

The Goods of the Jewish Emigrants in the Port of Genoa during World War II

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Abstract/Zusammenfassung: Die Güter jüdischer Emigrant:innen im Hafen von Genua während des Zweiten Weltkrieges

The author, having examined the confiscation of goods and cultural objects belonging to Jewish emigrants stored in the Free Port of Trieste between 1940 and 1945, orchestrated by both Fascist and Nazi authorities, extends her research by investigating the same phenomenon in the Port of Genoa – an additional strategic embarkation point for Jews seeking refuge from persecution. The objective of this contribution is to elucidate the expanded contextual dimensions surrounding the confiscation of possessions from Jewish emigrants in Italy and to establish an analysis at both the national and transnational levels, elucidating the roles played by Mediterranean ports in the Jewish dispossession processes during World War II.

Nach der Untersuchung der sowohl von faschistischen als auch später von nationalsozialistischen Behörden organisierten Beschlagnahme von Gütern und Kulturgütern jüdischer Emigrant:innen, die zwischen 1940 und 1945 im Freihafen von Triest gelagert wurden, wird die diesbezügliche Forschung hier um die Untersuchung desselben Phänomens im Hafen von Genua, einem zusätzlichen strategischen Einschiffungspunkt für Jüd:innen, die Zuflucht vor Verfolgung suchten, erweitert. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, die erweiterten Kontextdimensionen rund um die Beschlagnahme von Besitztümern jüdischer Emigrant:innen in Italien zu verdeutlichen und eine Analyse sowohl auf nationaler als auch auf transnationaler Ebene vorzunehmen, um die Rolle der Mittelmeerhäfen bei den jüdischen Enteignungsprozessen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs zu verdeutlichen.

From the Port of Trieste to the Port of Genoa

From the early decades of the 20th century, Italian ports played a significant role for Jewish emigrants seeking refuge from persecution, serving as key transit points within the broader Jewish diaspora. Due to the geographic position of the Italian peninsula within the Mediterranean Sea, the exodus of Jewish people toward safer destinations had a profound impact on several Italian cities with established maritime routes to the Americas, Palestine, Great Britain, South Africa, and the Far East (mainly China and Australia). Among all the Italian ports, Trieste and Genoa were especially crucial. The port of Trieste, situated in northeastern Italy overlooking the Adriatic Sea, became a primary European point of embarkation for those bound for Palestine. In contrast, the port of Genoa primarily served routes to the Americas. Consequently, numerous Jewish committees and offices (e.g., Trieste Palestine Office of the International Jewish Agency, the Italian Assistance Committee for Jewish Emigrants, and the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants) were established in Trieste and Genoa to assist the emigrants throughout their journeys.¹ This organizational infrastructure underscored the significance of these ports as a strategic gateway for Jewish migrations, particularly in the aftermath of the tightening of racial legislation in National Socialist Germany and subsequently in countries occupied by the German Reich and Fascist Italy.²

The maritime city of Genoa, historically known as *Genua urbs maritima*, situated along the western Mediterranean coast, served as the primary port for Switzerland and for the industrially productive regions of northern Italy.³ From the mid-19th century onward, the development of the navigation system, liberal trade policies, the abolition of customs duties between the mainland and Sardinia, and the construction of railway routes to Piedmont and Lombardy significantly increased the importance of the port of Genoa at both national and international levels. In addition, the exponential growth in migratory flows towards the Americas – driven by famine, poverty, and persecution – had a profound impact on the port of Genoa, which was already the main point of embarkation for transatlantic departures. The transportation of migrants represented a significant development opportunity for the Genoese shipping industry, which was already a leader in the maritime trade of goods. This led to the intensive use of the port area and the creation of a multi-stratified complex of port facilities and transport infrastructures, unparalleled among Mediterranean countries.

1 For an overview of the Jewish committees operating in Trieste and the flow of Jewish emigrants through the port of Trieste, cf. Brasca 2022, pp. 191–192; Sorani 1983, pp. 29–49, 85–105, 134–137; Paini 1988, pp. 18–27; Leone 1983, pp. 31–63, 124–130, 229–243, 263; Antonini/Cavaglion 2000.

2 Marzano 2003. Between 1924 and 1927, half of the Jewish emigrants to the Americas embarked from Genoa, while the other half departed from Trieste and Naples.

3 Barbieri 1938; Borzani et al. 1993; Petrucci 1997; Pastorino 2002; Arvati/Molettieri 2004; Consorzio Autonomo del Porto di Genova 1929, 1953.

The Strategic Development of the Port of Genoa in the Early 20th Century

Responding to the surge in maritime traffic and escalating demands, the port of Genoa underwent a radical transformation and modernization during the first decades of the 20th century.⁴ This initiative included the establishment of new maritime stations to accommodate migrants and passengers of transatlantic liners, such as the legendary *Rex*, the construction of large docks for the repair of large ships, the customs area, the piers, the intervening quays along the shoreline, and the railway station at S. Limbania, in addition to new road connections between Genoa and Sampierdarena.⁵ Furthermore, the port of Genoa, similarly to that of Trieste, was equipped with a free trade zone since 1890, namely the Free Port area, where goods in transit were stored both upon arrival and departure.⁶

With the rise of fascism, the port of Genoa and its Free Port assumed an increasingly decisive role in the regime's economic policy, which invested significant funds for its complete modernization (first phase: 1923–1929). The completion of the colossal new port facility was accompanied by the radical modification of the road network connecting Genoa to its coastline and the Po Valley up to Milan. In 1935, to streamline goods traffic and enhance commercial exchanges, the Genoa–Serravalle Scrivia highway (today A7) was conceived. It marked the inception of the first Italian highway designed for cars and lorries (*Autocamionale*), connecting the Po Valley between Milan and Turin with Genoa. The route traversed the provinces of Alessandria and Pavia, establishing a vital link to the port of Genoa. The Giovi highway (*Camionale dei Giovi*) was added to the Genoa–Serravalle Scrivia highway, connecting the parking and cargo distribution area to the port, crossing the city arteries with a grand spiral descent.⁷ These imposing urban and industrial projects, along with the significance of the port, were – especially after his visit on May 14–16, 1938 – celebrated by Mussolini, who used Genoa as a paradigm for Italy's economic recovery, showcasing its mechanical and steel industries and shipyards.⁸

4 At the end of World War I, almost half of the ships arriving in Italy passed through the port of Genoa.

5 Cabona/Gallino 1995.

6 Autorità Portuale di Genova 2004. With the urban transformations of the 20th century, the Customs Warehouses were demolished, and the area of the Free Port was resized. Following the extensive urban transformation undertaken for the 1992 Columbus Exhibition, historical warehouses were decommissioned from their operational port functions and underwent renovation. The substantial restoration project of the port, carried out between 1998 and 2001 by the architectural firm led by Renzo Piano, encompassed both the refurbishment and restoration of existing structures and the construction of new buildings (e.g., the Aquarium). <https://www.fondazionezenzopiano.org/it/project/recupero-del-porto-antico-di-genova/> (May 2025).

7 The era of infrastructure projects undertaken during the Fascist regime came to an end in the early 1940s.

8 Mussolini had also visited Genoa in 1926 to celebrate the creation of *Grande Genova*, a result of the merger of 19 municipalities, aimed at revitalizing the city's economy, which had suffered from a downturn due to productivity and market crises following World War I. For the 1938 visit, cf. Cardini/Lingua 2018; Melchionni 1938; <https://patrimonio.archiviolucre.com/luce-web/detail/IL3000051947/1/il-duce-genova.html> (May 2025).



Fig. 1: U.S. War Office map of Genoa and its port, 1943. (Photo: U.S. War Office, Harvard College Library / Public Domain)

The Role of the Port of Genoa in the Jewish Diaspora

From the early years of the 20th century, and especially after the First World War, Italy experienced a significant influx of foreign Jewish refugees fleeing pogroms in Eastern Europe and the effects of the economic crisis. Italy served as a transit point for travel to Palestine or overseas countries. Following Hitler's rise to power in 1933, refugees from Nazi Germany and its occupied territories joined existing migratory flows.⁹ Genoa, as one of Italy's major ports, was profoundly affected by these flows. According to the 1938 census, 526 foreign Jews resided in Genoa, accounting for 23 % of the city's overall Jewish population.¹⁰ The local Jewish community, supported by the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and local aid organizations, bore the costs of providing for refugees.¹¹

Following the enactment of Fascist racial laws, notably Royal Decree Law 1381 on September 7, 1938, titled "Measures against Foreign Jews," which mandated the expulsion of foreign Jews who had been present in Italy since January 1, 1919, Jewish institutions organized to safeguard their coreligionists.¹² In 1938, the Genoese branch of the Commission for the Relief of Jews in Italy, also known as Comasebit (*Comitato di assistenza per gli ebrei in Italia*), the principal national aid organization, was established within the offices of the Genoa Jewish Community.¹³ This branch provided local assistance to refugees awaiting embarkation to the Americas. After Comasebit was shut down by Fascist authorities in 1939 and leadership changed at the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, a new committee named the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants or DELASEM (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*) was established under the direction of the president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, Dante Almansi (1877–1949). This effort was strongly supported by Raffaele Cantoni (1896–1971), a prominent figure in Italian Jewry.¹⁴ Lawyer Lelio Vittorio Valobra (1900–1976), vice-president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and a leading member of Genoa's Jewish community, took charge of DELASEM, which was strategically headquartered in Genoa to centralize and streamline refugee assistance and departure.¹⁵ DELASEM

9 Voigt 1993.

10 Dogliotti 2015, p. 274; Parodi 1938, pp. 312–323.

11 Among these initiatives was a committee founded in 1936 by Genoa's Rabbi Riccardo Pacifici to assist German emigrants. Rabbi Riccardo Pacifici (1904–Shoah) was a prominent figure in Italian Judaism. In Genoa, he assisted the Jewish community, particularly refugees from the Ferramonti internment camp (Cosenza). Rabbi Pacifici remained with the Genoa Jewish Community throughout the war until he was captured by the Nazis on November 3, 1943, along with his wife and other family members. He was deported to Auschwitz, where he was killed upon arrival. In his memory, a *Stolperstein* (stumbling stone) was placed in the historic center of Genoa on January 29, 2012, marking the first such stone laid in the Liguria region (<https://www.beniculturali.it/evento/le-pietre-dinciampo-a-genova/> [May 2025]).

12 Royal Decree-Law no. 1381, September 7, 1938 – GU no. 208, September 12, 1938.

13 Leone 1983, pp. 131–179.

14 About DELASEM cf. Antonini 2005; Antonini/Cavaglioni 2000; Brizzolari 1971; De Felice 2005; Jona 1965; Leone 1983; Pains 1988; Sarfatti 2000; Sorani 1983; Voigt 1993, 2003.

