be free as Jews, and free as Italians.[87]

The figure who more than any other sought to develop, in general terms, the meaning of national and patriotic belonging, and to construct a theory on which a new conception of Judaism could be based, was the lawyer Alfonso Pacifici. His views, however, did not find much support among Italian Jews and left even *La Settimana* seriously puzzled.[88]

The final months of 1911 were eventful. The FSI closed down, while in *Il Vessillo* Guglielmo Lattes rejoiced at the successes of the colonial war in Libya, which provided a worthy achievement to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy, and redeemed the Italian army from the shame of its defeat at Adowa.[89] Italian culture and politics were convulsed by debates over the appropriateness of the war, by nationalist and futurist paeans to the doctrine of 'superman' and the need for conflict and by Corradini's threat of revolt if the government declined to pursue military action to the bitter end. Zionists, and by extension Jews in general, were often accused of being pro-Turkish. In this context, *Il Vessillo* and *La Settimana* had heated exchanges over the proposal to organize a convention for Jewish youth. They both hoped to involve the younger generations in the enterprise of rediscovering Jewishness and its values, but both wished to claim paternity of the initiative, in order to exert the most influence on its organization, and to attract young people to their own camps. *Il Vessillo* argued that the original idea had been put to Ferruccio Servi, its editor, by the rabbi Daniele Disegni, whereas *La Settimana* claimed that it had been the idea of Aldo Sorani. This issue was nearly referred to an arbiter and threatened to end in court.[90]

The first convention, held in Florence from 29 to 31 October 1911, was poorly attended. There was a clear victory for the Florentine group in its assumption of the role of reference point for young Italian Jews. Zionism, in its various meanings and manifestations, had become the single dynamic element within the context of Italian Judaism. The second convention was held a year or so later in Turin, and an inspection of the list of speakers is enough to show that the position of *Il Vessillo* had been conclusively defeated. Alfonso Pacifici, Dante Lattes, Emilio Bachi, David Krinkin, Elia Samuele Artom and Umberto Cassuto all spoke, and Felice Momigliano frequently provided comments.[91] The various contributions reiterated the importance of the religious component of Judaism and observance of the laws. Pacifici proposed the establishment of a youth organization, to be called 'Giovane Israele' ('Young Israel'), the need was recognized for a network of clubs to assist young people in making friendships and socializing,[92] and an association for studying the history of Italian Judaism was planned.[93] The worth of these ideas was generally acknowledged, but *Il Vessillo* dissociated itself from some statements made by Emilio Bachi, including the following:

> We are of course good Italians, we love Italy as orphans love those who stand in for their parents, but […] we are first and foremost Jews, in the true sense of the word, Jews, that is, not only in religious terms but also by race; we are proud to belong to this, and wish to make ourselves worthy of its ancestral glories.[94]

In 1913 Bachi was one of the founders of the Jewish Youth Federation of Italy (FGEI) and was to be one of its leading lights.[95]

Zionists, anti-Zionists and those not taking a position continued their considerations of the issue in disputes, lectures and deliberations on how to organize. On 7 June 1914 a ceremony was organized by *Il Vessillo* in Turin to award a 'sword of honour' to Captain Emanuele Pugliese, who had distinguished himself in the Libyan war at the battle of Due Palme. There was a series of speakers to entertain the public and sing the hero's praises, including Carlo Levi, the former editor of *L'Idea Sionista*:

> You have forged a new and most worthy link in the golden chain that ever since Angelo Usiglio has united [the Italian Jews], with the sacred bond of suffering and blood spilled, indissolubly with all those others born in our sweet land, in devoted sacrifice for this—and to reaffirm that, while our identity of faith is almost a family tie stemming from our great ancestral

> stock, this blends into that other, higher, strong and sweet bond of unconditioned devotion to the common Mother.[96]

This was the contribution of the representative of one of the currents within Italian Zionism at a ceremony organized by an anti-Zionist periodical. At the end of the newspaper report the editors of *Il Vessillo* added a malicious comment on the absence of Alfonso Pacifici and Moisè Foa, secretary of the Jewish welfare organization of Turin.[97] It was probably Pacifici who commented in *La Settimana*, on the other hand, that the ceremony might have been attended by '*Israelite* Italians' but not '*Jews* of Italy'. The article published in the issue of 5 June suggested that some Turkish equivalent of *Il Vessillo* would surely have honoured a Jewish soldier who had fought against Italy and commented: 'Ah, can you not hear those two Jewish swords locking and striking each other in fratricidal warfare? Do you not hear that this is a Jewish man against a Jewish man, and a Jewish sword against a Jewish sword?'[98]

All too soon, the Great War was to put this confused exploration of identity and culture to a severe test.

5.3 Brothers of Italy, Brothers in Faith

European fin-de-siècle culture and its gradual abandonment of positivism for the irrational, the growth of nationalisms, the spread of an increasingly aggressive exaltation of the virile, the fear of degeneration in both individuals and peoples: all these fed the cultural and political currents of the early twentieth century that sang the praises of war and yearned for the cathartic and sacrificial bloodbath that was to lead to a process of complete regeneration. Marinetti, who extolled war as 'the only hygiene of the world and the only morality that educates', was by no means alone.[99] Many Italians cherished the hope that they might redeem their country from the disappointments it had experienced in the arena of international politics and its nineteenth-century colonial wars. Italian Jews took sides for and against entering the war as their personal political and moral beliefs dictated, while the Jewish press and organized Judaism refrained from taking a stance. Finally the war arrived, more terrible than anyone could have imagined: in the name of the nation it pitted Christians against other Christians, socialists against other socialists, and Jews against other Jews. Italy fought against the 'Austrian eagle', the historic enemy of the Risorgimento wars, but alongside the Tsarist empire, an autocratic

country where Jews were discriminated against and persecuted. Many European Jews regarded the war as the opportunity to provide definitive proof—with their blood—of their devotion to their own fatherland.[100] But beyond the vast toll in human lives paid by European Judaism, this was subjected in those years to an even more severe test: the war crisis and patriotic fervour fully exposed its religious and cultural crisis. The internal dialogue between Zionists and anti-Zionists continued, the fear of assimilation increased, alongside (and perhaps more than) concerns for Jews experiencing persecution, and the idea took firmer shape that these might find asylum in a settlement in Palestine. As for anti-Semitism, there was a predominant belief that it would be extinguished once and for all by the bloodbath and that the war would put the definitive seal on Jewish emancipation. This was not to be the case.

When war broke there was speculation in the Italian Jewish press about the conditions and conduct of the Jews in the countries at war and also about the potential consequences of the conflict for the integration of minorities and for the diplomatic initiatives of Zionism. The silence on the debate between interventionists and those advocating neutrality did not mean there was a lack of interest. It should instead be understood as the logical continuation of an editorial approach shared by all the Jewish periodicals, which assumed a kind of neutrality towards matters that did not relate directly to Jews or anti-Semitism; this position took its cue from the association of Jewishness with the private that had originally been established in the era of emancipation, and was reinforced by fears that any choice of position would be exploited in an anti-Jewish way.

In that fatal August of 1914, *Il Vessillo Israelitico* started to publish a feature entitled 'La guerra' which reported on events in the Jewish communities of countries at war and relayed the public statements of intellectuals and rabbis. All agreed on one particular point:

> All Jews are doing their duty, to the point of heroism, all of them; even the sons of intolerant Russia do not take their revenge in the hour of danger! For Russia, which has been an evil mother to them, they freely shed their blood. A spectacle at once horrendous and sublime!
>
> […] Israel, which by tradition and faith has been the apostle of peace, is never second to anyone in its love for its acquired fatherland; for this it sacrifices everything, its possessions and its life.[101]

Throughout the war this feature continuously emphasized the patriotism of European Jews, the particular heroism shown by Russian Jews and the appalling conditions of refugees, with special attention devoted to the situation in Romania. The development of the settlements in Palestine was closely monitored.

The 30 June edition of *Il Corriere*, published in Austro-Hungarian territory, had its pages edged in black to mourn the death of the Archduke. In 1915 the journal lost one of its leading figures, when Dante Lattes was forced to leave Trieste and move to Florence. This periodical was moreover on its last legs and was to be subsumed into *Israel* from 1916.

On 7 August 1914, *La Settimana Israelitica* carried an editorial with the heading 'Nell'ora della nostra tragedia. Duecentomila ebrei in campo gli uni contro gli altri' ('In the hour of our tragedy. Two hundred thousand Jews against each other in battle'). This was an event with no precedent, as it was only a few decades since European Jews had been admitted to 'the honour and the duty of serving under arms' and the first time that they had been put to the test on such a large scale. *La Settimana* described a war 'of other people', in which the Jews would have to demonstrate their 'civic loyalty' in the terrible awareness that, whatever the outcome of the conflict, European Judaism would be the loser. European Jews were in fact depicted as 'children of the same people, one in blood and history, many in language and ideals', committed to a fratricidal war without any choice. The reward for this collective sacrifice would not be glory, or integration, but the possibility of 'demanding […] our right to be a nation among the nations, the right to be once more ourselves, to be a united people, on our own land'. The writer of the editorial, presumably Pacifici, concluded by implicitly admitting that most of the Jewish combatants were pursuing this objective 'perhaps unknowingly'.[102] *La Settimana* began to date its issues according to the Hebrew calendar in transliterated characters, starting with that of 4 August 1914 ('22 *Abh* 5674') as proof of its Jewish militancy.[103] From May 1915 Pacifici started to occasionally sign his contributions with his Jewish name, Jehudà Menachem ben Jossef (but not transliterated),[104] and a year later departed for the front, leaving the editorship of *Israel*, the new weekly, in the hands of Dante Lattes.[105]

In May 1915 Italy entered the war, and the predictable response of *Il Vessillo* was a call to arms that explicitly condemned any critical attitude. 'Every sacrifice will seem sweet to us, and every privation a duty', in order to 'demonstrate that the sentiment of gratitude is deeply rooted

within us'.[106] The position taken by *Il Vessillo* was undoubtedly the most widely shared. In the countries at war, moreover, Zionist associations generally adopted the rhetoric of war, putting their calls for a distinct Jewish national identity temporarily into second place. In Germany the *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland*, the *Reichsverein der deutschen Juden* and the *Jüdische Turnerschaft* exhorted their fellow Jews to sacrifice themselves 'in the spirit of ancient Jewish law—with all your heart, all your soul and with all your strength in the service of the fatherland'.[107] *La Settimana* declared that '[n]ow is not the time to discuss the war as a matter of theory, […] it is the time to be part of it. But at the point when it must be experienced, it must be experienced for what it really is, a great event'. It was described as 'a great and solemn rite of reconsecration'.[108] Italy's involvement in the war was described as just because it had been motivated by respect for the principle of nationality and people's right to self-determination, by the desire to defend the weakest, by struggles for the extension of liberal civilization and judicial parity for Jews in countries where they still suffered discrimination, and in order that the dream of a Jewish settlement in Palestine might finally become a reality. Total involvement in the war was therefore endorsed but without losing sight of the diplomatic, territorial and deeply felt theoretical implications of the international Jewish question.[109]

Only *Il Vessillo* and *Israel* survived beyond 1916, and in the months and years that followed some key issues were pursued in their pages, being the dramatic amplification of matters that had already made their appearance in the previous decades: the 'war has this sad advantage for us, in that it illustrates for us in real terms many of those scenarios that we had been studiously developing over many years'.[110] The circumstances of the war, which forced everyone to live with the risk of their own death or that of their loved ones, made it all the more necessary for the collective entity to find some shared meaning in the battle and the loss. The enormous power of the images, rites and symbols that constitute society's shared heritage was called upon to exorcize fear and to instil in the individual that feeling of fusion within a collective that is fundamental to patriotic mobilization. In an atmosphere that is minimally disposed to understanding subtle distinctions, rational analysis and differences, the existence of minorities is especially difficult. Could their individual participation somehow be made specifically Jewish? How could the demands of militarization be prevented from distancing a Jewish population from the practice of their religion, when this was already largely integrated and secularized? In a climate of

general mobilization, enveloped by a patriotic rhetoric that repeatedly called for a shared effort and a 'sacred union' in every European country, there were dwindling opportunities to express any wish to be regarded as different without arousing suspicion or generating incomprehension. Dante Lattes wrote of the European war:

> [It] has put the heart of Israel to sleep [destroying] that fragile sense of religious and ethnic solidarity. The Jews of the French press proclaim their hatred of the German Jews, the English have denied their protection to those Israelites who have been imprisoned or repatriated and have repeated the foolish statement that 'they were Englishmen first and Jews afterwards' […] as if the attempt to alleviate the lot of some of their foreign brothers would be a terrible failure of their patriotism.[111]

Those 'patriotic eroticisms' whose dangerousness had been denounced by Lattes in 1899 and again in 1900, in the debate with Foà and Lolli, once again prevailed with the majority of European Jews. In relation to this, *La Settimana* recounted a telling anecdote which it described as 'the most authentic and complete expression of the terrible degeneration of Jewish awareness':