15 About the Valobra and DELASEM activities in Genoa cf. Pains 1988, pp. 28–51, 68–83, 136–138, 163–173, 187; Sorani 1983, pp. 53–64, 125–127; Leone 1983, pp. 179–197, 263; Antonini 2005, pp. 27–101. The DELASEM headquarters in Genoa was headed by Director Valobra, who was re-

maintained contacts with Italian authorities, foreign embassies and consulates, and coordinated with international Jewish aid organizations (e.g., the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee), raising funds to support refugees. Between December 1939 and June 1940, approximately 2,000 Jews departed from Genoa, while around 3,000 individuals received monthly assistance, with an additional 9,000 who benefited from intermittent aid.¹⁶ Italy's entry into World War II on June 10, 1940, alongside increasingly restrictive regulations concerning foreign Jews, in particular the enforcement of the 1938 martial law with the Royal Decree no. 566 of June 10, 1940, which led to the expansion of DELASEM's responsibilities to include aid for those interned in designated camps.¹⁷

Moreover, the declaration of war against the United States severely impacted Genoa's maritime overseas traffic, which until then had accounted for 75 % of all departures from the port of Genoa, including the suspension of shipments belonging to Jewish migrants destined overseas.¹⁸ Nonetheless, DELASEM continued to assist Jewish emigrants and internees. In fact, DELASEM's crucial role in both Genoa and Trieste was overseeing the proper handling of shipments of Jewish migrants destined for embarkation at these ports. For instance, the Turin travel agency Agenzia di Viaggi Alessandro Perlo arranged weekly train journeys from Turin through France and Spain in collaboration with DELASEM, as did the travel and transportation agency Italo Cavanna.¹⁹ Similarly, the local forwarding company Casa di Spedizioni Camillo Spanio offered comparable services.²⁰ The latter firm took charge of storing migrants' belongings when DELASEM had received power of attorney from the owners, as was declared by Manfred Danzig to the Tracing Office (Ufficio Ricerche) of the Milano Jewish Community in 1946²¹, applying low storage rates and arranging for the shipment of luggage to Lisbon, a still working port, for overseas forwarding.²²

sponsible for contacts with international Jewish organizations, as well as handling general, financial, and political affairs. The secretaries included the accountant Enrico Luzzatto Pardo, in charge of contacts with refugees, and Berl Hersz (Bernardo) Grosser (1906–2003), responsible for assisting interned refugees on the verge of emigrating (<http://digital-library.cdec.it/cdec-web/audiovideo/detail/IT-CDEC-AV0001-000234/bernardo-grosser.html> [May 2025]). The treasurer was Federico Baquis (1915–1985), and the officials included Manfred Danzig, in charge of luggage and personal possessions of the migrants, Elio Piazza (1889–Shoah), and Harry Victor Klein, along with several volunteers and Rabbi Pacifici. About the DELASEM's team in Genoa cf. <https://digital-library.cdec.it/cdec-web/persona/detail/persona-it-cdec-eaccpf0001-017647/luzzatto-pardo-enrico.html?persone=%22Luzzatto+Pardo%2C+Enrico%22> (May 2025).

16 Paini 1988, p. 36.

17 About foreign Jewish internment camps cf. Voigt 1993, pp. 54–105; <http://www.annapizzuti.it/index.php>; <https://www.cise.unipi.it/ebreistranieriitalia/index.php?lang=it> (May 2025).

18 In Trieste, prolonged storage prompted forwarding companies to obtain authorization from the Trieste Court to sell deposited goods to cover storage and insurance costs (Brasca 2022, pp. 194–207).

19 N.N. 1939, pp. 145, 778, 785. The Perlo Travel Agency was one of five authorized agencies in Genoa licensed to sell train tickets.

20 Sorani 1983, pp. 82–83. Camillo Spanio's firm had its headquarters in Genoa at Via del Campo 17.

21 CDEC, CRDE, Serie DELASEM, box 4, f. 9, Letter by Danzig to the Jewish Community of Milan, March 4, 1946.

22 Spanio offered reduced railway transport costs (450 Italian Lire per 100 kg) for the Genoa–Lisbon route. This was the solution proposed by Spanio and DELASEM to Adolf Wassermann, a German

In most cases, the goods were stored with various forwarding firms and storage facilities in Genoa while awaiting shipment to their final destinations.²³ These goods had accumulated substantial transport and storage fees, often too high to be redeemed without either the partial sale of the goods or through the intervention of third-party benefactors.²⁴ DELASEM itself was unable to cover the release costs of the goods but could attempt to negotiate, through the Camillo Spanio firm, reduced storage fees and request powers of attorney to manage the shipments directly.²⁵ The risk that a forwarding agent, faced with unpaid fees, might petition a civil court to authorize the liquidation of the goods – as had already occurred in Trieste – was considerable. DELASEM therefore advised migrants to maximize the sale of stored goods, both to settle outstanding debts and to secure future storage costs.²⁶ Furthermore, goods belonging to enemy subjects were seized and managed in accordance with Royal Decree no. 566 of June 10, 1940, and the subsequent provisions.²⁷ The seizure of property was implemented by the prefect of the province where the goods were located (according to Article 295 of the martial law) and became effective immediately upon the issuance of the prefectural decree, which was published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* (from hereforward GU) and notified to

Jew en route to South America, while his belongings remained in storage in Genoa. About it: CDEC, CRDE, Serie DELASEM, box 4, f. 9, Wassermann Case. Adolf Wassermann (1882–1951) was a merchant based in Chemnitz, eastern Germany, who had expanded the fashion house of his father-in-law, Gebrüder Wertheimer, into one of the most prominent in Saxony (<https://chemnitz-gertern-heute.de/gebrueder-wertheimer/>, May 2025). In March 1940, he sent nine crates to Genoa, intended for shipment to Chile, before seeking asylum in Argentina. These crates were stored by Espresso Bagagli at the Deposito Bagagli Stazione Marittima Ponte dei Mille, located at the Port of Genoa. Following the German occupation after September 8, 1943, the crates were confiscated by Nazi authorities. According to the documentation on the case of Mr Hirschel (LAB, B Rep. 025–06, no. 2710/57, Decision on the Restitution Case of Mr Hirschel by the Berlin Regional Court, March 26, 1960), a Jewish refugee in Shanghai in 1940, *Kommando 5* of the *Wehrmacht* was in charge of the occupation of the port, the evacuation of personnel, and the confiscation of goods. The goods were shipped back to Germany for distribution among displaced people.

23 Sorani 1983, p. 78; Antonini 2005, p. 59 (footnote 4).

24 CDEC, Kalk Israel Archive Record, Serie La Mensa dei bambini di Milano, box 1, f. 9, Letter from Valobra to Josef Kleimann, December 30, 1942. Israel Kalk and his Milan-based aid organization, “*Mensa dei Bambini*”, played an active role in assisting migrant children and their families interned in Italy. Beyond providing essential support, the organization also took charge of recovering the migrants’ luggage held by forwarding agents. Specifically, it arranged for the transport – free of charge – of everyday goods to the interned owners, while larger or non-essential goods were redirected to the organization’s premises for storage.

25 Spanio applied low storage rates and arranged for the shipment of luggage to Lisbon for overseas forwarding, offering reduced railway transport costs (450 Lire per 100 kg for the Genoa–Lisbon route). This was, for example, the solution proposed by Spanio and DELASEM to Adolf Wassermann, a German Jew *en route* to South America, while his belongings remained in storage in Genoa.

26 Brasca 2022.

27 Royal Decree no. 1415, July 8, 1938 – GU no. 211, September 15, 1938; Royal Decree no. 566, June 10, 1940 – GU no. 140, June 15, 1940. The Royal Decree no. 618, March 10, 1941 – GU no. 163, July 12, 1941, established the treatment of property on Italian soil owned by citizens of enemy nationalities.

the property owner (Article 298). The prefect appointed a trustee, usually a public officer, to manage the seized property (Article 299).²⁸

The goods stored in transit at the Genoa Port were handled differently by different authorities, which we may summarize as follows:

1. Goods shipped on the German steamship *Adana* from Hamburg and either sold to the Third Reich (I) or transferred to Ovada and Arquata Scrivia, in the Province of Alessandria (II);
2. Goods stored with private forwarding firms in the port of Genoa and subsequently transferred to Arquata Scrivia, in the province of Alessandria;
3. Goods stored with private forwarding firms in the port of Genoa and subsequently confiscated by the German authorities and transferred to Germany;
4. Goods stored with private forwarding firms in the port of Genoa and subsequently confiscated and sold in Genoa by the Italian authorities.

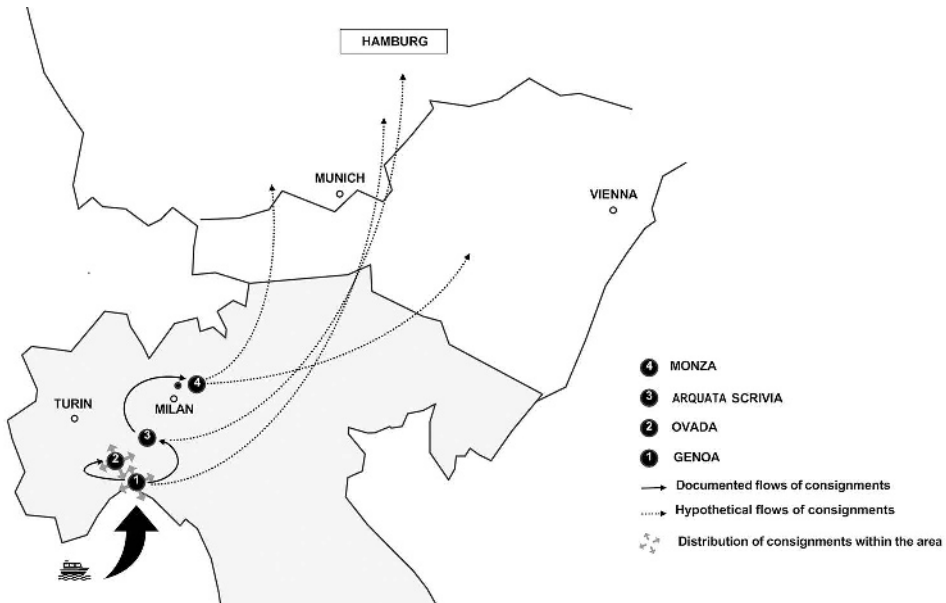


Fig. 2: Map illustrating the flow of consigned goods arriving at the port of Genoa and subsequently transferred inland between 1942 and 1945, reflecting wartime logistical routes and redistribution hubs. (© Daria Brasca)

28 For an illustrative example of the procedure and the application of martial law, see the case of goods handled by the Genoa branch of Lloyd Triestino S.A., which were seized in September 1940 and managed by an accountant appointed by the Genoa Prefect Albini (prefectural decree no. 23910–95, September 24, 1940, published in: GU-Foglio delle inserzioni no. 244, October 17, 1940).

Goods Shipped on the German Steamship *Adana* from Hamburg

On November 21, 1942, under the prefectural decree no. 2871/277/S, the Prefect of Genoa appointed the accountant Ferruccio Bardelloni as sequestrator of 429 consignments of Jewish household goods shipped from Bremen and Hamburg and destined for Haifa and Tel Aviv and notified to the Fascist authorities (November 12, 1942) by the Hamburg-based forwarding firm Robert M. Sloman, the largest German shipping firm at the time and then acting as the agent in Genoa for various German forwarding companies.

These goods had been shipped by the Deutsche Levante Linie GmbH aboard the steamship *Adana*, departing from Hamburg.²⁹ Initially intended for Palestine, the ship was prevented from reaching the port of Haifa due to the outbreak of war. In 1939, while in Cagliari, in the Sardinia region, the steamship *Adana* was forced to enter the port as an emergency measure, from where it was redirected back to the port of Genoa at the end of August 1940. Due to wartime conditions, the goods were unloaded and disembarked in Genoa on November 11, 1941.³⁰

The seizure was requested by the Economic Command of the X Military Economic District of Hamburg (*Wehrwirtschaftsbezirk X*), the administrative-economic Command of the *Wehrmacht* covering Hamburg, Bremen, Schleswig-Holstein, and northern Hannover, to the Italian Ministry for Trade and Monetary Affairs, specifically its Requisition Office (*Ministero Scambi e Valute-Ufficio Requisizioni*). Through official diplomatic channels, including the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the German Embassy in Rome, Hamburg's economic authorities formally requested that the goods be returned to Hamburg, where, under Third Reich law, they were to be confiscated.