> Even for times like these, an event has occurred which is appallingly serious in the tragedy of its symbolic eloquence: a rabbi in Russia was present for the final moments of an unfortunate young man, a Jew of Germany, who had been wounded in battle. He writes to the young man's father: 'Your son died bravely; I was with him until the end; let it be some consolation to you to know that he died supported by a man of his people and his faith'. His father, a Jew of Germany, replies: 'I thank you for the care you gave to my son, but you should know that it has been a double grief not just to know him dead, but to know him dead in the arms of an enemy'.[112]

It was difficult to break down the exclusive categories of 'friend' and 'enemy', with the potential risk of being branded as traitors to the fatherland. The characters that Italian Jewish material presented were not like this German father; sometimes made out to be real people and sometimes avowedly fictitious, they were deployed in the attempt to offer potential reconciliation between Jewish brotherhood, patriotism and military valour. Among these figures we find Benedetto Levi, the protagonist of a short story with the title 'Il fratello' ('The Brother') published in *Il Vessillo* in 1915. Brave, keen to fight, vigorous and athletic, Benedetto

leaves enthusiastically for the front; meanwhile his brother Cesare, who is Zionist, very religious, devoted to rabbinical studies, consumptive, pale and emaciated, dies young due to his weak constitution and his life of devotion to study, which had prevented him from serving his fatherland. Benedetto, however, soon discovers while living in the trenches that he is different, finding alien those rituals with which his comrades try to banish their fear of death, such as reciting the rosary. He also reflects on the apparent lack of concern with which many Christians fight and kill each other, and on the similar lot of the Jews. The story becomes more intense at the point when Benedetto moves from an abstract anguish to the reality of a particular human relationship, as he recalls his closest friend from his youth in Livorno, the Bohemian Ionathan Kerb, with whom he used to recite the psalms in Hebrew. Jolted out of these memories by an attack from an enemy infantry battalion, Benedetto gives all his attention to the fight:

> As he threw himself at his adversary with his revolver, a ray of white light, projected from afar and illuminating the tragic scene on that small strip of land, tore a cry from the Italian officer:
>
> –Ionathan!
>
> –Benedetto! shouted the other, while defending himself from the attacks. You! Levi! Ah, brother!
>
> The two young men embraced each other with emotion, while the soldiers around them stood aside in amazement, observing the scene.
>
> The distant searchlight, however, had illuminated this episode and already there could be heard the angry threats of Ionathan's fellow officers, who had seen him surrender his weapon. A burst of machine-gun fire, from the nearby mountain, hit the ground at their feet.
>
> Benedetto realized what was happening; he put himself in front of his prisoner and when a second round was fired it hit the Italian officer, not the Austrian.[113]

Because of this act, Benedetto is not given the medal for valour by his superiors, but this does not trouble him:

> He feels that for us, as Jews, the sincere fervour for our home country which in the ultimate test cements the spiritual unity of all the sons of Italy, and the

> warlike ardour of the combatants, still cannot erase the familiar and age-old sentiment that governs the fellowship of our race, despite it being dispersed all over the world. He did his duty as an Italian, a patriot, and a soldier. He also did his duty as a brother and a Jew.[114]

The author does not speculate as to what would have happened, on the practical or symbolic level, if all Jewish soldiers had behaved in this way. This was clearly most unlikely, and certainly not expected: the intention was not to create a host of minor and major heroes of Jewish brotherhood but to provide sustenance and food for thought to that vulnerable Jewishness that was at risk of elimination by the intoxication of patriotism, in order that it might still be alive once the war had ended.

In the real world, this ideal of brotherhood was not an easy thing to achieve, as can be seen with the issue of foreign Jews who were living in Italy. The problem of Austrians resident in Italy, Italians of Austrian origin and Italians resident in Habsburg territory surfaced in 1915. The fact that Dante Lattes had to leave Trieste has already been mentioned; he went first to Florence and then to Siena. Rabbi Margulies, a Zionist and head of Florence's Rabbinical College, who had Italian citizenship but origins in Galicia, within the Habsburg empire, provided a catalyst for suspicions of dual loyalty: he was attacked in an article in Florence's *La Fiamma*,[115] which was then faithfully reproduced in *Il Vessillo*'s review of the press. This piece accused Margulies of 'pro-Austrian propaganda' and 'enthusiasm for the cause of Cecco Beppe [Franz Josef of Austria] and Guglielmone [Wilhelm of Germany]', and his wife of 'packing up woollen scarves and vests for the soldiers of the Kaiser'.[116] He was defended by Raffaele Ottolenghi, who accused Ferruccio Servi of giving space to these 'nationalistic excrescences' simply in order to fuel a controversy within Italian Judaism over management of the Rabbinical College by this very same 'Austrian' rabbi.[117] This was certainly a golden opportunity for reviving old grudges, relating not just to the College but also to Zionism and the struggle for power within the community administration. An anonymous reader of *Il Vessillo*, signing himself 'An Italian Israelite', argued that it was inappropriate for an Austrian to hold such an important post:

> It is impossible not to see the Jews of Italy as Italians, and the Jews of Austria as Austrians; the attachment that each of these fragments of the Jewish people has for its home country is a rightful source of pride for us, and the basis of our right to enjoy the same standing as the state's other citizens.[118]

This contribution suggests again that equality was not so much a right as a benefit that had to be deserved. Margulies remained in his post, however, occupying this until his death in 1922. The issue of the presence of foreign Jews on Italian soil also arose with Austrian prisoners of war, especially between 1918 and 1919 after the conclusion of hostilities. The Italian Rabbinical Federation and the Committee of the Communities involved themselves with the supply of kosher food and prayer books in German to the prisoners at Jewish holiday times.[119]

Generally speaking, the war seems to have succeeded in reducing some of the friction between Zionists and anti-Zionists. In the same regular feature where the anonymous letter against Margulies had been published, there appeared a note by Emilio Bachi, with whom *Il Vessillo* had often been in dispute over his insistence on racial themes and his militant approach. Directly addressing Ferruccio Servi, Bachi wrote:

> Your 'Viva l'Italia' in today's issue finds me so much in agreement and so enthusiastic that, suppressing all our differences, I want to repeat it with you, loud and clear. Since last August, in this holy and beautiful war, I have felt that the support for liberty, justice and civilization, before being Italian or Latin, is absolutely Jewish.[120]

A 'holy' war. There was no avoiding the theme of religious symbols and rituals, evoked for example by the reference to reciting the rosary in the trenches in 'Il fratello', the story quoted earlier. The very full historiography of the Great War has highlighted how the conflict, with its new dimension of 'total war', stimulated great religious vitality right across Europe and revived popular practices that bordered on superstition. European churches were fuller than they had been for decades (the 'return to the altars', as it has been called), the number of confessions and votive offerings grew exponentially and prayer books were compiled to be sent to soldiers at the front.[121] The war itself was presented in the manner of a religious conflict, in which the side one was on was fighting not only for the greatness of the fatherland but also for justice and the moral redemption of Europe. God was invoked and was enlisted by each side to legitimate killing, massacre and hatred. The First World War directly involved the civilian population, forcing it to become familiar with mass death, at both public and private levels. Dying for one's fatherland was celebrated as the crowning glory of an act of faith and was equated with martyrdom, the means to gain immortality: those who died became immortal.[122] At a

European level, mourning and the rhetoric of heroic sacrifice were managed by recourse to images that were laden with Christian symbolism.[123]

The ways by which an alternative form of celebration of the Jewish martyrs developed across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were discussed earlier. These dynamics were heightened by the Great War: it led on the one hand to an increasingly emphatic celebration of the valour of the ancient Jews, and on the other to a broader acceptance of Christian symbolism, which had become an integral part of the national liturgy. In the case of Germany, Mosse has observed that sermons by military rabbis, often delivered in a church for lack of any more appropriate place, presented 'a confusion of Christian symbolism and Jewish identity' and that 'a common mood united Jews and Gentiles, but it was a mood subsumed under Germanic and Christian symbolism'.[124] An episode regarding Abraham Bloch, the rabbi of Lyon, provided an example of the climate of shared feeling that could occur at the front and was exploited for the purposes of both publicity and celebration: Bloch risked his life to carry a crucifix to a dying soldier, and himself died shortly afterwards in the arms of a Catholic military chaplain. This story was told by Maurice Barrès in *Les diverses familles spirituelles de France*, dating it to 29 August 1914, and it was then put on canvas by the artist Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer, who rounded out the symbolic content by painting a medallion of the sacred heart on the soldier's chest.[125]

This event also found fame in Italy: it was reported by *Il Corriere* and praised by Dante Lattes in the issue of 15 October 1915, although the actions of the French rabbi did not meet with unanimous approval. Donato Camerini wrote a very severe letter to Lattes, interpreting Bloch's act as complicity in idolatrous beliefs rather than a sign of tolerance and generosity. Lattes replied in the same issue, invoking the extreme conditions of the battlefield, in which theological differences had to give way to the emotions aroused by the mystery of death.[126]

Those who died in battle were very often buried in haste, with all graves marked by a cross. *Il Vessillo* raised this issue in 1916, telling its readers that General Joffre, following this practice being reported in France by the *Archives Israélites*, had authorized military rabbis to remove the Christian symbols and have them replaced with inscriptions that would allow identification of the bodies.[127] The issue concerned commemoration as well as burial, both at the time and after the war: the names of Jews were often inscribed alongside those of Christians on memorials with a large crucifix above.[128] As for the moment of death, the hope was often voiced

that this might bring brothers in faith together: on the battlefield, with earthly enmities abandoned in soldiers' final moments, they would be able to recite the *Shema* together before dying.[129] It was the hope of the Jewish community elites, who for decades had been reporting increasing lack of interest in religion, that the war would also reawaken Jewish religiousness.

In June 1915 the figure of the military rabbi, authorized to look after the troops like the Catholic chaplains, was established.[130] Those who took on this role included Alfonso Pacifici and Elia Samuele Artom, convinced Zionists who later both emigrated to Palestine, in 1934 and 1939 respectively.[131] This development was generally approved of by Italian Judaism, as a measure of respect from the state and military bodies and as a support to the combatants, but it also provoked fierce arguments. 'The "military rabbi" comes into being as a priest', remarked *La Settimana*, criticizing the 'Christianizing' and 'ecclesiastical' connotations of the role: this was consistent with the general sense in which the rabbi had for a long time been turned into a minister of religion. Despite this radical criticism, the military rabbi was recognized to be a useful antidote to the assimilating pressure of life at the front and of the rhetoric of war in general and to be an encouragement so that 'the Jewish soldier, in whatever army he fights, may declare himself to be Jewish, with clear conscience'.[132] Analysis of the correspondence and reports of military rabbis reveals a certain discomfort regarding the approach of Jewish soldiers, who often tried to conceal their personal religious loyalties.[133] On the other hand, even during the war period there were continuing reports of indifference to religion.[134]

5.4 War Sermons

Sermons by rabbis[135] are especially interesting sources for studying the rhetoric of belonging in time of war, and their analysis requires particular methodological care. When reading these texts it has to be remembered that the rabbinate could not be seen in the same way as Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchies. Because Judaism had no central authority and there was no element of obedience to a hierarchy, the rabbinate could not develop any unitary approach to war, nor a comprehensive official position on the conflict.[136] While rabbis drew on a shared cultural heritage, each individual put forward their personal interpretation. The concern here, therefore, is not so much to deduce the position of the rabbis from these texts but to analyse the linguistic references and the intertextual connections which run through these sermons. When reading them in their printed

form, in Jewish periodicals or as pamphlets, we must remember that they were originally for public recitation and to an audience that, they would have hoped, was as large as possible. This audience would generally have assembled to mark a particular occasion, influencing the form and content of the sermon, and was used to a non-linear exposition that might be packed with quotations from sources that included the Bible, the Talmud and contemporary poets. Moreover, the sermon was an authentic literary genre and, as such was expected to conform to certain models.[137] The historiography indicates that the principal significant change in the Jewish sermon, from the nineteenth century onwards, was the loss of centrality of the exegetic element, which had been the driving force, in favour of a more expository style that was more open to non-Jewish cultural influences.[138] Marc Saperstein has reported the frequent use of quotations from Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, Tennyson and Kipling in the sermons of British rabbis.[139]

While the love of one's fatherland was a recurring motif in all wartime sermons, a particular feature of Italian sermons was the parallel between the Risorgimento, for which the war was seen as the conclusion, and the rebirth of the biblical Israel. Less emphasized, but still frequent, were references to the regeneration and resurgence of the Jews following their legal emancipation, and there was almost always a declaration of an especially Italian and Jewish disposition to justice. Shortly before Italy's entry into the war, *Il Vessillo* published the text of a sermon by Alessandro Da Fano, chief rabbi of Milan, for the first day of Passover, which had the title 'Il nostro dovere' ('Our duty'). Opening with a verse from the *Haggadah*,[140] 'In order that you remember your exodus from the land of Egypt all the days of your life', he made a theoretical comparison between the biblical exodus, the Italian achievement of independence, and the situation of Russian and Romanian Jews 'who so valiantly defend the fortunes of their country on the fields of battle'. He thus called on his public to take action for the causes of justice, equality and the independence of peoples. Anticipating Italy's entry into the conflict 'to fulfil this great purpose', he concluded by invoking divine protection for the country.[141]