The Ministry for Trade and Monetary Affairs denied the request, asserting that the goods constituted enemy property on Italian soil and were therefore subject to Italian martial law. A subsequent appeal by the German side sought to exempt the case from Article 295 of the same law, which permitted such seizures. When this, too, was rejected by the Italian authorities, the German side proposed invoking Article 300, concerning forced sales. The proposal to purchase the goods offered Mussolini's government an opportunity to obtain revenue, demonstrate legal firmness, and avoid political embarrassment. Meanwhile, the Requisition Office expressed concern that the ally might intensify pressure to recover the goods without compensation. It therefore coordinated with the Genoa Prefecture to act swiftly in anticipation of further German demands. Ultimately, an agreement was reached, and the goods were sold for a lump sum based on their insured value, estimated at 2 million Lire.³¹ Under this agreement, the Third Reich acquired

29 For a list of consignments transported aboard the *Adana* cf. Appendix 3.

30 <https://lostlift.dsm.museum/de/detail/person/84b9ff26-coa8-4046-bc56-284cddf24403> (May 2025).

31 CDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Genoa prefectural official report, December 15, 1942.

246³² out of 429 consignments, amounting to a total weight of 85,814 kilograms, at the rate of RM 1.50 per gross kilogram.³³

On December 16, 1942, a prefectural official report was signed in Genoa by representatives of the Ministry for Trade and Monetary Affairs, the sequestator Bardelloni, the State Technical Office for Public Assets, the Genoa Revenue Office and Ernest Nicolai, an officer of the *Führungsstab Wirtschaft*, the Economic Command of the X Military Economic District of Hamburg, and representatives of the German Ministry of Finance.

There is no explanation as to why only a portion of the consignments was purchased rather than the entirety, nor is there any indication of the criteria by which those specific consignments were selected. The documentation remains silent on this matter, leaving the rationale for such a selection unclear. What is certain, however, is that the majority of consignments are described merely as “used personal belongings” (*masserizie usate*), whereas in only a few cases does the documentation provide more specific references, such as beds, books, or bicycles.

On January 24, 1943, a sum of 815,738.65 Lire was deposited into the bank account titled “Istcambi-beni nemici” at the Genoa branch of the bank Banca d’Italia, serving as the equivalent value of the 246 consignments.³⁴ It should be noted that the amount obtained by Mussolini’s government was significantly lower than the insured value of the goods, indicating that the operation yielded no real economic gain but rather represented a political compromise.³⁵

Following the 1942 prefectural official report, the Ministry for Trade and Monetary Affairs authorized the redispach of these household goods to Germany. These removal goods were reported to have been returned to Hamburg and distributed among families affected by Allied bombing.³⁶

32 According to the analysis of the documentation conducted for this study, the consignments listed amounted to 243, for a total weight of 86,174 kilograms (rather than 85,814 kilograms). This value may be explained in different ways. The most plausible explanation is that the number of consignments recorded under the bill of lading no. 84 appeared to have been written as “4” rather than “1”, as reported in the list of seizures. If this reading is correct, the overall total would amount to 246 consignments, which would resolve the discrepancy. While alternative explanations cannot be excluded, the hypothesis of a clerical error remains the most consistent with the evidence available.

33 According to a declaration issued by the sequestator to lawyer Eli Nathan on December 16, 1957, the price of RM 1.50 per kilogram assigned to the consignments had no real basis. As stipulated in the agreement, the Reich Ministry of Finance assumed responsibility for all storage and handling costs incurred from January 15, 1943, onward.

34 CDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Letter from Valobra to the Banca d’Italia, November 27, 1957.

35 The average insured value per consignment was higher than the actual price obtained (4,663 Lire vs. 3,316 Lire).

36 <https://lostlift.dsm.museum/de/detail/person/d1ce07f2-70dd-4441-9891-6e37336917f1> (May 2025).

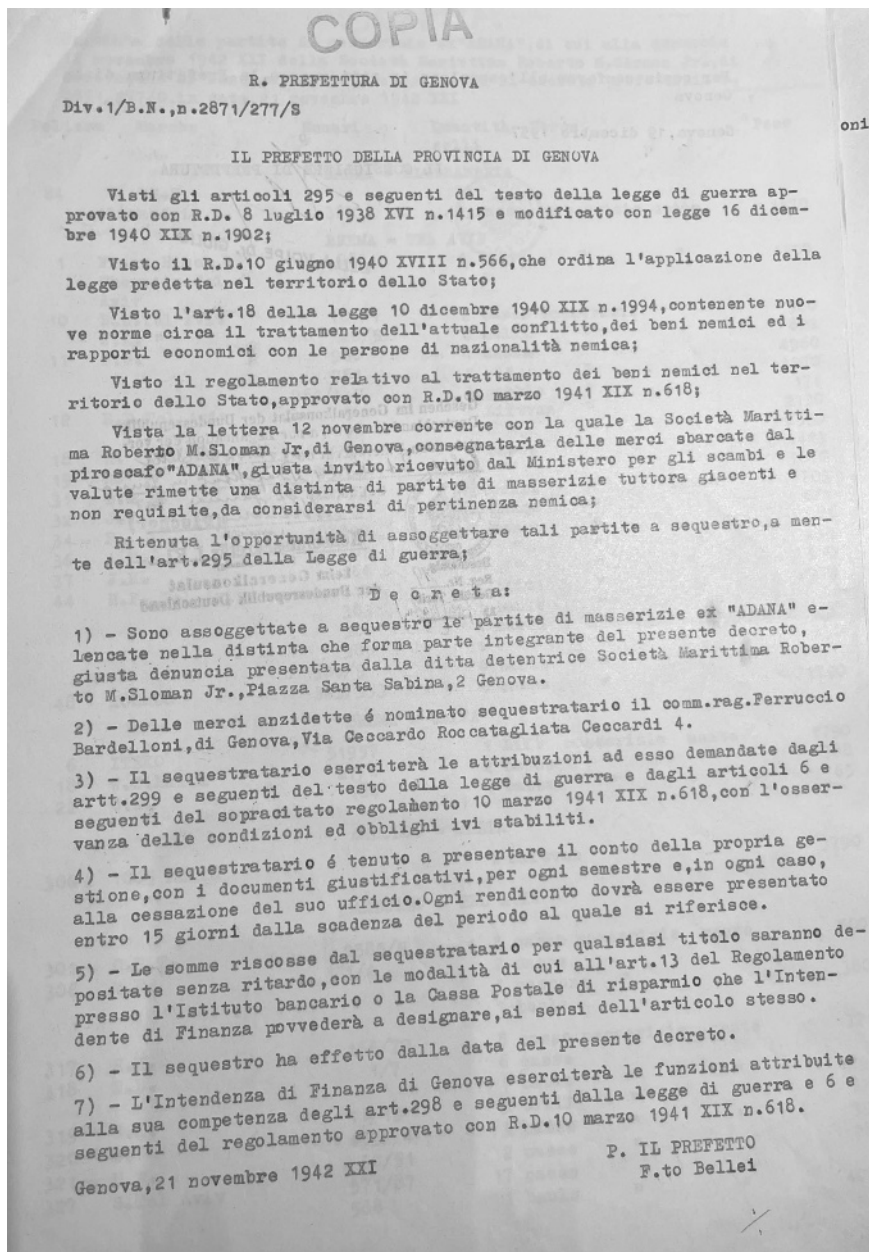


Fig. 3: Seizure decree of 429 consignments of Jewish emigrants issued by the Prefecture of Genoa (no. 2871/277/S), November 21, 1941. (Photo: Daria Brasca / © CEDEC)

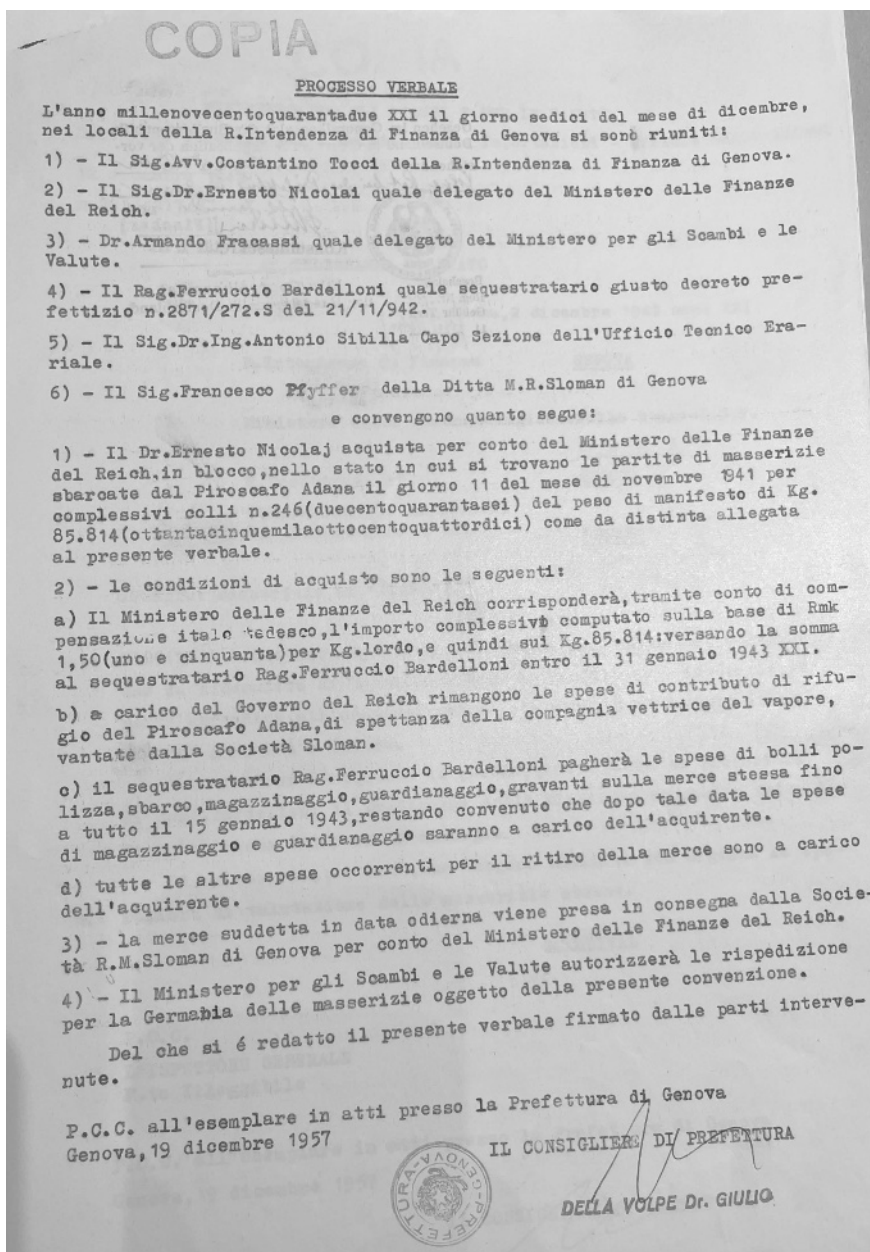


Fig. 4: Agreement on the selling of 246 consignments of Jewish emigrants between representatives of the Fascist and Nazi authorities, December 16, 1942. (Photo: Daria Brasca / © CEDEC)

The 181³⁷ *Adana* consignments that were not sold to the Third Reich but released were handed over in early 1943 by the forwarding firm Robert M. Sloman to the Italian firm Camillo Spanio.³⁸

In addition to the steamship *Adana* property, many other Jewish consignments were managed and stored with several forwarding firms (including S.A.I.M.A., Gondrand, Vincenzo Falletti & Co., Francesco Parisi, and Camillo Spanio) in the port of Genoa.

The onset of the war led to a contraction in port activity and, consequently, to a significant accumulation of goods awaiting embarkation. At the same time, Genoa's strategic role in wartime production made it a primary target for both Allied and German aerial and naval bombardments.³⁹ Between 1940 and 1945, the city endured 86 air raids, mainly directed at the port area, which caused varying degrees of damage to warehouses and their contents.

To minimize losses and alleviate congestion in the port, goods were transferred to safer locations inland. Two towns in the province of Alessandria, both situated roughly midway between Milan and Genoa, became particularly important: Ovada, approximately 50 kilometres north of Genoa, with its private storage facilities; and Arquata Scrivia, roughly 30 kilometres further north, which hosted the large *Magazzini Generali* warehouses (owned by *Magazzini Generali Arquata Scrivia S.A.*, based in Genoa).⁴⁰ Arquata Scrivia, with direct access to the Genoa–Serravalle highway and a railway junction to the Po Valley, particularly Milan, became a key node for the area's wartime infrastructure, logistics, and communication networks for both Italian and German military authorities.⁴¹

In 1943, after the agreement signed in 1942 with the German authorities, discussions within the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance focused on the urgent need not only to clear the port of Genoa as quickly as possible, but also to arrange for the sale of property belonging to foreign Jews, to maximize financial returns for the Fascist state while deflecting further German demands. Consequently, the goods from the steamship *Adana* were transferred from the Camillo Spanio company to Ovada – approximately 40 % of the 181 consignments still in Italian hands – with the remainder sent to Arquata Scrivia.⁴²

In April 1943, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following position: "(...) the household goods owned by foreign Jewish immigrants should be liquidated in accordance with the procedures set forth under Article 300 of the War Law, or under customs law, depending on whether the goods are stored in private warehouses and depots or under the direct custody of the Royal Customs Authority. (...) We also await prompt communication regarding the sales to be carried out for the remaining shipments of house-

37 According to the analysis of the documentation conducted for this study, the consignments left were 180.

38 CEDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Affidavit by Spanio, undated (I); Affidavit by Spanio (II), February 13, 1960.

39 Bagnasco/Rastelli 1993; Cabona/Gallino 1995, pp. 308–311, 195–214; Antonini 2023, pp. 469–473, 505–508, 514–516.

40 Previously it had been named *SA Docks Arquata Scrivia*. About the *Magazzini Generali* cf. Ministero delle Finanze 1934; Bernardo 1953; Navarrini 1901; Brasca 2022, p. 193.

41 Collotti 1963; Collotti et al. 2001, p. 139.

42 Camillo Spanio was no longer in possession of any relevant documentation.

hold goods belonging to Jewish migrants stored in port and customs facilities. These sales should be concluded as soon as possible, (...) with all due precautions to ensure maximum revenue.⁴³

An attempt to manage the goods in Arquata Scrivia was made in August 1943, after the beginning of the German occupation, when, by order of the Prefect of Alessandria on behalf of the Ministry for Trade and Monetary Affairs and following the Royal Decree no. 1741 on August 18, 1940, regulating the requisition, the goods, transported and managed, at least in part, by the forwarding firms Francesco Parisi⁴⁴, Fratelli Gondrand, S.A.I.M.A., and Vincenzo Falletti & Co., were placed under seizure in favour of the Italian Foreign Trade Company (*Società Italiana Commercio Estero*).⁴⁵ This public agency, operating under the Ministry for Trade and Monetary Affairs, was tasked with managing seized foreign property and overseeing wartime trade operations.

Genoa and its Port under the Nazi Occupation

Following the German occupation of Italy (September 8, 1943), Nazi Germany deployed military and police units, along with bodies responsible for political, economic, and administrative functions, across the national territory. In Liguria, a region of strategic significance due to its maritime access and wartime industries, various military units and extensive political and economic apparatuses were established by the *Wehrmacht* since October 1943.⁴⁶

The dynamics of the German occupation in the Genoa territory are closely linked to the importance the occupiers attributed to the city's productive infrastructure and its potential for exploitation.⁴⁷ The Reich Commissioner for Armaments and War Production, or RuK (*Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion*), the German administrative structure responsible for overseeing armaments and war production in occupied countries, including Italy, where Hans Leyers was in charge, assumed control of the military-industrial complex in

43 CDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Genoa Revenue Office, the Genoa Prefecture, and the Ministry for Trade and Monetary Affairs, April 13, 1943: "(...) sull'opportunità di allineare le masserizie di proprietà degli ebrei stranieri immigrati che potrà essere fatta secondo le modalità previste dall'Articolo 300 della legge di guerra sia con quelle della legge doganale a seconda che si tratti di merci depositate presso magazzini e depositi privati o in diretta custodia della reale dogana. (...) Si attendono inoltre sollecite comunicazioni circa le vendite da effettuarsi per le altre partite di masserizie di proprietà di ebrei migranti giacenti nei magazzini e spazi portuali e doganali, (...) con le opportune cautele atti ad assicurare il massimo ricavo."

44 Royal Decree published on GU no. 1 on January 2, 1941. The consignments of Jusi Lanekker, four consignments, Dr. Leopold Schmid(t), one consignment, Otto Jacker, three consignments, Fred Blumenthal, ten consignments (GU-RSI no. 228 on September 29, 1944); Otto Knina (C/2); Victor Meyer, four consignments, Oskar Koerner, two consignments (GU-RSI no. 225 on September 26, 1944).

45 The seizure followed the ministerial request on August 5, 1943.

46 Klinkhammer 1996; Collotti 1963; Labanca 2020, I, pp. 63–120.

47 Petersen 1993.

Genoa and Savona following the occupation.⁴⁸ In these provinces, industrial complexes such as the Ansaldo shipyard and the ILVA ironworks were repurposed to serve the German war industry – including the production of submarines for the German Navy.⁴⁹ To meet the labor demands of the German war industries, the occupiers carried out deportations of skilled workers. On June 16, 1944, a total of 1,448 employees from San Giorgio, SIAC, the Ansaldo Shipyard in Sestri Ponente, and Piaggio were deported to Germany and Austria.⁵⁰ This operation was conducted by *Militärkommandantur 1007*, in coordination with the Nazi Security Service (SD), and with the support of the local National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana* or GNR) and the political division of the Genoa police force.⁵¹ RuK frequently conducted its operations with the support of the local *Militärkommandantur*.⁵²

The *Militärkommandantur*, one of the German military-administrative bodies responsible for territorial control in Italy, was established in 18 provincial capitals. Their activities are well-documented in monthly reports, which detail the attitudes of the Italian population toward the occupiers, relations with the Italian Social Republic authorities (hereafter referred to as RSI), availability of food and industrial resources, anti-resistance efforts, and labor recruitment for the German war economy.⁵³ In Genoa, *Militärkommandantur 1007* (hereafter referred to as MK 1007) was established in late September 1943 and exercised jurisdiction over the Ligurian provinces. Instead, in the province of Alessandria, including Arquata Scrivia, *Militärkommandantur 1014* (hereafter referred to as MK 1014) was established on November 6, 1943.⁵⁴

48 Rieder 1991; Ferrari/Massignani 1997–1998; Antonini 2023, pp. 369–402. The activities of the RuK were headed by the German Reich's Minister for Armaments and War Production, Albert Speer. On September 13, 1943, General Hans Leyers, an army corps engineer, was appointed Plenipotentiary for Italy within the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production (*Generalbevollmächtigter für Italien im Reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion*) and established the RuK headquarters in Milan. Leyers' primary objectives were to mobilize the most industrialized regions of Northern and Central Italy for Germany's wartime economy – without consulting Italian authorities – and to strategically secure these processes. Under his leadership, Italian economic resources – including raw materials, heavy metals, semi-finished and finished goods, as well as operational and production facilities – were transported out of the country in tens of thousands of railway wagons.

49 Curami 1994.

50 Antonini 2023, pp. 437, 403–468 (in particular pp. 451–468); Klinkhammer 1996; Battifora 2015a, pp. 23–56; Battifora 2015b.

51 Guerrini/Pluviano 2015; Collotti 1963.

52 Collotti 1963, pp. 119–121; Labanca 2020, I–III.

53 Pironti 2019. The MK 1004 sent monthly reports to the *Wehrmacht* in Italy from November 1943 to September 1944.

54 Labanca 2020, II, pp. 9–148 (MK 1007). From July 8, 1944, MK 1014 was also responsible for the Asti province.

The Looting of Jewish Migrants' Goods at the Magazzini Generali of Arquata Scrivia

Among the various forwarding companies that utilized the Magazzini Generali of Arquata Scrivia was the Milan-based firm S.A. Innocenti Mangili Adriatica, part of the S.A.I.M.A. group, which stored goods belonging to Jewish owners in its warehouses.⁵⁵

On December 14, 1943, the *SD-Gruppe Oberitalien West*⁵⁶ transmitted to the Prefecture of Genoa a list of Jewish-owned goods submitted by S.A. Innocenti Mangili Adriatica, “for awareness and further measures within its competence.” Although Nazi Germany lacked any legal authority to claim rights over property located abroad and previously owned by individuals from whom the Third Reich had withdrawn citizenship – following the decree of November 25, 1941⁵⁷ – Italian forwarding agents had nonetheless been warned by German authorities that goods originating from the Reich should be returned. This request, which emerged in 1942, was not compiled by Italian forwarding companies, as Fascist authorities had granted no authorization.⁵⁸ Despite this, archival records indicate that the Genoa branch of the S.A.I.M.A. company did transmit lists of goods that had been shipped from Germany in previous years.⁵⁹

To better understand the background of the request concerning goods shipped from Germany, it is worth analyzing the correspondence between the District Economic Advisor Wolff, from the Economic Command Staff for the Military Economic District (*Führungsstab Wirtschaft für den Wehrwirtschaftsbezirk*) of Hamburg, and the Stuttgart-based forwarding company Barr, Moering & Co. Internationale Transporte of Stuttgart. This company had shipped goods from Germany to the Genoa branch of the Trieste-based forwarding company Francesco Parisi, for overseas transport to New York. In 1942, Barr, Moering & Co. requested the return of these goods, acting on instructions

55 About S.A.I.M.A.: The historical archives of S.A.I.M.A., housed at the Triennale di Milano, do not contain documentation related to the historical period encompassing World War II. S.A.I.M.A. *Società Anonima Innocenti Mangili Adriatica* was established in the 1930s through the merger of the *Casa di spedizioni internazionali Innocenti Mangili* of Milan (1816) and the *Adriatica-Società Anonima di Spedizioni* of Trieste (1906). Leopold Popper, the founder of the *Adriatica* S.A., played a pivotal role in a significant group of shipping companies based in Trieste, including *Carlo Bruna and Schenker & Co.* S.A.I.M.A. had its headquarters in both Trieste and Milan, with 20 branches in Italy and several agencies in foreign countries. The most prominent branch was in the city center of Genoa (via Dante no. 2, Palazzo della Porta), employing over 200 individuals. In 1993, S.A.I.M.A. acquired the 18th-century *Avandero* shipping company, and in 2016, the firm underwent a name change to become DSV S.p.A. under the ownership of a Danish multinational company (https://www.ilposta.lista.it/perfin/perfin_366.htm [May 2025]).

56 *SD Gruppe Oberitalien West*, directed from Milan by SS Colonel Walter Rauff, head of the SS, was linked to the *Außenkommando* SD of Milan; cf. Sandri 2020, pp. 12–16; Ruzzi 1999.

57 Palmer 1993.

58 A similar request was addressed to the Trieste Fascist National Party when, in July 1942, the Freight Directing Office for Southeast Europe (*Frachtenleitstelle Südost*), the German agency in charge of coordinating the transportation of the shipments to Southeast Europe, requested the list of the Jewish-owned consignments shipped from the German Reich and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (Brasca 2022, p. 208).