This was followed in the issue of 31 May 1915 by the sermon given by Rabbi Giacomo Bolaffio of Turin on the first day of Shavuot,[142] which began with a quotation from Psalm 45: 4: 'Gird your sword upon your thigh, O hero, in your splendour and glory'. The psalm sings the praises of a just king and his spouse (the Messiah and the people of Israel, in some interpretations), but in this particular context the exhortation was

clearly addressed to all Jews, especially Jewish soldiers, who had been summoned to sacrifice themselves 'with the solemn display of respect as subjects, of love as children, and of gratitude as beneficiaries'.[143] Reference to the psalm also served to legitimate entry into the war, as is evident from a reading of the full text, which in verse 5 tells the warrior to 'ride on in the cause of truth and meekness and right'. Making reference to the wars of the Jews against Antiochus, Titus and Hadrian, in which the ancestors had shown their heroism, as well as the wars fought 'for the benefit of the several states where they resided' across the centuries, the rabbi summoned his fellow Jews to arms, beseeching them not to forget their religion and to think of 'your beloved mother, she who placed on your lips the holy words of the *Shema* [in Hebrew in the text]'.[144]

In their sermons, the individual rabbis found themselves not only justifying the war in political and theoretical terms, as any public authority had to do, but also giving it a plausible religious justification. How were they to preach in favour of mobilization for the violent killing of fellow beings when murder was forbidden by the Ten Commandments? This thorny problem, with no unequivocal resolution, was addressed by Angelo Sacerdoti, the chief rabbi of Rome,[145] in a sermon that unfortunately can only now be found in summary form as reported by the correspondent of *Il Vessillo*. This text, however, has some interesting features. Sacerdoti recalled God's order to Moses not to construct the altar from stones that had been worked with metal tools (Deuteronomy 27: 5), because the holiness of the place must not be profaned by a symbol of violence. Moreover, one of the Ten Commandments decrees that 'thou shalt not kill'. On the other hand, the biblical narrative is full of battles and massacres undertaken in order to conquer the Promised Land and to eliminate both the idolaters and their idols. From this, the rabbi concluded that killing for one's fatherland and for justice may be not just lawful but actually the will of God. Human brotherhood and peace would have to wait for the moment when 'every people has gained the right to live freely and independently in its own land, and to preserve and develop its own national characteristics'.[146] This was a reinterpretation of biblical battles in a patriotic key, which enabled a religious legitimation of the war guided by the principle of nationality. The sermon was followed by the Arvit (evening prayer), and straight afterwards the rabbi, surrounded by flowers decorated with a tricolour ribbon, blessed the soldiers departing for the front. The anonymous correspondent of *Il Vessillo* expressed his appreciation of this moving ceremony but would have preferred the symbolism to have

been completed with a blue-and-white ribbon in memory of 'the bond of solidarity that links us indissolubly with our brothers in faith who keep the history, language and traditions of our forefathers alive in Palestine'. This struggle for the independence of peoples, which legitimated the use of violence, should be deployed in favour of both the Italians in the unredeemed territories and the Jewish claims on Palestine.

Rabbi Margulies composed a soldier's prayer in which violence was justified by the 'sacred duty towards my fatherland, which fights for its honour, for its right, and for the liberation of its sons who suffer beneath the foreign yoke'.[147] In the sermon that he gave for Rosh Hashanah (New Year) in September 1915, Margulies employed a more complex discourse. The Jewish New Year is not so much a time of celebration as one of gathering and reflection, while awaiting the divine judgement that will arrive for everyone ten days later at the end of the Yom Kippur fast. Prayers for this occasion feature the theme of God as judge; Margulies used this to represent the World War as a punishment for humanity, which in contemporary times had shown itself to be 'forgetful of God' and 'resistant towards His holy laws'. As the chosen and priestly people, the Jews were considered especially guilty and were now called to face their punishment with 'manly courage' by supporting 'the Italian cause, which is that of justice and liberty'. In pursuing these ideals, the rabbi concluded, Italy could not but uphold the rights of the Jews in the international arena.[148]

In a sermon written in 1915 for the anniversary of the Italian constitution, the rabbi of Livorno, Samuele Colombo, spoke of a 'holy war [fought by Italy] for its unredeemed sons' and hoped that when victory was achieved—'for justice demands that it win'—Italy would make 'its influential voice heard in defence of all the oppressed, and especially in defence […] of the truly unredeemed, unique in all the world, who are my humble and great brothers in Israel!'.[149] In a later text, of 1917, Colombo made a comparison between the oneness of God, a cardinal principle of Judaism, and the unity of the nation, arguing from this that a war to re-establish national unity was necessarily a war fought for the glory of God. To introduce this he chose quotations from Deuteronomy (4: 29), the prophet Malachi (2: 10) and the Talmud; in conclusion, he quoted from Mazzini's *The Duties of Man*, in which it was argued that the unity of humankind followed from the oneness of God.[150]

> The present war […] calls to mind the ancient wars of Israel under the command of Joshua, who only took up arms if he saw his just proposals of peace

> and humanity rejected. Thus the liberty that Italy, in making war, wishes to ensure for all its children without distinction is a perfect reflection of that other liberty that God wishes to be given to all humanity as a natural right; […] to move towards an ever greater national unity is to recognize, respect and abide by the oneness of God! It is to respect an express divine command from God that wishes the nation, like the family, to be perpetually and completely united, and forever obedient to a single law and a single God![151]

Colombo thus presented a progression towards fulfilment of the Messianic utopia, which was associated with Mazzini's ideal of a redeemed humanity embracing universal brotherhood.

All Europeans, of all religions, appealed to God to support them, assist them and lead them to victory. Catholics, Protestants and Jews all declared that 'God is with us'. In rabbinical sermons this theme was often linked to a reminder of the special relationship that the Jewish people enjoyed with God by virtue of their elect status, which should be directed in Italy's favour: the 'Adonai Tsevaoth' of Hebrew prayers often became the 'God of Italian armies'. The interpretation of the designation 'Adonai Tsevaoth' is in fact neither simple nor clear-cut. The traditional rendering as 'Dio degli eserciti' in Italian (or 'Lord God of hosts' in English) reinforced the image of a Jewish God who was warlike, wrathful and bloodthirsty, dispelled by the Christian tradition which contrasted this with representations of a merciful and suffering Christ. It must be remembered, however, that 'Adonai Tsevaoth' may mean 'God of the Universe' or 'Lord of Creation': in this interpretation, 'gli eserciti' are the totality of all things, animate and inanimate, created by God according to the account in Genesis.[152]

During the war years, however, the more common and more familiar aggressive interpretation was generally endorsed. Guglielmo Lattes, for example, took this path: 'We […] may, without any trace of profanation, appeal to you, O Eternal one, as the "God of the Italian hosts". *Adonài zebaòt nhimmànu. The Lord of hosts is with us*'.[153] In similar vein the rabbi Giacomo Todesco linked his appeal to the 'antico Dio degli eserciti' ('ancient Lord of hosts') with the exhortation to Jews to show themselves 'worthy sons of Rome and at the same time glorious descendants of the mighty people that was of David and Solomon', devoting to the Italian cause 'all your blood and all your soul'. A quotation of the *Shema* was followed by the call to sacrifice 'for the sacred name of Italy your blood, your flesh, your love, and your children; just as by order of the God of Israel Abraham sacrificed his son Isaac'.[154] In the biblical story Isaac is not actually sacrificed, but the emphasis is on the willingness of both him and

his father to do the will of God. The parallel between the obedience owed by Abraham to God and that owed by Jews to Italy was rhetorically very effective, and once again depended on identification of the Italian cause with divine will.

On 20 November 1918 in the main synagogue of Livorno there was a solemn celebration of Italy's victory. The event began with a performance on the organ of the royal march, the Zionist hymn (*Ha-Tikvah*, 'Hope') and the national anthems of the allied countries. Psalm 61 followed, in a version for chorus and organ. After an address by rabbi Samuele Colombo, the prayer for the king was sung. To conclude, a prayer for the allied nations and the *Alleluia* were recited. Attendants at this ceremony included some of the city notables. In his sermon, the chief rabbi praised the justice of God, which had just been achieved in the world. God had in fact been the architect of victory:

> [Now] […] our thoughts turn in gratitude to those valiant soldiers on land and sea, the fallen and the survivors, the maimed and the unscathed, and then on up to the commanders of the army and navy and the leaders of the government, and then up again, back in time, to our greatest forerunners, the thinkers and the doers and all those glorious martyrs of the Italian Risorgimento, who nourished and handed down to their worthy descendants an unshaken faith in the complete unification of our fatherland.[155]

The fallen, said Colombo, 'will remain immortal'.[156] Moreover, ratification of the immortality that these heroes had attained through their death would help the living. On 8 December 1918 Leone Ravenna, in the principal synagogue of Ferrara, held forth:

> Behold: 'the tombs are opened and the dead are raised'; their voices address the survivors: Dry your tears, they say, O grieving fathers and anguished mothers, raise your bowed heads, O forsaken wives and abandoned children. With our blood and our lives, we have redeemed our fatherland: from the celestial spheres where we enjoy eternal bliss, granted by God to those who give themselves in sacrifice for a just cause, we rejoice in the victory that has crowned our flag, in the greatness achieved by our Italy, and in the splendid future that awaits her and all humanity.
>
> And we, gentlemen, hearing these voices from beyond the grave, while we may know—and I personally feel this, alas—that the profound mourning of those who have lost loved ones will never cease, let us however have faith that there will be some comfort in the thought that those sacrifices

> were in fact not in vain, that through them our beloved Italy has reached the heights of glory, and that we will witness other restitutions and other resurrections.[157]

5.5 'Jerusalem Delivered'

The outcomes of the First World War included the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and with this the end of Turkish rule over Palestine. Before concluding our historical journey through Italian Jewish consciousness, we need to take a small step backwards in order to examine some of the reactions to the 'Balfour Declaration', in which the British government, led by David Lloyd George with Arthur Balfour as foreign secretary, expressed its wish to support the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine:

> The spirit of Judas Hasmoneus rejoices for the conquest of Jerusalem by the British army, in these very days when we remember him,[158] the Garibaldi of antiquity, who with the power of his faith grasped victory and carried it up to the heights of Zion, into the reconsecrated temple. […]
>
> All those who wept with Jeremiah by the ruins of the holy city now celebrate it, in its liberation, with supreme joy.[159]
>
> When across the many centuries the poor Jews, thrown out of every human society, treated like filthy animals, relegated to their filthy ghettos, exploited and tormented, were living in unending worry and in the midst of indescribable miseries, their only comfort was to be found in calling for the resurrection of Zion, with their unshakable faith in divine promises. […] The true Jew nurses in his breast a twofold love such that, as Dante would say, 'he who does not feel it cannot understand it'.[160]

These were times of great emotion for world Judaism, in all its possible religious manifestations and political colours. For a brief period it appeared that all its hopes would be fulfilled: Jewish refugees would be able to emigrate to Palestine, while the rest would remain loyal to their countries; the existence of a religious and political centre in Jerusalem would assist the revival of the Diaspora's Jewish pride and anti-Semitism would disappear.[161] At the end of the war, the achievement of full Italian Unification and the Balfour Declaration, when put together, appeared to confirm, at a symbolic level, that close link between the Italian Risorgimento and the

Jewish revival which had been celebrated in so many ways.[162] The establishment of a national home in Palestine would have allowed the Jews of the Diaspora to have their aspirations to Jewish nationhood met at one remove. Those choosing to stay in their respective home countries would no longer have been suspected of split loyalties. The offering of blood shed during the war was to have been the conclusive and unequivocal proof of Jewish patriotism and the ultimate confirmation of Jewish emancipation. When the San Remo Conference decided, on 24 April 1920, to assign the mandate over Palestine to Great Britain on behalf of the League of Nations,[163] Donato Bachi wrote that this solution was 'consecrated by the blood of the thousands of Jews who fell in the battles of the Great War'.[164]

As we know, this idyll was not destined to endure. The British mandate over Palestine soon proved to be anything but peaceful and problem-free, and anti-Semitism in Europe anything but dead. While the Zionist political movement continued to work at the international level for the development of the Palestinian settlement, in Italy the FSI was revived: presided over once again by Felice Ravenna, it now had the involvement of Alfonso Pacifici and Dante Lattes, who had opposed the previous incarnation that had come to an end in 1910 or 1911. The new FSI aimed to act at three levels: the development of Italian Jewish consciousness; the engagement of the non-Jewish public; and exchanges with the Italian government in order to gain its support for the Zionist cause.[165] Through *Israel* and the publishing house of the same name founded in 1922, Dante Lattes devoted himself to extensive efforts to promulgate Zionist ideas and the essential texts from the various currents within the movement.[166] In 1925 the *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* came into being; this was associated with the weekly *Israel* but provided more in-depth cultural analysis.[167] These were years of extraordinary vitality, with a wealth of initiatives that particularly involved young people in search of new ways of expressing their Jewishness.[168]

In 1922 *Il Vessillo Israelitico* closed.[169] The context in which it had been born and its entire history had unfolded, nineteenth-century liberal culture, had now run its course. The Zionist alliance now monopolized the Jewish press, to the extent that at first glance it appeared to have taken over the majority of Italian Judaism. The reality was rather different. Although well organized in terms of associations and seasoned combatants on the diplomatic and cultural fronts, the Zionists remained in a distinct minority. Most Italian Jews, grappling with the issues and anxieties of the post-war years, continued—without looking for great theoretical

justification—to practise a private, family-based and defensive Jewishness, and to take part in Italian social, cultural and political life as individuals.