59 ASGe, RSI, box 35, f. 9, Letter from SD-Gruppe Oberitalien West to the Genoa Prefecture, December 14, 1943.

issued by the Chief Finance Office of Stuttgart (*Oberfinanzpräsident von Stuttgart*).⁶⁰ The forwarding company, Francesco Parisi, firmly refused the request for the return of goods to Germany, citing not only the lack of authorization from the competent Italian authorities, but also its proactive measure to shield against potential damage claims by rightful owners after the end of hostilities. In an attempt to persuade Francesco Parisi, Barr, Moering & Co. emphasized the limited value of the goods in question, which mainly consisted of personal belongings intended for the support of displaced persons from the Stuttgart area.⁶¹ The lack of consensus between the Fascist and Nazi authorities, along with the prohibition issued by Italian officials on rerouting the goods to Germany from the port of Genoa, effectively preserved the legal and logistical status quo of the shipments. This position was confirmed in the correspondence sent by Barr, Moering & Co. to District Economic Advisor Wolff and remained unchanged at least until July 1944.⁶²

However, following the German occupation of Italy, the question of jurisdiction over goods originating from Germany was effectively resolved by the occupying forces, albeit without formal agreement from Italian authorities. As occurred in Trieste, goods stored in Arquata Scrivia were seized by the German occupation authorities and returned to territories under the control of the Third Reich.⁶³

In particular, an extensive correspondence took place in 1944 regarding goods stored in Arquata Scrivia, involving the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Directorate General of Commercial Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Exchange and Currency Directorates, and the German Embassy in Rome.⁶⁴ In the first dispatch sent by the German Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the decision to remove the crates shipped from Germany and stored in Arquata Scrivia was put forward. Compared to the Trieste case, where we can estimate around 9,000 crates owned by over 2,500 owners stored in the Free Port of Trieste⁶⁵, in Arquata Scrivia, there were 400 crates owned by 98 Jewish emigrants, of which 33 departed from the port of Genoa to the Americas, and the remaining 65 from another port, presumably Naples.⁶⁶ Of the 33 people who departed from Genoa, 28 were former German⁶⁷ citizens, one was stateless, one was Hungarian, one was Swiss, one was

60 StAHH, Staatsverwaltung, Wirtschaftsabteilung, box 113–6, f.15, Letter from Barr, Moering & Co. to Führungsstab Wirtschaft für den Wehrwirtschaftsbezirk, January 9, 1943.

61 StAHH, Staatsverwaltung, Wirtschaftsabteilung, box 113–6, f.15, Letter from Barr, Moering & Co. to Führungsstab Wirtschaft für den Wehrwirtschaftsbezirk, January 9, 1943.

62 StAHH, Staatsverwaltung, Wirtschaftsabteilung, box 113–6, f.15, Letter from Wolff to Barr, Moering & Co., June 29, 1944; Letter from Barr, Moering & Co. to Wolff, July 11, 1944.

63 Brasca 2022, pp. 227–229.

64 MAE, RSI, GABAILG, 1944–1945, box 34, f. Copie di appunti e note verbali della Direzione Generale Affari Commerciali, letters dated January 5, May 3, July 3, December 21, and December 28, 1944.

65 Brasca 2022, pp. 210–211, 214–215.

66 MAE, RSI, GABAILG, 1944–1945, box 34, f. Copie di appunti e note verbali della Direzione Generale Affari Commerciali, Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the German Embassy, February 8, 1945. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had reserved the task of determining the citizenship of Jews departing from a port other than Genoa.

67 Among the German owners, there were the belongings of Dr. Barbara Neumann-Spiro (1915–1998), the first female physician in ophthalmology at the University of Chicago in the 1940s. She was born in Trier and received her medical degree at the University of Bern in Switzerland. In 1940, she

English, and one was a Dutch citizen. Meanwhile, on January 19, 1944, the Revenue Office of Genoa transmitted the documentation related to the goods stored in Arquata Scrivia to the Prefecture of Alessandria, responsible for that territory. The Revenue Office emphasized that the goods were to be considered the property of enemy subjects, in accordance with the martial law, and that the relevant measures fall under the sole jurisdiction of the Prefecture of Alessandria.⁶⁸ For instance, the numerous crates stored at the port of Genoa in Lloyd Triestino warehouses, which belonged to enemy subjects, were seized by the Genoa Prefecture, and a sequestrator was appointed to manage them in September 1940.⁶⁹

In May 1944, the Ministry of Finance urged the German authorities not to remove the goods until the verification operations on ownership were completed.⁷⁰ That Ministry had reason to believe that the goods belonged to foreign citizens of other states (whether enemy subjects or not) or stateless individuals. With this request, the Ministry of Finance was not only buying time but also attempting to prevent the international export of commercially valuable goods, which should have been processed and managed in accordance with Italian martial law and, in the case of Jewish property, in accordance also with the regulations issued by the Italian Social Republic in January 1944.⁷¹ According to the *Manifesto* of the RIS, all people belonging to the Jewish race were considered foreigners of enemy nationality, and their assets were subject to confiscation. In fact, Legislative Decree no. 2 of January 4, 1944, formalized this provision, entrusting the management of confiscated Jewish property to the Real Estate Management and Liquidation Institution, or EGELI (*Ente di Gestione e Liquidazione Immobiliare*).⁷² This institution, under the Ministry of Finance, was established in the context of the 1938 racial laws and had the specific function of managing the properties of Jewish and enemy subjects, either to profit from them or to sell them to third parties.⁷³

left Europe for Chicago while her father, the well-known German engineer and railway director Ernst Spiro (1873–1950), emigrated to London in 1939. According to the documentation, her medical tools, stored at the Port of Genoa, were declared “destroyed” during one of the numerous bomb attacks on the port.

68 ASGe, RSI, box 35, f. 9, Letter from the Genoa Revenue Office to the Alessandria Prefecture, January 19, 1944. The research conducted at the State Archive of Alessandria has not yielded any findings. I would like to thank Dr. Anna Maria Zappullo of the State Archive of Alessandria for her support in my research.

69 Seizure decree issued by the Prefecture of Genoa on September 24, 1940 (GU no. 244, October 17, 1940).

70 MAE, RSI, GABAILG, 1944–1945, box 34, f. Copie di appunti e note verbali della Direzione Generale Affari Commerciali, Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the German Embassy, May 3, 1944.

71 Legislative Decree no. 2 of January 4, 1944- GU-RSI no. 6, January 10, 1944.

72 Legislative Decree no. 2 of January 4, 1944- GU-RSI no. 6, January 10, 1944.

73 Italy's entry into the war had added to the duties of EGELI the administration of the goods of citizens of enemy Nations which, according to Article 20 of Law no. 1994 of December 19, 1940, had undergone mere seizure. With Decree-Law no. 1 of January 4, 1944, the institution incorporated the Jewish industrial and commercial activities that until then had pertained to the Ministry for Corporations, while with Decree-Law 2/1944, it absorbed the administration of all the goods confiscated from Italian and foreign Jews. From January 1945 onwards, EGELI would also manage the

Despite repeated Italian requests, on June 6, 1944, the Commander of the Security Police (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei*) and the SD ordered the confiscation of all goods at Arquata Scrivia. According to the documentation, it appears that the confiscated goods amounted to approximately 270 metric tons.⁷⁴ They issued receipts to the Magazzini Generali for the confiscated property. One month later, on July 3, 1944, the German Embassy informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the crates deposited at Arquata Scrivia had been opened and their contents examined, confirming that they were indeed the property of German Jews. For this reason, the Nazi authorities based their claims on the goods, considering them to be property of the Third Reich. Meanwhile, due to increasing pressure from German military authorities, the goods from the steamship *Adana* stored in Ovada were officially confiscated by the Prefecture of Alessandria on July 18, 1944 (prefectural decree no. 2755). The seized items were assigned to the National Agency for the Assistance of Refugees from the Occupied Territories (*Ente Nazionale per l'Assistenza ai Profughi delle Terre Invasate or Enfa*) and distributed among Italian refugees from other provinces who had settled in the area.⁷⁵

A final, albeit vain, attempt by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to manage the goods at Arquata Scrivia came in December 1944, when, just as the consignments were about to be shipped, it requested a further joint verification to exclude those not belonging to German Jews.⁷⁶ The request went unheeded, and the goods stored at Arquata Scrivia were totally confiscated and removed in the same month (mid-December) by the MK 1014 together with the RuK of Milan.⁷⁷ On the matter, on January 3, 1945, the MK 1014 clarified

property of German citizens residing in Italy, who were subject to the law of war. About EGELI and its activities cf. Levi 1998; Brasca 2019, p. 91.

- 74 LAB, B Rep. 025–06, no. 2710/57, Letter from the Berlin Finance Directorate to Mr Weiss, May 17, 1967. The same documentation reports that, in the following months, the goods consisted of 1,100 crates and that 47 liftvans were dispatched from Arquata Scrivia via Switzerland to Frankfurt. Nevertheless, Swiss customs officials, when questioned after the end of hostilities, did not recall any consignments of such magnitude having crossed the border during the war. I'd like to thank Alben Zlatanova of the Austrian *Kommission für Provenienzforschung* for the support and the information provided.
- 75 CDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Letter from Spanio to Kirsch, November 26, 1951; *ibid.*, Letter from Spanio to Valobra, February 13, 1960. Enfa, operating under the Ministry of the Interior-General Directorate for War Services of the Italian Social Republic, was the central institution responsible for managing the relocation and welfare of Italian refugees displaced by war and occupation. Structured hierarchically at national, provincial, and municipal levels, Enfa coordinated with prefectures and local Fascist authorities to distribute confiscated goods and provide logistical support to evacuees and displaced populations. However, Camillo Spanio recalled that the number of consignments transported to his storage facilities in Ovada was approximately between 200 and 210. Indeed, it was not only the belongings from the steamship *Adana* that had been transferred. On June 30, 1944, a crate of household linen and eleven consignments containing a complete, brand-new bedroom set were placed under sequestration by order of the Prefect of Alessandria. The goods belonged to the accountant Enrico Ullmann, and Major Giacomo Varese was appointed as their sequestrator (GU-RSI no. 217 on September 16, 1944).
- 76 MAE, RSI, GABAILG, 1944–1945, 34, f. Copie di appunti e note verbali della Direzione Generale Affari Commerciali, Note from the MAE to the German Embassy, December 28, 1944.
- 77 MAE, RSI, GABAILG, 1944–1945, 34, f. Copie di appunti e note verbali della Direzione Generale Affari Commerciali, Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the German Embassy, December

the German position to the Prefecture of Alessandria: "(...) the property belonging to Jews was confiscated by higher order. Since all goods have in the meantime been removed, the Military Command regrets that it is unable to comply with the requests made locally."⁷⁸

While some consignments were directly re-dispatched to Germany, including two crates belonging to Paula Lorenz (1889–?), a Viennese migrant who left her city in 1940 and sought refuge first in Shanghai and later in San Francisco, several hundred others were transferred to Monza, a small town in the province of Milan, and stored in the central warehouse of S.A.I.M.A. following intense bombing of the railway lines and viaducts.⁷⁹ According to a report of the Allied Military Government branch in the Lombardy region, these crates "have been opened in these warehouses and part of their content has been sent to Germany while the remnant has been sold to various tradesmen of Milan."⁸⁰ Surely, one painting depicting a copy of the 16th-century Correggio's Putti was transferred from Arquata Scrivia to Monza and later discovered in the Central Art Collection Point in Munich.⁸¹ Among the paintings was an entire Austrian 19th-century art collection owned by the Viennese Heinrich Steinbach (1866–1944), a former director of the bank Mercurbank, who fled to the United States with his wife, Emma Neumann (1878–1944). After the hostilities, his son, Georg Alexander Steinbach (1897–1978), a banker, immigrated to New York in September 1939 together with his family, and submitted to the Austrian authorities the list of his father's art collection, which was contained, among other belongings, in the liftvan "H.S. 178."⁸² According to

21, 1944. Erroneously, the document reports the *Militärkommandantur* 1004 and not 1014 (Tessin 1976, p. 1014). About the relationship between the RSI and Nazi authorities cf. Collotti 1963, pp. 129–139. Regretably, the study carried out on *Militärkommandantur* 1014 records at the Freiburg Bundesarchiv – Militärarchiv did not provide any additional information about the case.