Notes

1. On Italy see A. M. Banti and M. Mondini (2002) 'Da Novara a Custoza: culture militari e discorso nazionale tra Risorgimento e Unità' in W. Barberis (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 18. Guerra e pace* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 417–62; G. Conti (1990) 'Il mito della "nazione armata"', *Storia Contemporanea*, 6, 1149–95.
2. Anti-Semitism in Liberal Italy has to date received little attention. See supra, p. 69 note 21, and A. M. Canepa (1975) 'Emancipazione, integrazione e antisemitismo liberale in Italia. Il caso Pasqualigo', *Comunità*, 29, 166–203; A. Di Fant (2002) *L'affaire Dreyfus nella stampa cattolica italiana* (Trieste: Edizioni dell'Università di Trieste); C. Facchini (2010) 'Le metamorfosi di un'ostilità antica. Antisemitismo e cultura cattolica nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento', *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi*, 27 (1), 187–223.
3. See C. Forth (2004) *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 21–59.
4. E. Benamozegh (1997) *Morale ebraica e morale cristiana*, introduction by A. Guetta, (Genoa: Marietti), p. 145. (first published in French in Paris, 1867).
5. See especially N. Roemer (2007) 'Outside and Inside the Nations: Changing Borders in the Study of the Jewish Past during the Nineteenth Century' in A. Gotzmann and C. Wiese (eds) *Modern Judaism and Historical Consciousness: Identities, Encounters, Perspectives* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), pp. 28–53; M. Brenner (2010) *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press). For a more general view the essential reading is Y. H. Yerushalmi (1982) *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press).
6. L. Racah (1885) 'La questione antisemitica', *CI*, 24, 9, 201–4.
7. See Y. Zerubavel (1995) *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), in particular pp. 48–56.

8. On Jabotinsky and his relations with Italy, see V. Pinto (2008) *Imparare a sparare. Vita di Ze'ev Jabotinsky padre del sionismo di destra* (Turin: UTET).
9. E. S. Artom (1911) 'Martiri ebrei', *SI*, 2, 50. The quotation is from Psalm 149: 6.
10. See for example G. Cammeo (1904) 'La nazione Israelitica fu una nazione militare?', *VI*, 52, 92; A. Bloch (1904) *L'esprit militaire des Juifs* (Brussels: Danzig); E. Morpurgo (1904) 'La nazione Israelitica fu una nazione militare?', *VI*, 52, 158–61 and 217–20; G. Racah (1904) 'Le glorie militari ebraiche', *VI*, 52, 229–30. On Gino Racah, see *La vita e gli scritti di Gino Racah*, edited by his friends (Florence: Tip. Giuntina, 1913).
11. E. S. Artom (1912) 'Il significato odierno di Chanukah', *SI*, 3, 49. Artom was a Zionist rabbi.
12. B. Treves (ed.) (1954) *Tre vite dall'ultimo '800 alla metà del '900. Studi e memorie di Emilio – Emanuele – Ennio Artom* (Florence: Israel), p. 50.
13. C. Morpurgo (1861) *Manuale di storia sacra ad uso dei fanciulli israeliti*, 2nd ed. (Trieste: Colombo Coen Tipografo-Editore), p. 145. See also L. Racah (1893) *Riassunto sistematico della Storia degl'Israeliti dall'origine del popolo ebreo alla distruzione del secondo Tempio* (Livorno: Belforte); U. Brettholz (1906) *Manuale di storia sacra ad uso dei giovinetti israeliti* (Trieste: n.p.); D. Camerini (1921) *Storia del Popolo Ebreo*, vol. I, *Dalle origini alla distruzione del 2º Tempio, con una carta geografica della Palestina e un disegno nel testo*, 2nd ed. (Turin: Il Vessillo Israelitico); E. Levi (1899) *Storia sacra illustrata ad uso dei fanciulli israeliti* (Turin: Tip. Sacerdote). Levi's book was criticized by *Il Vessillo* because one of the illustrations portrayed God as an old man with a beard, whereas Judaism forbids depiction of the deity.
14. L. Racah (1881) *Il Plutarco Israelita. Libro di lettura pei giovinetti israeliti* (Livorno: self-published), pp. vi–vii. On this book Emanuele Artom, an intellectual and partisan who died in 1944, wrote a short but lucid note in his diary, on the page dated 29 October 1942: 'One reads it willingly because it is written in easy style and carries one back to the serene, innocent and optimistic atmosphere of forty years ago: anti-Semitism will never return!' (E. Artom (2008) *Diari di un partigiano ebreo gennaio 1940-febbraio 1944*, ed. by G. Schwarz (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri),

pp. 31–2). Artom had read the second edition of *Il Plutarco*, dated 1894.

15. Space does not permit much comment on this interesting selection of names. In regard to Spinoza, a distinguished figure but an uncomfortable one due to his excommunication from the Jewish community of Amsterdam, Racah explains that he was chosen as an example not because of his works, where we find 'a lofty intellect sadly misled by false doctrine', but because of his impeccable private life (Racah, *Il Plutarco Israelita*, p. 202).
16. L. Racah (1892) 'Discorso pronunziato nel Tempio maggiore di Roma la terza sera della festa di Chanuccà dell'anno 1891', in *Quattro discorsi* (Livorno: Belforte), pp. 10–11. 'Dio e popolo' ('God and the people') was the motto of Mazzini's organization *Giovine Italia*. On the significance of Arminius for the construction of the German national imaginary, see G. L. Mosse (1975) *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: Fertig), pp. 58–62.
17. See A. S. [A. Segre] (1976) 'Alcune note biografiche', *RMI*, 42, 9–10, 16. This was no isolated case. Names from Italian history, and specifically from the Risorgimento (for example Carlo Alberto, Vittorio, Gioberti, Italia and Ferruccio), were given to Jewish children as indications of integration and patriotism. See S. Pivato (1999) *Il nome e la storia. Onomastica e religioni politiche nell'Italia contemporanea* (Bologna: Il Mulino), and specifically pp. 84–5 on the Jews.
18. D. Lattes (1898) 'Per Hanuccà', *CI*, 37, 7, reprinted in 'Nel primo centenario della nascita di Dante Lattes', *RMI*, 42, 9–10 (1976), 29.
19. 'With the fallen of Mentana, Leonidas wished to sleep; oh, my heroes, you are greater than the dead of Mentana!' (Lattes, 'Per Hanuccà'). In another context, shortly after Italy entered the First World War, Guglielmo Lattes recalled the glory of the Jews who died for Italian independence, and called Garibaldi 'the Hasmonean Italian' (G. Lattes (1915) 'Guerra', *VI*, 63, 11, 287). On the myth of Garibaldi see L. Riall (2007) *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press).
20. 'La festa di Hanucà e i Maccabei', *CI*, 33, 9 (1895), 205. This interest in Jewish history, and especially in the Maccabees, also pro-

duced valuable historical and philological studies, including those by E. S. Artom published in Margulies' *La Rivista Israelitica*: 'Sull'alleanza fra Giuda Maccabeo e Roma', 5 (1908), 192–204; 'Sulle trattative seguenti alla prima spedizione di Lisia in Giudea', 6 (1909), 43–53; 'Il decreto popolare in onore di Simone', 6 (1909), 136–44; 'Sulle concessioni di Demetrio I a Gionata', 8 (1911), 41–53; 'La lettera di Antioco Epifane morente agli ebrei', 8 (1911), 83–5; 'Le lettere dei re di Siria a Simone', 8 (1911), 186–90. There was also the degree thesis of Elia Samuele's grandson, the young Emanuele Artom, 'Il tramonto degli Asmonei', presented at the University of Milan in 1937. See R. Pertici (1993) 'Emanuele Artom studioso di storia' in A. Cavaglion (ed.) *La moralità armata. Studi su Emanuele Artom, 1915–1944* (Milan: Franco Angeli), pp. 11–30. It was no coincidence that the young Arnaldo Momigliano also worked on these themes, publishing in 1931 the *Prime linee di storia della tradizione maccabaica* (Turin: Giovanni Chiantore).

21. See F. Guesnet (2004) 'Chanukah and Its Function in the Invention of a Jewish-Heroic Tradition in Early Zionism, 1880–1900' in M. Berkowitz (ed.) *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), pp. 227–46.
22. E. Vigevani (1900), 'I Maccabei', *IS*, 1, 1, 7.
23. B. A. Levi (1911) 'Prima del duello. Bozzetto', *VI*, 59, 303.
24. Levi, 'Prima del duello', 304.
25. The *mezuzah* is a small oblong case containing a piece of parchment on which are written the first two passages of the Shema, corresponding to Deuteronomy 6: 4–9, and 11: 13–21. The *mezuzah* should be hung on the frame of every front door, including the city gates. The Shema is Judaism's most important prayer, because it contains the statement of monotheistic belief: 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one' (declaimed by the story's protagonist). The third part of the prayer appears in Numbers 15: 37–41.
26. Levi, 'Prima del duello', 304.
27. Duels were still a matter of debate at that point, as they were still being fought despite being made illegal. See V. J. Kiernan (1988) *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); M. Cavina (2005) *Il sangue*

dell'onore: storia del duello (Rome–Bari: Laterza). In 1899 *Il Corriere* briefly mentions the duel between Leopoldo Franchetti and Attilio Luzzatto, editor of *La Tribuna*, following a quarrel over Franchetti's activity as commissioner for colonization. The event is criticized and seen as an example of assimilation. See 'Per un duello', *CI*, 38, 8 (1899), 177–8. On Franchetti, see G. Sircana (1998) 'Franchetti, Leopoldo', entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 50, available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leopoldo-franchetti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

28. E. D. Colonna (1914) 'La nobile ammenda. Novella', *VI*, 62, 128–9.
29. Colonna, 'La nobile ammenda', 133.
30. Colonna, 'La nobile ammenda', 135.
31. See A. M. Banti (2005) *L'onore della nazione. Identità sessuali e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII secolo alla Grande Guerra* (Turin: Einaudi). On Italy, see A. M. Banti (2000) *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi).
32. L. Riall (2010) 'Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy', *Journal of Modern History*, 82, 2, 260.
33. L. Luzzatti (1888) 'I martiri ebrei nel Medio Evo e San Bernardo di Chiaravalle', *Nuova Antologia*.
34. L. Luzzatti (1909) *La libertà di coscienza e di scienza. Studi storici e costituzionali* (Milan: Treves), p. 197. On Luzzatti and his relationship with Judaism, see M. Berengo (1994) 'Luigi Luzzatti e la tradizione ebraica' in P. L. Ballini and P. Pecorari (eds) *Luigi Luzzatti e il suo tempo* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze lettere ed arti), pp. 527–42.
35. D. Camerini (1913) 'I nostri martiri', *VI*, 61, 107.
36. Camerini, 'I nostri martiri', p. 147. The cry 'The Lord is one' is a reference to the *Shema*, (see note 25 above). For the complete text see *VI*, 60 (1912), 726–30; 61 (1913), 40–3, 107–11, 143–7. The lecture was also published as an independent offprint (Turin: Tip. Silvestrelli e Cappelletto, 1911). See also L. Carpi (1884) 'Gl'Israeliti nel passato e nel presente', *VI*, 32, 248; S. Colombo (1910) 'I martiri del Medioevo', *VI*, 58, 194–201.
37. On the evolution of the concept of the martyr in the Jewish context, see J. Cohen (2006) *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadephia:

University of Pennsylvania Press); S. Goldin (1997) 'The Socialisation for "Kiddush ha-Shem" among Medieval Jews', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23, 2, 117–38; S. Goldin (2008) *The Ways of Jewish Martyrdom* (Turnhout: Brepols); M. Bodian (2000) *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press). Specifically on French Jewish martyrological poetry, see S. L. Einbinder (2002) *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press). For a discussion of interpretations of the collective suicide of Masada, which has become one of the main places of memory for the state of Israel, see Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots*, esp. pp. 203–7. For a comparative analysis of ancient Judaism and early Christianity in relation to the idea of martyrdom, see D. Boyarin (1999) *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).