78 CDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Nathan report, Attachement J, January 3, 1945: "Wie bereits am 6.9.44 auf das dortige Schreiben vom 6.7.44 – A. XXII Div.-Gab. Nr. 5542 – mitgeteilt worden ist, wurden die Judengüter auf höhere Weisung beschlagnahmt. Nachdem sämtliche Güter inzwischen abtransportiert worden sind, ist die Militärkommandantur zu ihrem Bedauern nicht in der Lage, den dortigen Anträgen zu entsprechen."

79 Her crates, managed by the forwarding agent Vincenzo Falletti, were transferred from the port of Genoa to Arquata Scrivia, where they were confiscated on December 12, 1944, and shipped directly back to Germany. CDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Letter from Lorentz to the Genoa Jewish Community, August 20, 1963; *ibid.*, Affidavit by Valobra, August 28, 1963; *ibid.*, Letter from the Berlin Regional Court to DELASEM, April 11, 1963.

80 JDC, 1945–1954 New York Collection, f. Italy, Restitution of Property, 1945–1948, Letter from Reuben B. Desnik of the American Joint Distribution Committee to Raffaele Cantoni of the Jewish Community of Milan, July 2, 1945. The AMG Lombardy urged the Jewish Community of Milan to conduct investigation "in order to find the eventual buyers of these effects, charge them of illegal buying and possible have restitution of what incautiously bought."

81 Department of Defense. European Command. U.S. Element, Allied Commission for Austria. Reparations, Deliveries, and Restitutions Division. Reparations and Restitution Branch (3/15/1947 – 9/20/1950), Record Group 260: Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, World War II, Series: General Administrative Records, Categories – Fine Arts in CCP, File No. R&R 31, f. 6. In 1948, the painting was included in the list of art objects identified in the Central Art Collection Point in Munich and claimed by the Austrian Government (case no. 9908/48); <https://www.archivportal-d.de/item/PLMJDUTH6JQ5EYGOOLCTGVJCBTFPNM> (May 2025).

82 Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1897–1957 (National Archives Microfilm Publication T715, roll 6395); Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service,

Mr. Steinbach's declaration, the goods from Monza were shipped directly to Austria or Germany.⁸³

In contrast to S.A.I.M.A., the shipping company Francesco Parisi, which rejected the request for the return of goods to Germany in 1943, held 24 crates in Arquata Scrivia, and, after the Liberation (April 25, 1945), these crates were put under the control of the Allied authorities by "sticking a special label" to indicate their provenance.⁸⁴ The same label was applied to the remaining S.A.I.M.A. crates in Monza.

Table 1: Works of art belonging to Heinrich Steinbach shipped to Genoa

Author	Title	Year	Type
Rodolf von Alt	Landscape (Mondsee against the Schafberg)	1844	Signed, watercolor, bull's-eye frame
Correggio (copy of)	Putti		Old copy, gilded frame
Joseph Danhauser	Portrait of the bride, Sophie Voytech	19th-century	Pencil drawing, lightly water-colored, old frame
Carl Duxa	Dutch peasants at play	19th-20th-century	Signed, oil, black moulding frame
Thomas Ender	Neustift im Stubaital	19th-century	Watercolor, antique molding frame
Anton Filkuka	Autumn in the Vienna Woods	19th-century	Gouache, gilded frame
Ludwig Hans Fischer	Seascape at sunset	19th-century	Signed, watercolor
Ludwig Hans Fischer	Stone terrace with flowers in Abbazia	19th-century	Signed, watercolor
Ludwig Hans Fischer	Han Seascape in the sun	19th-century	Signed, watercolor
Heinrich Friedrich Füger	Bust of a young lady with a lyre	1800	Gouache painting in gray-sepia, blondell frame

Record Group 85, list 20, rows 11–13; BDA, Archiv_RestMat_K47-PM, Steinbach Georg, cc. 6–8. According to the Austrian documentation, Georg Steinbach, before leaving Austria in 1939, shipped seven oil paintings, two pastels, seventeen drawings and seven graphics along with eight carpets, a porcelain vase and a bronze statue through the Caro & Jellinek forwarding company (Archiv BDA, Archiv_Ausfuhr, f. 1938–04093, Request of shipping no. 4093, August 12, 1938). Parts of his belongings were sold by the Vienna Dorotheum.

83 I would like to thank Anneliese Schallmeiner of the Austrian *Kommission für Provenienzforschung* for the support and the information provided.

84 As reported by the Francesco Parisi firm: "As far as the liftvans were concerned, in consideration of their heavy weight and the difficulty of loading them onto trucks, they were demolished in Monza and their contents dispersed, as usually happens in such circumstances" (LAB, B Rep. 025–06, no. 2710/57, Letter from Francesco Parisi to the firm Mr Wedemann & Godknecht Inc., February 26, 1946). Ongoing research on this matter is being conducted by the author.

Author	Title	Year	Type
Friedrich Gauer mann	Landscape with Cows	19th-centu- ry	Signed F.G., colored pencil drawing
Friedrich Gauer mann	The Herd	19th-centu- ry	Signed F.G., colored pencil drawing
Adolf Kaufmann	On the Danube	19th-centu- ry	Signed, oil, moulding frame
Adolf Kaufmann	Waterscape with Boat	19th-centu- ry	Watercolor
Josef Kriehuber	Resting Angel	1839	Hand drawing, brown frame
Oskar Larsen	Spring Festival	19th-20th- century	Signed, gilded frame
Heinrich Lefler	Resting Man with a Newspaper	19th-20th- century	Oil, black frame
Heinrich Leitner	Mountain Landscape with a Torrent (Sellrain)	19th-20th- century	Signed, watercolor, gilded frame
Edmund Mahl knecht	Sheep	1840	Pen and ink drawing, molding frame
Joseph Mö smer	Mountain Landscape with Cattle Herd	1820	Gilded frame
Leopold Munsch	Landscape	19th-centu- ry	Pencil drawing, old gilded standing frame
Franz Obermüller	Head of an Old Woman	19th-20th- century	Signed, black ink
Franz Obermüller	Head of an Old Polish Jew	19th-20th- century	Signed, black ink
Eugen Neumann	Head of an Old Woman	19th-centu- ry	Oil, molding frame
August von Pettenkofen	Male Figure	19th-centu- ry	Oil, old gilded frame
Johann Matthias Ranftl	Bust of a Little Girl with a Cat	19th-centu- ry	Oil
Wilhelm Steinfeld	Mountain Landscape with a Lake	19th-centu- ry	Oil, blondell frame
Wilhelm Steinfeld	Mountain Lake, Farmstead in the Foreground	19th-centu- ry	Oil, blondell frame
Michael Stohl	Head of a Child with Coral Cord	Rome, 1845	Signed, watercolor, blondell frame
Johann Mlodziy Till	Evangelist	19th-centu- ry	Oil sketch, old frame
Johann Mlodziy Till	Old Man	19th-centu- ry	Watercolor, old frame
Frager Defregger (Maler)	Hay Cart with Oxen	19th-centu- ry	Gouache, gilded frame

Author	Title	Year	Type
Frager Defregger (Maler)	Flowerpot with Red Geraniums	19th-century	Oil
Unknown	Mother with Child		Old Viennese work, black frame
Unknown	Old Man		Old Viennese work, black frame
Eduard Veith	<i>Pencil drawing</i>	1849	Signed, bull's-eye frame
Franz Wagner	Roman Ruins near Salona	1904	Signed, watercolor, moulding frame
Franz Wagner	Church in Trau	19th-century	Signed, watercolor, moulding frame
Franz Wagner	View of the Town of Arbe	19th-century	Signed, watercolor, gilded moulding frame
Franz Wagner	Rocky Landscape (The Evil Wall)	19th-century	Signed, watercolor, gilded moulding frame
Franz Wagner	Village surrounded by deciduous trees	19th-century	Signed, watercolor, gilded moulding frame
Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller	Tree Study	18th-19th-century	Nameplate on the frame, oil, gilded frame
Alois Wierer	Stagecoach	19th-20th-century	Signed, oil, black frame
Olga Wisinger-Florian	Landscape on the Black Sea (Euxinograd)	19th-century	Signed, oil, gilded frame
Olga Wisinger-Florian	"All Souls' Day" (Cemetery Detail with Burning Grave Lantern)	19th-century	Signed, oil, moulding frame
Olga Wisinger-Florian	Flower Still Life (Discarded Bouquet)	19th-century	Oil
Franz Windhager	Brook Nymph (in a Woodland Landscape, Nude, Seated on a Boulder, One Foot Resting on the Stream, Listening to a Shepherd's Bagpipe in the Sunlit Distance)	19th-century	Signed, oil, gilded frame

Genoa and the Persecution against the Jews

With the occupation, the Ligurian Fascists strengthened their power, and various sections of the RSI were opened in the region from September 1943. The emerging RSI apparatus consisted of individuals loyal to the cause, including early Fascists who had been party members since the 1920s, World War I veterans, veterans of colonial campaigns,

Spanish Civil War veterans, *squadristi* (Fascist paramilitary squads), and *Milizia* officers.⁸⁵ In Genoa, Carlo Emanuele Basile⁸⁶ (1885–1972) was appointed head of the province, and after he was appointed Undersecretary for the Armed Forces in July 1944, he was replaced by Genoa police chief Arturo Bigoni (1893–?).⁸⁷ Ugo Della Monica (1889–1979) took over at the Genoa Police headquarters.⁸⁸

Both the RSI administrative and security organs maintained excellent relations with the Nazi authorities in the city.⁸⁹ Collaboration in activities of repression against the “enemies of the homeland,” whether they were political dissidents or Jews, was routine. In the summer of 1944, the political office of the police headquarters operated at full capacity, arresting hundreds of people and handing them over to the *Gestapo*.⁹⁰ The cooperation was further expanded to include the Genoa *Außenkommando* (AK), an independent command of the Police and Security Service under the leadership of General Wilhelm Harster. This command was stationed at the *Casa dello Studente* and supervised the SS commands in the Ligurian cities of Savona, Imperia, La Spezia, and Novi Ligure.⁹¹ The *Außenkommando* for Liguria, consisting of approximately 250 personnel, was under the command of Friedrich Engel from January 1944 onwards. He gained notoriety as the “Butcher of Genoa” due to numerous massacres perpetrated against civilians.⁹²

85 Pedemonte 1993; Miraglia 1945.

86 ASGe, RSI, Prefettura di Genova, box 2, f. 1, sf. Basile.

87 Bigoni served as the police chief of Forlì from December 28, 1943, to January 7, 1944, and then in Genoa from January 7 to June 27, 1944.

88 Basile, Bigoni, and Della Monica were tried by the Extraordinary Courts of Assize of Milan (Basile) and Genoa for collaboration with the enemy between 1945 and 1947. All three were sentenced to the death penalty, but they were granted amnesty in 1948 (Alberico 2005, pp. 97–98, 111–118).

89 Antonini/Cavaglion 2000, pp. 248–264. This is demonstrated not only by mutual invitations to dinners and events held at the German consulate in Genoa (led by Hans Bernard) or cultural and sports initiatives (e.g. concerts in honor of the armed forces, or boxing matches) organized by both the CNR, led by Salvatore Grimaldi, and the MK 1007 but also by the personal friendship between Prefect Basile and Consul Bernard. The latter consistently expressed words of praise for the collaboration between Fascist and Nazi units in many sectors of Genoa's public life (ASGe, RSI, Prefettura di Genova, box 2, f. 3, Letter from Dopolavoro postalegrafico to Genoa Prefecture, December 23, 1944; *ibid.*, Letter from the Comitato Provinciale Balilla to the Genoa Prefecture, April 26, 1944; *ibid.*, Letter from MK 1007 to the Genoa Prefecture, July 25, 1944; *ibid.*, f.1, Letter from Bernard to Basile, June 27, 1944).