38. For a deconstruction of this paradigm see D. Biale (1987) *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (New York: Schocken).
39. 'They formed a respected and feared nation, […] they did famous deeds and fought against the enemies of the fatherland and of God, […] they received the palm of martyrdom for a sacrosanct cause'. I. Costa (1866) *Grammatica ebraica ad uso dei fanciulli*, 3rd ed. (Livorno: Costa), p. 5.
40. On the meaning of the late nineteenth-century return to these themes, see Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*, pp. 34–43.
41. See for example 'Importanza della lingua sacra per la nazionalità religiosa israelitica', *EI*, 5 (1857), 50: 'Who can forget the moving case of the French Israelite soldier, preserved for us from the memories of the Napoleonic Wars? Behold him on the ground, spattered with his own blood, his eyes already covered by the shadows of death, pleading in vain. His fierce victor stands over him and kicks him, ready to give the death blow. The sword flashes, curves, and comes down. *Shema Israel* [in Hebrew in the text]. What do you see now? You see the sword drop from the hand of the victor: the victor himself bends in pity over the unfortunate man, bind his wound, pull him to his feet. That supreme cry of the dying faithful came from the wounded man. They recognized each other: they were brothers in faith'. See also Giotto (1913) 'Vincolo di nemici. Racconto', *VI*, 61, 475–7: David, a Serbian soldier, is wounded in

battle in the war against Turkey, and lying on the ground. 'The enemy soldiers were coming increasingly close and in the dark their approaching shapes could be made out. David's eyes grew blurred: he realized that his last hour had come and with a supreme effort, joining his hands, he said the sacred words: "Shema' Israél Adonái Eloénu…". "Adonái ehád", responded a strong voice from the passing enemy patrol. There was a death rattle, then nothing more. All that could be heard were the steps of the patrol as it moved away towards the hazards of the night'.

42. G. Lattes (1908) 'Il credo d'Israele', *VI*, 56, 62–4. Also published in the volume *Cuore d'Israele* (Casale Monferrato: Rossi e Lavagno, 1908).
43. See G. Luzzatti (1918) 'Il figlio del riscatto. Novella di "Hanuccà"', *VI*, 66, 27–8; G. Luzzatti (1918) 'Miriam (Novella)', *VI*, 66, 428–9.
44. See for example S. E. Ascheim (1982) *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press); J. Wertheimer (1987) *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); C. Zytnicki (ed.) (2010) *Terre d'exil, terre d'asile: migrations juives en France aux XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècle* (Paris: Editions de l'éclat).
45. Margulies (1911) 'Libertà e schiavitù', *SI*, 2, 16–17, 2. See also Margulies (1903) 'Discorso tenuto nel Tempio di Firenze il secondo giorno di Succòth', *CI*, 42, 6, 140; Margulies (1905) *I nostri martiri di Russia. Commemorazione fatta in Firenze il dì 19 novembre 1905 nel tempio maggiore israelitico* (Florence: Galletti and Cassuto); 'I nuovi martiri', *CI*, 42, 5 (1903), 123–4; 'Ai nostri martiri', CI, 44, 7 (1905), 1; 'Martiri di Polonia', *SI*, 1, 39 (1910); E. S. Artom (1911) 'Martiri ebrei', *SI*, 2, 50.
46. On Zionism in Western Europe see M. Berkowitz (1993) *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press); M. Berkowitz (1997) *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914–1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
47. D. Bidussa (1989) 'Il sionismo in Italia nel primo quarto del novecento. Una «rivolta culturale»?', *Bailamme*, 168–205; A. Cavaglion (1997) 'Tendenze nazionali e albori sionistici' in C. Vivanti (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11. Gli ebrei in Italia*, 2,

Dall'emancipazione a oggi (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 1291–320; S. Della Seta and D. Carpi (1997) 'Il movimento sionistico' in C. Vivanti (ed.) *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11. Gli ebrei in Italia*, 2, as above, pp. 1321–68; L. Brazzo (2007) *Angelo Sullam e il sionismo in Italia tra la crisi di fine secolo e la guerra di Libia* (Città di Castello: S. E. Dante Alighieri).

48. 'Il Sionnismo', *CI*, 34, 12 (1896), 266.
49. L. Racah (1896) 'La fondazione di uno Stato Giudaico', *CI*, 35, 3, 53.
50. See G. Sonino (1897) 'Sul Sionnismo', *CI*, 36, 6, 121–5.
51. 'Il Movimento Sionnistico', *CI*, 36, 6 (1897), 129–30. The *shofar* is a sheep's horn used as a musical instrument for ritual purposes. Nordau's reference was to a passage in the Amidah prayer, in which God is invoked in order that, by sounding the shofar, the Jews from the four corners of the earth be gathered together and taken back to the land of Israel.
52. See G. Luzzatto Voghera (1992) 'La formazione culturale di Dante Lattes' in D. Bidussa, A. Luzzatto and G. Luzzatto Voghera (eds) *Oltre il ghetto. Momenti e figure della cultura ebraica in Italia tra l'Unità e il fascismo*, introduction by L. Mangoni (Brescia: Morcelliana), pp. 17–95.
53. The president of the FSI was Felice Ravenna, son of the rabbi Leone, who has been mentioned several times, and subsequently a long-standing president of the UCII. Both the FSI and *L'Idea Sionista* shut down in 1911, in the difficult atmosphere that came into being after the war in Libya, but the organization was re-established in 1918. Zionist groups were formed in Milan in 1901 under the direction of Bettino Levi, in Livorno with the involvement of Rabbi Samuele Colombo, in Venice with lawyer Angelo Sullam, in Florence with Gino Arias, and in Ancona and Bologna. Florence saw the foundation of the Pro cultura movement in 1907, encouraged by Aldo Sorani, Umberto Cassuto and Gustavo Castelbolognesi.
54. 'I nostri ideali', *IS*, 1, 1 (1901), 1.
55. Some interesting data on Italian emigration to Palestine in the inter-war period, provided by Arturo Marzano, indicate that Jews from Florence were the largest group, 17.3 % of all Italian Jewish migrants, whereas they only accounted for 5.6 % of the total Italian Jewish population. Jews from Turin, by comparison, were only 6.9 %

of Italian Jewish migrants but 8.6 % of the Italian Jewish population. See A. Marzano (2003) *Una terra per rinascere. Gli ebrei italiani e l'emigrazione in Palestina prima della guerra (1920–1940)*, (Genoa: Marietti), pp. 103 and 125.

56. 'Il nostro programma', *RI*, 1, 1 (1904), 1–2.
57. There is an interesting interpretative approach in Brazzo, *Angelo Sullam e il sionismo in Italia*.
58. See M. Toscano (2003) 'Fermenti culturali ed esperienze organizzative della gioventù ebraica italiana (1911–1925)' in his *Ebraismo ed antisemitismo in Italia. Dal 1848 alla guerra dei sei giorni* (Milan: Franco Angeli), esp. pp. 73–89.
59. See Toscano, 'Fermenti culturali', pp. 69–109. As regards Italian society more generally, see A. M. Banti (1996) *Storia della borghesia italiana. L'età liberale* (Rome: Donzelli): on professional associationism, pp. 133–42; on the creation of associations, clubs and recreational organizations, pp. 181–8, and the bibliography.
60. Racah, 'La fondazione di uno Stato Giudaico', 52.
61. 'Thus every Israelite, in having to defend his own beliefs, will at least feel his religious sentiment more strongly, and will examine himself in order to decide whether or not a religion consecrated by the martyrdom of so many great souls, and by the tears of so many oppressed, is glorious'. G. Lattes (1898) 'Del Sionnismo', *CI*, 36, 11, 249.
62. R. Ottolenghi (1911) *Israele nella società moderna e il suo problema angosciante* (Rome: La Riforma Laica), p. 34. On Paolo Orano and the anti-Semitic attacks in *La Lupa*, see M. Battini (2010) *Il socialismo degli imbecilli. Propaganda, falsificazione, persecuzione degli ebrei* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri), pp. 134–73; see p. 159 for reference to the theme of ritual murder.
63. F. Servi (1897) 'Il Congresso di Basilea', *VI*, 45, 289.
64. F.S. [F. Servi] (1898) 'Il buon senso dell'"Alliance" e le conseguenze del sionismo', *VI*, 46, 365.
65. CAHJP, IT/FI: IT 79.
66. Ibid.
67. 'Il Movimento Sionnistico', 130.
68. See Chap. 1 for Attilio Milano's assessment of *Il Vessillo*. On the relationship between memory, Jewish consciousness and historiography after the Second World War, see G. Schwarz (2004) *Ritrovare se stessi. Gli ebrei nell'Italia post-fascista* (Rome–Bari: Laterza).

69. See G. L. Mosse (1980) 'The Secularization of Jewish Theology' in his *Masses and Man* (New York: Fertig), pp. 249–62.
70. S. Colombo (1909), 'Il profeta dei nostri tempi', *VI*, 57, 500–1; for the complete article, 451–6, 499–504, 551–4. For other examples see G. Levi (1867) *Catechismo israelitico di religione e di morale ad uso dell'adolescenza* (Turin: Tipografia Foa), p. 66; M. Mortara (n.d.) *Della nazionalità e delle aspirazioni messianiche degli Ebrei. A proposito della questione sollevata dall'onor. Deputato Pasqualigo* (Rome: Tip. del Senato del Regno), p. 12; S. Jona (1879) *Catechismo ossia elementi d'istruzione morale e religiosa ad uso della gioventù israelitica d'Italia* (Ivrea: Stabilimento Garda), p. 92; A. Da Fano (1897) *Libertà e morale nella dottrina israelitica. Predica pronunziata nel Tempio di Milano il I° giorno di Pentecoste 5657–1897* (Milan: Tipo-litografia Arienti), p. 12; S. Colombo (1924) *La coscienza di un popolo. Avviamento allo studio dell'ebraismo* (Livorno: Circolo di coltura ebraica), p. 64. From *Il Vessillo Israelitico* see for example S. Momigliano (1885) 'L'Antisemitismo?', 33, 312; A. Colombo (1913) 'Ebraismo d'Oriente e d'Occidente', 61, 667–8; S. Colombo (1914) 'La nostra Patria', 62, 153; 'Firenze. Insediamento solenne del nuovo Rabbino Maggiore', 70 (1922), 287–91. From *Il Corriere Israelitico* see for example S. Colombo (1905) 'Patriottismo e solidarietà ebraica. Discorso tenuto l'11 Novembre nel Tempio Maggiore di Livorno', 44, 7, 208–9; 'Pro Sion', 37, 6 (1898), 124. From *La Settimana Israelitica*, see for example R. Ottolenghi (1912) 'La storia è pagana; la coscienza è ebraica', 3, 34. From *Israel*, see for example 'Le due tattiche. Discorso tenuto nel Tempio di Siena il giorno di Purim 5676–19 marzo 1916', 1, 12 (1916); 'Il nostro questionario', 1, 17 (1916).
71. See M. Berkowitz (1993) *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), p. 34.
72. See D. Levi (1898) 'Un nuovo inno pel 50° anniversario dell'emancipazione', *VI*, 46, 74–6; 'Le comunità israelitiche d'Italia nel cinquantenario dello Statuto', *VI*, 46 (1898), 86–8; 'Il cinquantenario dell'emancipazione israelitica a Torino', *VI*, 46, 129–30.
73. X. (1898) 'Il Congresso di Basilea. Corrispondenza particolare del Vessillo', *VI*, 46, 299. See also 'La questione sionistica. Il giuda-

ismo in Isvizzera. Relazione al «Vessillo» del delegato Rab. G. Sonino', *VI*, 46 (1898), 304–6. In *Il Corriere*, see G. Sonino (1898) 'Al Congresso di Basilea', 37, 5, 98–101; 'Il Secondo Congresso Sionistico', 37, 6 (1898), 121–2; 'Discorso del Rabb. G. Sonino al II Congresso Sionistico', 37, 6 (1898), 133–5.

74. On the Dreyfus Affair, see in particular P. Birnbaum (1994) *La France de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Gallimard); J. Doise (1994) *Un secret bien gardé: histoire militaire de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Seuil); M. Drouin (ed.) (1994) *L'Affaire Dreyfus de A à Z* (Paris: Flammarion); M. Winock (ed.) (1998) *L'Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Seuil); M. Burns (1999) *France and the Dreyfus Affair: A Documentary History* (Boston, MA:, Bedford/St. Martin's); M. P. Johnson (1999) *The Dreyfus Affair: Honour and Politics in the* Belle Epoque (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
75. A.F. (1898) 'Un'intervista. Sionista o italiano?', *VI*, 46, 404.
76. Ibid., p. 405.
77. Ibid.
78. D. Lattes (1900) 'Rabbini e patriottismo', *CI*, 39, 5, reprinted in 'Nel primo centenario della nascita di Dante Lattes', *RMI*, 42, 9–10 (1976), 68–9. As mentioned previously, Giuseppe Foà was the grandfather of Vittorio Foa, and is described in V. Foa (1991) *Il Cavallo e la Torre. Riflessioni su una vita* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. 4–5.
79. The year was 1899, and he was trying to garner some helpful moral from the Dreyfus Affair, concluding that excessive exhibitions of patriotism had been harmful to the Jews, including in terms of public opinion, by conveying the image of a spineless and degenerate minority. See D. Lattes (1899) 'Le conseguenze dell'affare Dreyfus', *CI*, 38, 2, 57–61.
80. E. Lolli (1898) 'Alcune considerazioni sul Sionismo', *CI*, 37, 1, 52–6.
81. G. Lattes (1898) 'Alcune considerazioni sul Sionismo. Risposta all'articolo dell'Ecc.mo Rabbino Maggiore Professor Eude Lolli', *CI*, 37, 4, 74–7.
82. 'Movimento sionistico. Il secondo Congresso', *CI*, 37, 4 (1898), 84.
83. 'Alcuni schiarimenti ad un articolo', *CI*, 37, 8 (1898), 177–81. The references are to E. Renan (1883) *Le Judaïsme come race et comme réligion*, 2nd ed. (Paris: C. Lévy); V. Jacques (1893) 'Types

Juifs', *Revue des Études Juives*, 26, 49–80; G. Le Bon (1894) *Les lois psychologiques de la vie des peuples* (Paris: Alcan); A. Leroy Beaulieu (1893) *Israël chez les nations* (Paris: C. Lévy).