90 Alberico 2005, pp. 118, 255–264; Dogliotti 2015; Zazzu 1993.

91 The supreme commander of the SS and police (*Höchster SS- und Polizei-Führer, HSSPF*) was Karl Wolff, who had his headquarters in Verona. In Verona, there was also the headquarters of the Security Police and SD Command (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und der SD—BdS*), led by General Wilhelm Harster, the representative in Italy of Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Heinrich Himmler's right-hand man and, following the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, commander of the Reich Security Main Office or RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*) with the task of suppressing resistance and deporting Jews. Harster had divided the territory under his control into various commands, *Außenkommandos* (AKs). The AK for Liguria had about 250 employees, with more than half being Italians. It was initially led by Paul Neuntenfel, then by Guido Zimmer, and from January 1944 by Friedrich Siegfried Engel. About the AK of Liguria cf. Poggi 1947; Chiavola 1945; Alberico 2005, pp. 138, 157–174.

92 Engel (1909–2006) was sentenced to life imprisonment in absentia by the Military Court of Turin in 1999 (case no. 0111/99 R.C.U.D.) for the Benedicta Massacre (147 people shot), the Turchino Massacre (59 people shot), the Portofino Massacre (22 people shot) in 1944, and the Cravasco Mas-

Arrests of the Jewish population in Genoa by the German authorities began in early November 1943, shortly before the RSI issued Police Order no. 5 on November 30, 1943, mandating the immediate detention of all Jews within national borders. The same month marked the onset of systematic deportations, and DELASEM was forced to cease its activities clandestinely, while the persecution became systematic and relentless.⁹³ Although comprehensive studies on the persecution of Genoa's Jewish community remain lacking, the 1938 Census of the Jews registered with Italian Jewish communities recorded 2,086 members in Genoa.⁹⁴ Alongside this established population were 526 foreign Jews awaiting emigration, a result of increased migratory flows throughout the 1930s, particularly from Germany and Poland.⁹⁵ During that decade, the Jewish presence in Genoa became more rooted and reached its peak, supported by both internal migration and the arrival of foreign Jews seeking refuge. However, this growth slowed significantly after 1938 due to the enactment of racial laws and mounting restrictions. Between 1938 and 1943, the number of new arrivals decreased. Those already in the city sought safety by fleeing to France or Switzerland, hiding in the countryside, or, particularly in the case of foreign Jews or Jews from other Italian communities who had reached Genoa, attempting to embark for overseas destinations with the support of DELASEM.⁹⁶

The racial persecution in Genoa extensively involved the confiscation of property belonging to Jews and the Jewish community.⁹⁷ The few consignments left in the port of Genoa were seized by various Nazi commands. According to the documentation presented by the forwarding firm, Robert M. Sloman, two liftvans filled with household goods owned by the German migrant, which were intended to be forwarded to Palestine, were removed from the port by a German command called "Vesuv" on April 15, 1944.⁹⁸ On the contrary, other diplomatic sources informed that, after the German occupation of Genoa, all goods stored in the port were seized by the *Wehrmacht-Erfassungskommando* Nr. 5 and resented to Germany.

sacre (20 people shot) in 1945. Despite the conviction, he never served the sentence and continued to live in Hamburg. About the "Butcher of Genoa" cf. Harten 2017, p. 110; Rivello 2005; Ricci 1998; <https://www.spiegel.de/sptv/a-130007.html>; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/feb/14/secondworldwar.germany> (May 2023); Mantelli 1990.

93 Voigt 1993, pp. 401–417; Antonini 2005, pp. 143–188. Lawyer Valobra, after fleeing to Switzerland in November 1943, supported the clandestine activities of DELASEM.

94 Following the Royal Decree no. 1279 on September 24, 1931, the Genoa Jewish Community included the Provinces of Genoa, Imperia, Massa, Savona, and La Spezia. The data 2,086 is provided by Dogliotti 2015, p. 270. This figure is slightly different from the one proposed by Parodi 1938, p. 314. The same for the foreign Jewish (Dogliotti 2015, p. 274; Parodi 1938, pp. 321–322).

95 About the Genovese Jewish community cf. Brizzolari 1971; Jona 1965.

96 Parodi 1988, pp. 320–322.

97 The office of DELASEM, as well as the offices of the Genoa Jewish Community, were searched by the Genoa SD, and the movable objects were stolen, among them the documentation about DELASEM's activity (ASGe, RSI, Prefettura di Genova, box 35, f. 10, Letter from the Police headquarters to Genoa Prefecture, March 18, 1944; Antonini/Cavaglioni 2000, pp. 252–253).

98 CDEC, Fondo Lelio Valobra, box 16, fasc. 16.152, Letter from the lawyer firm Schwarz, Falk, Jung to the United State Embassy in Rome, March 3, 1961. The consignment was composed by liftvan no. 311 – IR 1216 (2,690 kg) and no. 312-IR 1217 (2,210 kg).

Not only did the SS and other Nazi commands operating in Genoa seize real estate and movable assets abandoned or extorted from Genoese Jewish families or migrants, but also the Republican National Guard, Black Brigades, and individuals sought to benefit from the Jewish persecution.⁹⁹ For instance, Brenno Grandi, commander of the second battalion of the Black Brigades in Genoa and responsible for the city center area, who had previously been part of the elite SS corps, played a leading role in numerous roundups and raids on Jews in collaboration with the SS.¹⁰⁰ Despite the Genoa prefect's complaints to the Ministry of the Interior about persistent German interference in the anti-Jewish campaign and in the confiscation of property, following the arrests, Jewish-owned assets were systematically looted and distributed among various units of the brigade and SS personnel involved in the operations.¹⁰¹ In some cases, mostly with furniture and household items, instead of being shared, the goods were sold through a lottery that contributed to the battalion's fund.¹⁰²

The sale of Jewish property was a common and well-known practice that involved, to varying degrees, most Italian cities. According to Legislative Decree 2/1944, the EGELI mentioned above absorbed the administration of all goods confiscated from Italian and foreign Jews. The seizure decrees were supposed to be issued by the head of the province, sent to EGELI, which, through a series of delegated banking institutions distributed throughout the national territory (Istituto San Paolo di Torino was appointed for Genoa and its province), would have been responsible for the subsequent management and liquidation of the assets; especially if they were movable assets that did not generate income. Nevertheless, the activities were still extremely slow; as of July 31, 1944, EGELI had registered 3,238 confiscation orders all over the territory under its administration, which grew to 5,375 by the end of November: around 40 % of them referred to property and real estate, from lands to personal belongings, while the rest referred to cash and valuables deposited in credit institutions.¹⁰³ Only 12 % was referred to the Genoa province.¹⁰⁴

The confiscation decrees issued referred only to a negligible part compared to the volume of assets, mostly movable, which were confiscated outside the regulations and arbitrarily administered by the peripheral organs of the RSI. Furthermore, although Article 7 of Legislative Decree 2/1944 provided for the liquidation of assets, the sales of property only happened sporadically as a direct consequence of the complexity of the procedures to be followed, which furthermore included the final authorization on the part of the Ministry of Finance and, for cultural property, on the part of the Ministry for National Education. In Genoa, confiscations not adhering to regulations, looting, and trafficking not only involved the assets of Genoese Jews but also those of migrant Jews. Specifically,

99 Alberico 2005, p. 120.

100 Ibid., pp. 143–144.

101 Ibid., pp. 144 (footnote 25), 145–147; Dogliotti 2015, p. 280.

102 Alberico 2005, pp. 146, 148.

103 The Italian provinces involved in the confiscations numbered 46, for a total of 7,187 orders. The Milan Province issued 2,640 orders (200 of which were initially for seizure and were then converted to confiscations); Genoa follows with 914 orders, then Venice with 648 orders, and finally Turin with 547 orders.

104 Antonini 2000, p. 262.

this concerns the removal and sale of Jewish assets deposited at the forwarding company Argeo Villa in the port of Genoa between 1944 and 1945.¹⁰⁵ This looting was a crucial element in a larger trial against several members of the Genoa Police Headquarters, opened in the Civic Court of Genoa in the spring of 1946.¹⁰⁶



Fig. 5: "Police headquarters on duty: Treasurer arrested" (*Questura di Turno: Il fermo dell'economo*). In: *Corriere del Popolo*, March 20, 1946. (Photo: Daria Brasca)

The Sale of Jewish Emigrants' Goods in the Port of Genoa

The forwarding company Agenzia di Trasporti Argeo Villa was another shipping company operating in the port of Genoa, involved in managing Jewish assets in transit through the Ligurian port. The company, the owner of several storage warehouses both in the city and

105 The Agenzia di Trasporti Argeo Villa established its activities in 1894 in Genoa <https://www.argeo-villa.com/it/storia/> (May 2025).

106 *Corriere del Popolo* 1946; ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, box 1115. The proceedings were brought against Carlo Semino, Lorenzo Poggi, Aleandro Villa, Italo Marchese, and Armando Fabri, who were charged, in varying capacities, with conspiracy and embezzlement to the detriment of private individuals. This case formed part of a broader trial which involved eighteen defendants, including various officials of the Fascist Republican police headquarters – among them Ugo Della Monica and Arturo Bigoni – as well as several intermediaries and opportunists. All were charged, to varying degrees, with embezzlement against private citizens under the former Article 315 of the Italian Penal Code (now repealed; see Sentence, cc. 209–212, 224–225). As stated in the judgment of November 30, 1950, the charges were upheld but ultimately extinguished under the terms of the so-called "Togliatti Amnesty" (Law Decree no. 4 of June 26, 1946, Article 3, published in GU no.137, June 23, 1946). I would like to thank Dr. Luca Filangieri of the State Archive of Genoa for the support and enthusiasm put into this research.

in the port of Genoa, when faced with numerous air raids targeting warehouses and port structures, decided to transfer the goods under its management, which remained under customs bond, from the port to the center of Genoa in its warehouse at Via Monticelli 18r.¹⁰⁷ The assets, consisting of 13 crates and one trunk belonging to six different owners – already refugees in various non-European countries – arrived in Genoa from Germany between 1939 and 1940, with Palestine and the United States declared as their destinations. In particular:

- Therese Abeles Heymann, owner of two crates with a total weight of 7,200 kg. The crates arrived at the port of Genoa from Munich on December 5, 1939, destined for New York, United States.¹⁰⁸
- Rabbi Leo Baerwald, owner of one crate weighing 4,390 kg. The crate arrived at the port of Genoa from Munich on March 21, 1940, destined for New York, United States.¹⁰⁹
- Jacob Hoffmann, owner of two trunks with a total weight of 239 kg. The trunks arrived at the port of Genoa on April 20, 1940.
- David Israel Aronsfeld, owner of one trunk and five crates with a total weight of 410 kg. The belongings arrived at the port of Genoa on April 16, 1940, destined for Palestine.¹¹⁰
- Louis Brasch, owner of two crates weighing 394 kg. The crates arrived at the port of Genoa on November 30, 1940.¹¹¹
- Heinrich Glaser, owner of one crate weighing 4,390 kg. The crate arrived at the port of Genoa on March 21, 1940.