84. Lattes, 'Rabbini e patriottismo', 71.
85. For an article covering the FSI see F. Ravenna (1901), 'Il Sionismo in Italia', *IS*, 1, 1, 3–4.
86. 'Il Ministero Luzzatti', *SI*, 1, 14 (1910), 1.
87. 'I due risorgimenti', *SI*, 1, 35 (1910), 1.
88. See A. Pacifici (1912) *Israele, l'unico* (Florence: La Giuntina); see also 'La mia patria', *SI*, 4, 31 (1913), 2; 'Su "La nostra patria"', *SI*, 4, 33 (1913), 4; 'La nostra patria', *SI*, 5, 3 (1914), 1–2 and 5; 4, 1–3.
89. See G. Lattes (1911) 'Tripoli italiana', *VI*, 59, 505–6. On the image of the army and the 'Adua complex' see M. Mondini (2001) 'La nazione di Marte. Esercito e "nation building" nell'Italia unita', *Storica*, 7, 20–21, 209–46. On the war in Libya see A. Del Boca (1986–1988) *Gli italiani in Libia*, 2 vols (Rome–Bari: Laterza); N. Labanca (2002) *Oltremare. Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino), and its systematic bibliography, pp. 477–547.
90. See 'Sul convegno giovanile', *VI*, 59 (1911), 470–1; F. Servi (1911) 'Alla Settimana', *VI*, 59, 547 et seq.; F. Servi (1911) 'Le nostre prove', *VI*, 59, 607–10.
91. See 'Il II Convegno Giovanile Ebraico di Torino', *VI*, 60 (1912), 793–823.
92. See Toscano 'Fermenti culturali'; on 'Giovane Israele' ('Young Israel'), in fact founded in 1913, see in particular pp. 89–90.
93. Toscano, 'Fermenti culturali', pp. 77–8.
94. 'Collaborazione del pubblico', *VI*, 61 (1913), 227. See also 'Collaborazione del pubblico', *VI*, 61 (1913), 168; 'Collaborazione del pubblico', *VI*, 61 (1913), 278–9. See E. Bachi (1912) 'Confessioni', *VI*, 60, 325–6; E. Bachi (1913) 'Il nostro programma', *VI*, 61, 332–4.
95. Toscano, 'Fermenti culturali', p. 83.
96. 'La consegna della spada d'onore al capitano Emanuele Pugliese', *VI*, 62 (1914), 300. Angelo Usiglio was a Risorgimento patriot who died in the plot organized by Ciro Menotti in 1831. On Pugliese at the time of the 'march on Rome', see M. Michaelis (1962) 'Il Generale Pugliese e la difesa di Roma', *RMI*, 28, 6–7,

262–83. On the presence of Jews in the army see M. Mondini (2001) 'L'identità negata: materiali di lavoro su ebrei ed esercito dall'età liberale al secondo dopoguerra' in G. Schwarz and I. Pavan (eds) *Gli ebrei in Italia tra persecuzione fascista e reintegrazione postbellica*, preface by M. Luzzati (Florence: La Giuntina), pp. 141–70.

97. See 'La consegna della spada d'onore', p. 305.
98. 'Note e commenti', *SI*, 5, 23 (1914), 2. A few months earlier, when contributions for the sword of honour were first invited, Raffaele Ottolenghi had written privately to Pacifici to convey his utter disdain: he had subscribed, but despite this he felt that initiatives of this kind were 'the most anti-Jewish thing there could possibly be'. In conclusion he described the Servis as encouragers of 'all the developments […] of Jewish degeneration' (CAHJP, Archivio Alfonso Pacifici, P172/142, letter dated 7 March 1914. Acqui).
99. See G. L. Mosse (1990) *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 53–69; M. Isnenghi (2002) *Il mito della Grande Guerra*, 5th ed. (Bologna: Il Mulino).
100. See M. Toscano, 'Gli ebrei italiani e la Prima Guerra Mondiale (1915–1918): tra crisi religiosa e fremiti patriottici' and 'Ebrei ed ebraismo nell'Italia della grande guerra. Note su un'inchiesta del Comitato delle comunità isrealitiche italiane del maggio 1917' in his *Ebraismo e antisemitismo*, pp. 110–22 and 123–54; E. Capuzzo (1999) *Gli ebrei nella società italiana: comunità e istituzioni tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Rome: Carocci), pp. 119–44. On religious minorities in the Great War, see D. Menozzi (ed.) (2006), 'Religione, nazione e guerra nel primo conflitto mondiale', special issue of *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo*, 2, esp. I. Pavan, '"Cingi, o prode, la spada al tuo fianco". I rabbini italiani di fronte alla grande guerra', 335–58. On other European cases see P.-E. Landau (1999) *Les Juifs de France et la Grande Guerre: un patriotisme républicain (1914–1941)*, preface by J. J. Becker (Paris: CNRS); D. Cesarani (1994) *The "Jewish Chronicle" and Anglo-Jewry 1841–1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 114–21; D. Rechter (2001) *The Jews of Vienna and the First World War* (London: Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization); M. L. Rozenblit, (2001) *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of*

Habsburg Austria during World War I (Oxford: Oxford University Press); R. S. Wistrich (1989) *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

101. 'La guerra', *VI*, 62 (1914), 441–2.
102. 'Nell'ora della nostra tragedia. Duecentomila ebrei in campo gli uni contro gli altri', *SI*, 5, 32 (1914).
103. 'Israele e la pace', *SI*, 5, 33 (1914), 1–2.
104. See A. Pacifici (1915) 'I custodi dell'avvenire', *SI*, 6, 20.
105. See *Israel*, 1, 18 (1916). Pacifici resumed editorship of the publication at the end of 1918.
106. 'Guerra', *VI*, 63 (1915), 261.
107. 'Cronache dalla guerra', VI, 62 (1914), 443. This is an implicit reference to the opening passage of the *Shema*, which exhorts people to love God with all their heart, all their soul and all their faculties ('forces' in some translations). See Deuteronomy 6: 4–5. On the German organizations see J. Reinharz (1975) *Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), pp. 90 et seq.
108. 'L'ora della prova', *SI*, 6, 21 (1915), 1.
109. See for example the notice from the board of the *Giovane Israele* organization published in *Il Vessillo*: 'The board of *Giovane Israele*, which has constantly fought for the crushed rights of Judaism, warmly applauds the similar struggle undertaken by Italy for its political and moral unity; while praying for a splendid future for the fatherland of every liberty, it is most happy […] to work together, with all the energies of its adherents, for the full attainment of national independence, confident that at the right moment the Italian people, first of all peoples, will not fail to support the efforts that will be made for the better treatment of hundreds of thousands of persecuted and oppressed Jews: these are men, and as such, like the citizens of Italy's glorious "terre irredente" (unredeemed lands), have the natural and sacred right to a better life' (*VI*, 63 (1915), 267).
110. 'Dalle polemiche alla realtà', *SI*, 6, 3 (1915), 1.
111. D. Lattes (1915) 'La vita comincia domani', *CI*, 54, 1.
112. 'Dalle polemiche alla realtà'.
113. E. D. Colonna (1915) 'Il fratello (Novella)', *VI*, 63, 412.
114. Ibid.

115. *La Fiamma* was a Florentine weekly magazine, published from 1914 to 1916.
116. 'Gli austriaci al Collegio Rabbinico', *La Fiamma*, 10 April 1915, reprinted in 'In lettura', *VI*, 63 (1915), 214.
117. See 'Collaborazione del pubblico', *VI*, 63 (1915), 278–9; R. Ottolenghi (1915) 'Al "Fiamma" del signor Ferruccio Servi', *SI*, 6, 19, 3.
118. 'Collaborazione del pubblico', *VI*, 63 (1915), 308.
119. See for example the circular of the Italian Rabbinical Federation of 12 September 1919, signed by its president Margulies and its secretary Dante Lattes, in CAHJP, IT: IT 830.
120. 'Collaborazione del pubblico', *VI*, 63 (1915), 309.
121. See E. Fouilloux (1990) 'Première Guerre Mondiale et changement réligieux en Europe' in J.-J. Becker and S. Audoin-Rouzeau (eds) *Les sociétés européennes et la guerre de 1914–1918. Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Amiens, 8–11 décembre 1988* (Nanterre: Université de Nanterre); A. Becker (1994) *La guerre et la foi. De la mort à la mémoire 1914–1930* (Paris: Colin). On Italy see Menozzi, *Religione, nazione e guerra*; D. Menozzi (ed.) (2008) 'La Chiesa e la guerra. I cattolici italiani nel primo conflitto mondiale', special issue of *Humanitas*, 43, 6; A. Gibelli and C. Stiaccini (2006) 'Il miracolo della guerra. Appunti su religione e superstizione nei soldati della Grande Guerra' in N. Labanca and G. Rochat (eds) *Il soldato, la guerra e il rischio di morire* (Milan: Unicopli), pp. 125–36; M. Franzinelli (ed.) (2003) *Il volto religioso della guerra. Santini e immaginette per i soldati* (Faenza: Edit).
122. A key reference is still the article by E. Kantorowicz (1951) '*Pro Patria Mori* in Medieval Political Thought', *American Historical Review*, 56, 3, 472–92: 'It would be wrong to underrate the role which humanism and revived antiquity have played in the emotional revaluation of the ancient *pro patria mori* in modern times. The main spring, however, is that at a certain moment in history the "state" in the abstract or the state as a corporation appeared as a *corpus mysticum* and that death for this new mystical body appeared equal in value to the death of a crusader for the cause of God'. (p. 491)
123. On the commemoration of the fallen and the ways in which mourning was conducted see Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*; J. M. Winter (1995) *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European*

Cultural History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); J. M. Winter (2006) *Remembering War: The Great War between Historical Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), pp. 135–53.

124. G. L. Mosse (1977) 'The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914–1918', in *Leo Baeck Memorial Lectures*, 21 (New York: Leo Baeck Institute), p. 11 (reprinted in G. L. Mosse (1980) *Masses and Man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality* (New York: Fertig), pp. 263–83).
125. See Becker, *La guerre et la foi*, pp. 44–5.
126. See 'Notiziario', *CI*, 54, 6 (1915); D. Camerini (1915) 'L'ebraismo di fronte al Cristianesimo', *CI*, 54, 7.
127. 'Rispettiamo la coscienza religiosa', *VI*, 64 (1916), 29. On the dead of the Great War see C. Canal (1982) 'La retorica della morte. I monumenti ai caduti della Grande Guerra', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, 4, 659–69; O. Janz (2003) 'Monumenti di carta. Le pubblicazioni in memoria dei caduti della prima guerra mondiale' in F. Dolci and O. Janz (eds) *Non omnis moriar. Gli opuscoli di necrologio per i caduti italiani nella Grande Guerra. Bibliografia analitica* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura), pp. 11–44; R. Monteleone and P. Sarasini (1986) 'I monumenti italiani ai caduti della Grande Guerra' in D. Leoni and C. Zadra (eds) *La grande guerra. Memoria, esperienza, immagini* (Bologna: Il Mulino), pp. 631–62.
128. In 1926 the *Fraterna israelitica* of Venice took action to stop the names of some Jews being inscribed on a parish plaque. See S. Levis Sullam (2001) *Una comunità immaginata. Gli ebrei a Venezia (1900–1938)*, afterword by A. Cavaglion (Milan: Unicopli), p. 254; more generally, on the problem of finding space without Christian symbols, see pp. 241–55.
129. G. Lattes (1914) 'Jamìm Noraìm', *VI*, 62, 469. The *topos* of enemies who recognize each other as brothers thanks to the *Shema* can be found, for example, in a story in the *Jewish World* of 4 November 1914, in which the two protagonists are Austrian and Russian. This episode was repeated in a sermon by George Silverstone, a rabbi of Lithuanian origin, preached in Washington on 25 October 1914, and quoted in M. Saperstein (2008) *Jewish Preaching in Times of War 1800–2001* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization), pp. 304–5 and 307.

130. See M. Toscano (2005) 'Religione, patriottismo, sionismo: il rabbinato militare nell'Italia della grande guerra (1915–1918)', *Zakhor*, 9, 77–133; Pavan, '"Cingi, o prode, la spada al tuo fianco"'; Capuzzo, *Gli ebrei nella società italiana*, pp. 122–30.
131. See Marzano, *Una terra per rinascere*, p. 373. Dante Lattes went to Palestine in 1939 but subsequently returned to Italy.
132. 'I Rabbini militari. Il loro significato e la loro ragion d'essere', *SI*, 6, 28 (1915).
133. See Pavan, '"Cingi, o prode, la spada al tuo fianco"', pp. 349–50.
134. See for example D. Camerini (1916) 'Il nemico che è in noi. Sermone pronunciato nel Tempio di Parma nel giorno di Chippùr 5677-7 ottobre 1916', *VI*, 64, 116–21.
135. Until now this has only been dealt with by Ilaria Pavan, in '"Cingi, o prode, la spada al tuo fianco"'. On sermons by French rabbis, see Landau, *Les Juifs de France et la Grande Guerre*, pp. 111–23. Pierre Birnbaum has done interesting research on the prayers for king and state: *Prier pour l'État. Les Juifs, l'alliance royale et la démocratie* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2005).
136. On the Catholic teaching regarding war (and peace) see G. Miccoli (2002) 'La guerra nella storia e nella teologia cristiana. Un problema a molteplici facce' in P. Stefani and G. Menestrina (eds) *Pace e guerra nella Bibbia e nel Corano* (Brescia: Morcelliana); D. Menozzi (2008) *Chiesa, pace e guerra nel Novecento. Verso una delegittimazione religiosa dei conflitti* (Bologna: Il Mulino). On the sermons of British and German clergy, mainly Protestant, see A. J. Hoover (1989) *God, Germany and Britain in the War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York: Praeger); on sermons by priests in the diocese of Florence during the war, see M. Caponi (2010) 'Una Chiesa in guerra. La diocesi di Firenze (1911–1926)' (PhD diss., Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa), pp. 237–84.
137. See Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching*, pp. 2–4; M. Saperstein (1996) '*Your Voice Like a Ram's Horn': Themes and Texts in Traditional Jewish Preaching* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press); on Italy in the modern age, see D. Ruderman (ed.) (1992) *Preachers of the Italian Ghetto* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press).
138. A. Altmann (1964) 'The New Style of Preaching in Nineteenth-century German Jewry' in A. Altmann (ed.) *Studies in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Intellectual History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), pp. 65–116; Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching*, esp.

pp. 2–30, and for discussion of the introduction of topics previously absent from Jewish sermons, see pp. 31–70.

139. Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching*, p. 22.
140. This is the text read during the ritual meal on the first and second days of Passover, which tells the story of Exodus.
141. A. Da Fano (1915) 'Il nostro dovere. Sermone pronunciato nel tempio israelitico di Milano nel primo giorno di Pèsah 5675', *VI*, 63, 234–6; see also D. Camerini (1915) 'Pasqua triste. Sermone pronunciato nel Tempio israelitico di Parma il 1° giorno di Pasqua del 5675', *VI*, 63, 296–300, in which the massacres, rapes and violence are compared with the plagues that struck Egypt. There was a different approach in the markedly Zionist sermon composed for the same occasion by Hirsch Perez Chajes, who like Margulies was from Galicia in what is now the Ukraine, the chief rabbi of Trieste from 1912 and the force behind the local review *Il Messaggero Israelitico*. See H. P. Chajes (1915) 'Lescianah habbaah biruscialaim' ['Next year in Jerusalem'], *SI*, 6, 19, 1–2.
142. The holiday that celebrates Moses receiving the Ten Commandments.
143. The theme of acknowledgement was also addressed in an article by Donato Camerini: 'As well as your duty and natural feelings towards the land of your birth, you have a sacred duty of acknowledgement towards the nation that first and more fully than others knocked down the barriers of intolerance and granted Israelites rights equal to those of other citizens; it is your duty to protect the glory of two particularly glorious names, that of "Israelite" and that of "Italian"'. D. Camerini (1915) 'Pasqua triste,' *VI*, 63, 299.
144. G. Bolaffio (1915) 'Guerra', *VI*, 63, 261–7. This sermon was also published as a pamphlet, with the same title, by the board of the Jewish community of Turin. From the start of the war Bolaffio, like many other rabbis, had initiated the custom of reciting every Sabbath a special prayer, in Hebrew and Italian, for victory and for the 'redemption of our oppressed brothers'. Rabbi Da Fano also composed a prayer to be recited weekly, printed in *VI*, 63 (1915), 313.
145. After the death of Vittorio Castiglioni, Angelo Sacerdoti was chief rabbi of Rome from 1912 to 1935.
146. 'Notizie diverse. Italia. Roma', *VI*, 63 (1915), 283–4.
147. S. H. Margulies (1915) 'La guerra', *VI*, 63, 387.

148. S. H. Margulies (1915) 'La guerra presente e gl'ideali ebraici. Discorso pronunziato nel Tempio maggiore di Firenze, il primo giorno di Rosh-hashanà', *SI*, 6, 36, 1–2.
149. S. Colombo (1915) *Il Dio degli eserciti e la guerra d'Italia. Agli Ebrei di Livorno nel giorno dello Statuto del 1915* (Udine: Tipografia Domenico Del Bianco).
150. S. Colombo (1917) 'La guerra d'Italia e l'ebraismo', *VI*, 65, 11.
151. Ibid., pp. 12–13.
152. Genesis 2: 1: 'Thus the heaven and the earth were finished, and all the host of them'. The choices of 'l'esercito' in Italian and 'the host' in some English versions present more or less the same problems of interpretation, and similar discussions in commentaries. The notes on this verse in the *Bibbia Ebraica* (see 'Abbreviations' at the start of this volume), translated, explain that 'the expressions 'esercito del cielo' ('host of the heaven') and 'esercito della terra' ('host of the earth') are intended to mean all that is in them and that obeys the will of God, who is known in this sense, according to some interpreters, as the 'Signore degli eserciti' ('Lord of hosts'), *Adonai Tsevaoth*'.
153. G. Lattes (1915) 'Guerra', *VI*, 63, 293.
154. Ibid., p. 294. See also the sermon by rabbi Giuseppe Cammeo of Modena in *VI*, 63 (1915), 314.
155. Università israelitica di Livorno (1918) *Per la celebrazione della vittoria dell'Italia e delle Nazioni Alleate - 20 Novembre 1918* (Livorno: Belforte), p. 8.
156. Ibid., p. 12.
157. L. Ravenna (1918) 'Per la nostra vittoria. Parole pronunciate dal grande uff. avv. Leone Ravenna in occasione della solenne cerimonia per la vittoria delle armi italiane celebrata nel tempio maggiore di Ferrara l'8 dicembre 1918', *VI*, 66, 57. Ravenna, by now an elderly man who was to die in 1920, recalled the celebrations held in the same synagogue many years earlier to celebrate the reforms of Pius IX and the Tuscan Constitution. 'Si scopron le tombe, si levano i morti' ('The tombs are open and the dead are raised') is a very well-known line from the 'Inno di Garibaldi', a patriotic song whose words were written by Luigi Mercantini. On the commemoration of French Jews who died in the war see Landau, *Les Juifs de France et la Grande Guerre*, pp. 175–93.
158. The reference was to the days of the holiday of Hanukkah.

159. G. Lattes (1917) 'Gerusalemme liberata', *VI*, 65, 537. The title is an obvious reference to the famous epic poem *Jerusalem delivered* by T. Tasso, first published in 1581. The story is set at the time of the first Crusade.
160. L. Ravenna (1917), 'Gerusalemme liberata', *VI*, 65, 538–9.
161. See also *Gli ebrei in Francia*, *VI*, 67 (1919), 320–3. An interview given to the *Jewish Chronicle* (25 July 1919) by Israël Lévi was reprinted. 'The rabbi […] stated that anti-Semitism in France could be considered dead'.
162. Twenty years later, in 1939, the 24-year-old Emanuele Artom wrote: 'As we all know, Italy and Judaism found themselves ranked together on the side of justice, because they represented two of the peoples that had contributed most to civilization and had been longest ill-treated. The liberation of Trento and Trieste and the foundation of the Jewish national home had happened at the same time and logically close to the new order that humanity was supposed to have with the establishment of collective security and the rights of nationality and the minorities'. E. Artom (1954) 'Conferenza pronunciata nella sede della Biblioteca Ebraica di Torino il 22 Ottobre 1939' in Treves (ed.), *Tre vite dall'ultimo '800 alla metà del '900*, pp. 247–8. Emanuele died in 1944.
163. The terms of the mandate were also discussed with the USA, which was not a member of the League. The text agreed was confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on 24 July 1922 and came into operation in September 1923.
164. D. Bachi (1920) 'Claudio Treves e il sionismo', *VI*, 68, 236. Much later Donato Bachi wrote for the Fascist Jewish journal *La Nostra Bandiera*, although only articles of a religious or ritual character. See L. Ventura (2000) 'Il gruppo de "La nostra bandiera" di fronte all'antisemitismo fascista (1934–1938)', *Studi Storici*, 41, 3, 718.
165. Della Seta and Carpi, 'Il movimento sionistico', pp. 1323–9.
166. See A. Luzzatto (1992) 'Il rinnovamento culturale dell'ebraismo italiano tra le due guerre', in Bidussa, Luzzatto and Luzzatto Voghera, *Oltre il ghetto*, pp. 97–153. The company's early publications included: D. Lattes and M. Beilinson (eds) (1925) *Il sionismo nel pensiero dei suoi capi: Teodoro Herzl, Max Nordau, Nahum Sokolow, Chajm Weizman* (Florence: Israel); C. Weizmann (1924) *Saggi e discorsi*, edited by D. Lattes and M. Beilinson (Florence: Israel); M. Buber (1923) *Sette discorsi sull'ebraismo*, translated by

D. Lattes and M. Beilinson (Florence: Israel); J. L. Pinsker (1922) *Auto-emancipazione ebraica: scritti di Jehudah Leib Pinsker, Achad-Haam, Menachem Ussishkin*, introduction by D. Lattes and M. Beilinson (Florence: Israel).

167. B. Di Porto (1995) 'La Rassegna Mensile di Israel in epoca fascista', *RMI*, 61, 7–54.
168. Toscano, 'Fermenti culturali', pp. 94 et seq.
169. The records kept in the Archivio Pacifici at the CAHJP in Jerusalem show that Raffaele Ottolenghi and Alfonso Pacifici, at least as early as 1914, considered various plans for closing down *Il Vessillo*, which was already in decline; a possible payment to Ferruccio Servi was not ruled out. I found no evidence that the closure in 1922 was in any way connected to these negotiations. See CAHJP, Archivio Alfonso Pacifici, P172/142.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

> Victory was not celebrated in the way that I would have liked. […] The Fascist party came into being; it seemed to represent my ideas, and I would certainly have been among the first to join in Aosta if I had not been distracted by a thousand family worries. In Turin, too, I would have liked to sign up, but it seemed to me that all the Fascists were war veterans with too many medals and that I had not been gallant enough to join those whose main aim, it seemed, was to give the victory greater importance.[1]

Thus Emilio Artom, brother of the Zionist rabbi Elia Samuele and father of the partisan Emanuele (a future 'martyr' of the Resistance), remembered the end of the Great War, in which he had taken part although behind the front line, and its victory ceremonies. It had seemed to him that the only people to display genuine enthusiasm were the Fascists, who projected a dynamic, combative and intrepid patriotism.[2] Emilio, who was later to oppose the regime for its anti-liberal nature, well before the racial laws were passed, was certainly not the only Jew to think in this way. There was a pressing need to make sense of the bloodbath that had just ended, and of the losses that had affected almost every family, and this required firm leadership. The liberal institutions, which had been faltering since the end of the previous century, were now going through a serious crisis and seemed incapable of effective management of the post-war period, on either a practical or a symbolic level. While the peace settlement was being worked out, European societies trembled in fear of a 'red' revolution; many felt that the real danger lay with the forces of the extreme left and that appropriate

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protection should be prepared. After the First World War, which has been seen as the concluding event of the 'long nineteenth century', political ideologies emerged on a grand scale which had a Manichean conception of the world, viewing any element of complexity or ambiguity as a threat: this took to its extreme consequences the turmoil of intolerance and exclusivism that we have seen growing in fin-de-siècle culture and politics.[3]

A large number of Italian Jews joined the Fascist movement when it first emerged, and continued to support the regime even after the turning point of 1924–1925.[4] Most of them, much like other Italians, probably saw it as a way of celebrating their fatherland and their belonging to Italy in a sort of continuity with the spirit of the Risorgimento. In the 1930s, in a related development, some former contributors to *Il Vessillo Israelitico* (notably its one-time editor Ferruccio Servi) worked on *La nostra bandiera*, the journal whose explicit aim was to emphasize the patriotism of Italian Jews and their loyalty to the regime, while also virulently attacking *Israel*. According to *La nostra bandiera*, the Zionists ran the risk of encouraging the accusations of double national allegiance that had become common currency in anti-Semitic propaganda in Europe.[5] At first glance the skirmishes between *La nostra bandiera* and *Israel* resemble a repeat of those between *Il Vessillo* and *La Settimana*, but the times had altered dramatically.

The approach of Italian Fascism towards minorities, and in particular the Jews, was not immediately obvious, but while it did not follow a linear development it hardened in the years between the 'march on Rome' and the racial laws.[6] Across this period the regime repeatedly attacked the Jewish minority. The return to themes that have been discussed in detail in this volume is particularly striking. In 1928, in *Il Popolo di Roma*, Mussolini asked Italian Jews what their response was to the familiar question, 'Are you a religion or are you a nation?'[7] The declarations of patriotism by Jews which had appeared many times in their writing and speeches had evidently not been sufficient. Four years later, in an article published in *Il Popolo d'Italia* with the heading 'Matrimoni misti e malinconie inattuali' ('Mixed marriages and outdated worries'), Mussolini attacked the position taken by *Israel*, and especially by the chief rabbi of Rome, Angelo Sacerdoti, which continued to express the long-standing opposition to exogamy:

> One deduces that the Jews of *Israel* consider themselves a separate group, residing in Italy, but with their own independent demographic development […]. It is therefore true that the 'consecrated people' does not wish

> to blend with the peoples among which it lives, even when these peoples consider it, having equal rights and responsibilities, just the same as others. […] It is therefore true that certain Jews need to live in the 'ghetto'.[8]

Rabbi Sacerdoti's reply adhered to the established script, attempting to explain the meaning of endogamy for Judaism and emphasizing that Jewishness and Italianness were in no way in conflict but rather could offer each other mutual sustenance.

In this book I have explored some of the different modes of self-representation by the Jewish minority between Italian Unification and the Great War. From this has emerged a phase of the cultural history of Italian Judaism which merits some concluding thoughts. With a trajectory that started before Jewish emancipation, there was an increasing identification between Jews and the liberal regime; the development of Jewish patriotism was strongly influenced by the parallel processes of the Unification of Italy and the minority's attainment of legal equality. This parallel, which lay in the chronological unfolding of events, rose to the level of a conceptual and historical necessity and almost to an ontological equivalence. In the language of that period, it might have been said that at that point Italy finally became the mother of all its children. Although the Italian process was not exactly the same as the French, which has been discussed in terms of the transition from 'court Jews' to 'state Jews',[9] the extent to which members of the minority were involved in the institutions during the post-Unification period merits further detailed research, as does the spread of the linkage between Jews and liberalism in public perception during the second half of the nineteenth century. This was often used by the Jews themselves in self-defence and became a rhetorical weapon for the anti-liberal wings of both the right and the left in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth.

The acquisition of equality and the rights of citizenship, combined with increasing secularization, led to rethink the role of Jewish individuals and communities, as well as Judaism itself. The process of becoming a nation, integration, and reflection on the essence of Jewish identity all went forward together and influenced each other. The new national, liberal state did not allow for the existence of intermediaries in its relationship with its citizens but approved their right to practise their religion both privately and publicly, provided that it was among those officially recognized. Jewishness was increasingly formulated in exclusively religious and domestic terms, in relation to the family and the synagogue, while any ethnic or

national connotations were relegated to the past. While individual Jews, each in their own way, strove to attain full membership of society, numerous issues remained for the community bodies and for the delineation of collective Jewish identity. The communities and the rabbinate had to address a drastic reduction in their authority over the lives of their fellow Jews, while they still had to take responsibility, perhaps even to a greater degree, for representing the public face of the minority in relation to society as a whole.

New terms were also needed to indicate those ties that either could or should unite Jews over and above those of their faith; while this was always defended, it was not by itself sufficient to explain the solidarity between Jews, or the necessity of endogamy for their survival. The terms 'stirpe' ('stock') and 'razza' ('race') were generally employed. The latter had the advantage of being in common use, from the early nineteenth century onwards; in comparison to the former it had scientific legitimation, although its meaning was somewhat vague due to the great number of theories, often contradictory, that were continually being put forward. Although ethnic and biological references were clearly present in national and patriotic language from the outset, it was only later, in the fin-de-siècle climate, that the idea that a nation ought to be racially homogeneous was to spread, and then unevenly. The use of racial terminology did not necessarily mean thinking in racist terms and did not mean believing that the rights of citizenship should be awarded on the basis of racial criteria. When this was implemented by the Fascist and Nazi regimes it was the final step in a long process that had been neither linear nor inevitable and involved profound changes in ideas about race, nation, state and citizenship. The First World War acted as both catalyst and accelerator in this, but the 'cultural origins' of twentieth-century developments can be traced back to the atmosphere at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Jewish minority itself made free use of the entire repertoire of images of the Jew that had developed over previous centuries; there had been a constant process of revision and modernization of the concepts, images and ways of explaining this 'otherness' that was very close to European and Christian society and culture and located inside this. Only explicit attacks on the Jewish religion, or questioning of the Jews' performance as good patriots and citizens, were directly rebutted; everything else fed into Jewish self-representation, partly in the form of defects to be overcome by physical and moral re-education, and partly in the form of characteristics that might be used in a positive way. Widespread familiarity

with a popularized version of Lamarck's theories allowed for suggestions about the social origins of some psycho-physical traits, which had then been passed on to subsequent generations; this fitted very well with the more traditional rhetoric of regeneration. We have seen how rabbis, community leaders, teachers in Jewish schools and different sorts of contributors to Jewish periodicals made great use of the evocative potential of stereotypes in stories that dramatized the hopes and fears of the modern age.[10] At the level of high culture, towards the end of the nineteenth century there was growing unease about the idea of the existence of a Jewish race, and some leading intellectuals, for example, Ernest Renan, revised the views they had previously expressed.[11] But while books, articles and lectures might move the debate forward among the few specialists, they could have very little impact on a collective imaginary in which the existence of races and the advantages of classifications, measurements and statistics were deeply rooted.[12]

Despite the energy expended by Italian Jewish culture in addressing the new challenges throughout the period analysed here, it seems somewhat provincial in relation to the vitality and the level of intellectual activity, for example, of the German-speaking world. I have in mind, above all, its religious thinking, Hebrew studies and historiography. Much research still remains to be done here, one important element being an analysis of the 'missed' reform of Italian Judaism, which seems clearly related to the Catholic context in which it developed and with which, in various ways that were not all conflictual, it was in dialogue. In the texts that I have examined, the relationship with Catholicism can be seen on three main fronts: the derivation of the best Christian values from Judaism; opposition to some anti-Jewish *topoi* within the Christian tradition, such as the accusations of ritual murder resurrected by a section of the Catholic press during the nineteenth century; and the fear of mixed marriage, which in the Italian context generally meant marriage to a Catholic man or woman, with the probable conversion of the Jewish partner and baptism of the children. With the exception of some famous cases, that of Edgardo Mortara being emblematic, the topic of conversion is not dealt with in its own right but is instead always linked to the issue of mixed marriages and the status of children born within these.[13] To understand the reason for the apparently minimal attention given to a problem that has had a deep impact on the entire history of the Jewish Diaspora, we have to start with the world of nineteenth-century liberal politics, which at least initially was markedly anti-clerical and characterized by open conflict with the Church.

Although the issue had not gone away, there had been profound changes in the approach of society and state institutions as regards Catholic aspirations to convert non-believers. Unfortunately reliable data on the conversion of Jews to Catholicism in Italy in that period is still too scarce for a comprehensive analysis to be undertaken.

While the issues analysed have sometimes been placed within the wider European perspective, it was never my intention to provide a comparative study as such. My principal task has been to throw light on materials, sources and themes that are still not very familiar in relation to Italy; this was a preliminary step, necessary to finally locate Italian Jewish history within the international perspective. While Italian Judaism had been studied and admired for its outstanding achievements in the modern era, it has understandably been passed over by scholars of the contemporary period who are unfamiliar with the most recent historiography, published only in Italian and have concentrated on more dynamic locations with larger Jewish populations such as the USA, Germany and France, and, for different reasons, Eastern Europe. Beside these giants, the Italian case looks to be of small account; it is, however, of great interest, in view of the long history of the Jewish presence in the Italian peninsula, the coexistence of official orthodoxy and very lax practice (in many respects 'reformed'), the presence of the Vatican and very high levels of integration. While the idea of an Italy free of anti-Jewish undercurrents had to be abandoned, we should remember that the use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon has been much less important in Italy, and its capacity to engage people has been much more limited than in other European countries. The nascent analysis of the various strands of anti-Jewish hostility, clearly present in nineteenth-century Italian culture, needs to be undertaken without distortion or constraint by preconceived interpretative models.

The self-representation developed by the Jewish minority during the liberal period was characterized by the continuing coexistence of the language of integration and expressions of otherness. From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, and even more so after the First World War, this ran up against an environment in which the language of the nation was articulated in increasingly exclusive terms. As I have frequently emphasized, the nature and output of the collective explorations of Jewish identity indicated the full engagement of the minority in the culture of the time, both in its highest achievements and in its prejudices. The complex interplay between the majority and the minority shows that the very depth of their integration often prevented Italian Jews from understanding the

dangerous nature of some ideas with the potential to encourage intolerance, mistrust and discrimination. The interconnections are often so tightly knit that it can be fruitless or, worse, ahistorical to attempt to work out what is intrinsically Jewish in these representations as against what has been acquired or derives from the majority culture. As Amos Funkenstein says in a well-known article, 'assimilation and affirmation of self are authentically *dialectical* processes'.[14] In this dialectical progress, a discourse of many voices that stretches back through the ages, a central place has been taken by the constant recurrence of references to the symbolic and real meaning of blood ties between the different 'families' that make up humanity: an appeal with the most ancient resonances, periodically reworked with the language of modernity, which perhaps cannot be fully understood using the tools of history alone.

Notes

1. E. Artom (1954) 'Dalle memorie autobiografiche (1940-1941)' in B. Treves (ed.) *Tre vite dall'ultimo '800 alla metà del '900. Studi e memorie di Emilio – Emanuele – Ennio Artom* (Florence: Israel), p. 58.
2. See G. L. Mosse (1990) *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 22: 'the Myth of the War Experience was constructed upon a longing for camaraderie, for a sense of meaning in life, and for personal and national regeneration'. On the role of the armed forces in the evolution of the Fascist movement and the seizure of power, see M. Mondini (2006) *La politica delle armi. Il ruolo dell'esercito nell'avvento del fascismo italiano* (Rome–Bari: Laterza).
3. On developments of the idea of the nation, see E. Gentile (2009) *La Grande Italia. The Myth of the Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press). Alberto Banti underlines the clear morphological continuity of the national discourse from the Risorgimento to Fascism, raising issues of interpretation concerning the relationships between discursive morphology and meaning, between the persistence of what he calls 'deep images' and collective consciousness, and to some extent between anthropology and history: A. M. Banti (2011) *Sublime madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo* (Rome–Bari: Laterza)

4. M. Sarfatti (2006) *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*, trans. by J. and A. C. Tedeschi (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), pp. 15–16.
5. On *La nostra bandiera* see L. Ventura (2002) *Ebrei con il Duce. La nostra bandiera 1934–1938* (Turin: Zamorani); Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy*, pp. 74–6; R. De Felice (2001) *The Jews in Fascist Italy: A History*, translated by R. L. Miller (New York: Enigma), pp. 153–9.
6. There is now a very rich literature on this subject. See for example De Felice, *The Jews in Fascist Italy*; Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy*; M.-A. Matard (2008) *L'Italia fascista e la persecuzione degli ebrei* (Bologna: Il Mulino).
7. U. Nahon (1970) 'La polemica antisionista del "Popolo di Roma" nel 1928' in D. Carpi, A. Milano and U. Nahon (eds) *Scritti in memoria di Enzo Sereni* (Jerusalem: Fondazione Sally Mayer), pp. 216–53. See also Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy,* pp. 59–60.
8. 'Matrimoni misti e malinconie inattuali', *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 29 May 1932. De Felice draws attention to this article, ascribing it to Mussolini although it is unsigned. See De Felice, *The Jews in Fascist Italy*, p. 100.
9. See the studies by P. Birnbaum, in particular *Les Fous de la République. Histoire politique des Juifs d'Etat de Gambetta a Vichy* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).
10. Maurice Samuels has studied 'Jewish literature' in France between 1830 and 1870, working mostly on material published in periodicals, like that analysed in this volume: see M. Samuels (2010) *Inventing the Israelite: Jewish Fiction in Nineteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press). For Germany, see J. M. Hess (2010) *Middlebrow Literature and the Making of German-Jewish Identity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
11. E. Renan (1883) *Le Judaïsme comme race et comme religion* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy).
12. The reception by Italian Jews of some important works, for example, those by Renan and the German economist Werner Sombart, deserves its own chapter, with an analysis of this in relation both to high culture and to popularizations of the key ideas. Just in relation to the German world, M. B. Hart has examined the reception of Sombart's ideas, especially among Zionists: M. B. Hart (2005)

'Jews, Race and Capitalism in the German-Jewish Context' in L. M. Leff and N. Malinovich (eds) 'Jewish Racial Self-Fashioning in Comparative Perspective', special issue of *Jewish History*, 19, 1, 49–63.

13. See the debate, which was particularly lively at the start of the twentieth century, on the need to subject to immersion in the ritual bath (*tevilà*) the circumcised sons of a non-Jewish mother before their full admission to the community. It is interesting that this theme has recently been revisited in the journal of the UCEI: see G. Disegni (2011) 'Lo status difficile dei figli di matrimoni misti. Un problema di stretta attualità che nella prima metà del Novecento suscitò accese polemiche. E pareri diversi', *Pagine ebraiche*, 8, 18–19.
14. A. Funkenstein (1995) 'The Dialectics of Assimilation', *Jewish Social Studies*, n.s. 1 (2), 1–14 (p. 11).

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Note: Page number followed by 'n' refers to notes.

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