The Genoa Police headquarters, likely alerted by a confidential source, became aware of the existence of these goods and proceeded with their seizure. A small portion of the

107 Ibid., Report of Genoa Carabinieri Capitan, December 16, 1946, cc. 1–4.

108 The name listed in the Italian documentation is Therese [or Teresa] Abeles Heimann.

109 Leo Baerwald (1883–1970) was the rabbi of the Old Main Synagogue in Munich from 1933 to 1940. The synagogue was desecrated and destroyed by the Nazis during the night of November 8, 1938; it was rebuilt in 1947. In November 1938, Baerwald was imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp. Nevertheless, until his departure from Europe, he continued to oversee the Jewish community in Munich. He finally emigrated to the United States with his wife, Jenny (1886–1949), where, together with Rabbi Isaak Heilbronn, he founded the Congregation Beth Hillel in New York, serving as its rabbi until his retirement in 1955. From 1947 to 1949, he was President of B'nai B'rith in New York and a member of the New York Board of Rabbis (<https://www.jmberlin.de/thema-leo-baerwald> [May 2025]). About Baerwald cf. Bauer/Brenner 2006; Brocke/Carlebach 2009; Purin/Bergoffen 2009.

110 David Israel Aronsfeld sought refuge in Great Britain in 1939. However, the Italian documentation indicates that the crates were intended to be shipped to Palestine.

111 Louis Brasch (1875–1953) was a business store manager in Gumbinnen, a former German city, today part of the Oblast of Kaliningrad in Russia. He fled Germany to New York with his wife, Alice Cohn (1885–?), and their daughter Gerda (1912–?). <https://kreis-gumbinnen.de/historie/kirchen/synagoge/> (May 2025).

consignments was transferred to the police headquarters, while the majority remained stored in Argeo Villa's storage.¹¹²

At the pressing request of Luigi San Germano, Extraordinary High Commissioner for Liguria and Federal Secretary of the Republican Fascist Party in Genoa, to obtain the goods free of charge, the authorities faced an urgent need to address the matter.¹¹³ Consequently, in disregard of the legal procedures governing confiscated property, the headquarters accepted the proposal of Carlo Corti, inspector of the *Cassa Marittima Tirrena*, a social security institution for maritime and land transport workers.¹¹⁴ Through Giulio Segoni, prefectural commissioner of Genoa (November 7, 1944 – April 24, 1945) and commissioner of the same institution, Corti formally requested to purchase the seized goods, which were appraised at approximately 300,000 Italian Lire.¹¹⁵ This sale, authorized by Arturo Bigoni, the Genoa head of the province, was conducted extrajudicially, outside both the court-authorized procedures and the framework managed by EGELI, and ultimately enabled members of the police headquarters – later brought to trial – to secure personal profit, either in cash or through the appropriation of valuable objects.¹¹⁶ Before the transfer of the goods to Corti, the consignments were inventoried and appraised on Segoni's orders. This valuation was intended to serve as the basis for a subsequent public sale, which would have provided the police officers who stood trial in 1946 with an additional profit.¹¹⁷

The procedure of opening, inventorying, and appraising occupied the police for several days, from December 11 to 23, 1944. It was divided as follows: on December 11, the belongings of Hoffmann and Aronsfeld were inventoried, while from December 14 to 18, only the belongings of Abeles Heymann were processed. On the remaining days, the Baerwald and Brasch belongings were handled.

On the morning of December 11, 1944, the police headquarters' economist, Carlo Semino, assisted by Lorenzo Poggi, an electrician and friend of Semino, Aleandro Villa on behalf of the shipping company, the Chief Customs Inspector Antonio Maello, and a representative of EGELI, accountant Giuseppe Saettone, proceeded to open the crates.¹¹⁸ The presence of a representative from the Genoa customs directorate was necessary as the goods had not been cleared through customs. In contrast, the presence of EGELI was regulated by Article 13 of DL 2/1944. Court expert Antonio Giulio Pizzorno carried out the inventory and appraisal of the Jewish goods at the police headquarters' premises. The five trunks of Hoffmann contained clothing, linens, and kitchen utensils in good

112 Franzinelli 2001.

113 About San Germano's activity cf. Ricciotti 1981, pp. 146, 161.

114 The Cassa Marittima Tirrena was established by Royal Decree no. 264 on March 23, 1933 to protect maritime workers (cf. Cassa Marittima Tirrena 1956).

115 ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, box 1115, Report of Giulio Segoni, April 4, 1946, c. 4r.

116 ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, Vol. I, box 1115, Report by Corti's lawyer, c. 374v. The storage and transportation expenses incurred by the company Argeo Villa, as well as those of the expert, were charged to Corti.

117 Segoni received 96,000 Lire, Pellegrinelli 94,000 Lire, and Corti 64,000 Lire.

118 ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, Vol. I, box 1115, Report by Semino, April 23, 1946, c. 131r.

condition, while the five crates and one trunk of David Aronsfeld contained exclusively used books in German and Hebrew, all in good condition. In the following days (from December 14 to 23, 1944), the remaining goods were inventoried and appraised at the Argeo Villa warehouse.

Between December 14 and 18, the crates belonging to Abeles Heymann were opened, revealing a vast quantity of goods – including a typewriter and an electrotherapy case – as well as paintings, prints, and drawings. The works of art, unlike the rest of the goods that were relocated in the crates and sealed by the customs inspector, were loaded onto a truck and transferred directly to the police headquarters. On December 19, the goods of Brasch, containing various well-used items, were appraised. Meanwhile, on December 20 and 23, the furniture and Rabbi Leo Baerwald's limited clothing were also appraised.¹¹⁹

In February 1945, the Genoa Police headquarters facilitated a public sale of the consignments that had already been appraised and liquidated to Corti. The purchase prices were based on the appraisal carried out during the inventory phase. The sale yielded, net of storage and legal expert fees (excluding the customs fees), the following amounts, deposited in the name of the owners at the bank Istituto di San Paolo di Torino's Genoa branch (according to Article 14 of DL 2/1944):

- Baerwald: Lire 90,502;¹²⁰
- Abeles Heymann: Lire 88,310;¹²¹
- Hoffmann: Lire 7,702;¹²²
- Brasch: Lire 8,429;¹²³
- Glaser: Lire 5,197.¹²⁴

119 Unfortunately, the inventories of the goods – referred to in the records as Attachments Nos. 2–12 – are not included in the trial dossier.

120 ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, Vol. III, box 1114, Savings booklet no. 732 issued at the Istituto di San Paolo di Torino bank branch in Genoa, c. 1v.

121 Ibid., Savings booklet no. 731 issued at the Istituto di San Paolo di Torino bank branch in Genoa. c. 1v.

122 Ibid., Savings booklet no. 735 issued at the Istituto di San Paolo di Torino bank branch in Genoa, c. 1v.

123 Ibid., Savings booklet no. 734 issued at the Istituto di San Paolo di Torino bank branch in Genoa, c. 1v.

124 Ibid., Savings booklet no. 733 issued at the Istituto di San Paolo di Torino bank branch in Genoa, c. 1v.

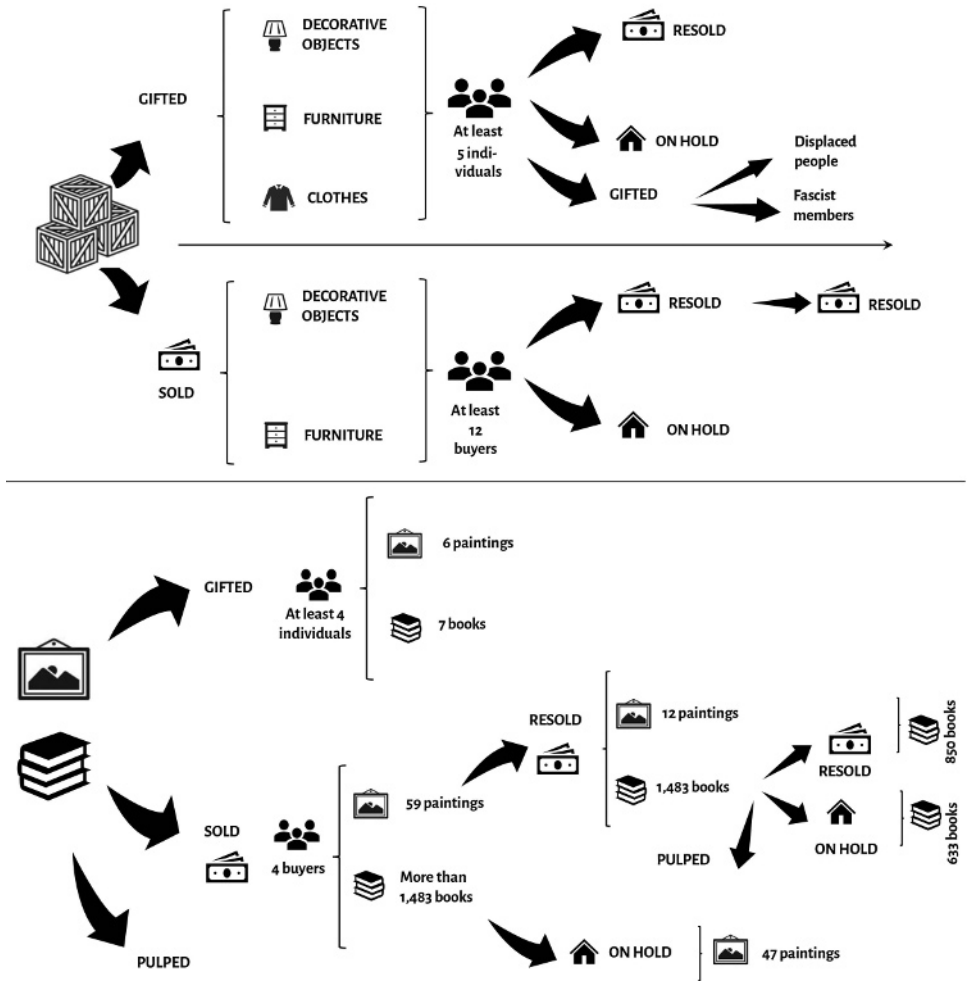


Fig. 6: Infographic of transfers (1945–1946). Types of goods sold and donated free of charge, belonging to the consignments deposited at the forwarding firm Argeo Villa.

The police deposited no amount in favor of David Aronsfeld because, from the sale of his goods, only 1,090 Lire was collected, covering expenses for warehousing, transportation, and appraisal, which totaled 3,463 Lire. Aronsfeld's goods consisted exclusively of hundreds of books written in German and Hebrew, which, once purchased by a book-seller, were resold to the Internazionale bookstore in Genoa.¹²⁵

In April 1945, the Internazionale bookstore sold 850 books and pamphlets written in Hebrew and English, contained in six boxes, to a professor of Sacred Scriptures at the International College of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, dedicated to St. Teresa

125 For David Aronsfeld cf. Appendix 1.

and St. John of the Cross (*Collegio Internazionale del Carmelitani Scalzi*) in Rome for 50,000 Lire.¹²⁶

While one-third of the volumes were sent to the paper mill, the remainder were at the disposal of the bookstore. This portion, amounting to 633 publications, consisted of:

- 244 various volumes distributed in three sacks;
- 130 *Bibliothèque* collection by German authors;
- 26 various volumes;
- 233 magazine issues.¹²⁷

Through the analysis of the trial records, it is possible to partially reconstruct both the contents of the consignments and the successive transfers of ownership. The objects generically recorded consisted of fine porcelain and crystal table services, as well as furnishings forming complete room sets (tables, chairs, lamps, sofas, and wardrobes). Alongside these were items of potential artistic or antiquarian value, including inlaid writing desks, silverware, a Bavarian majolica vase with decorative motifs, and an engraved brass goblet. Some objects of artistic character, the exact nature of which was not specified, were purchased by a local art gallery – an indication that the consignments included objects of artistic and material significance. As for the goods sold, most were subsequently resold to second or even third buyers, often through advertisements placed in local newspapers. The buyers, all identified in 1946 by the Genoa Carabinieri on behalf of the Prosecutor's Office of the Genoa Court, were still found to own almost all the items purchased initially from Corti.

The trial records also reveal evidence of illicit removals from the consignments, both before and during the inventory process, particularly in the absence of the EGELI representative and the customs inspector. Goods were siphoned off, exchanged for money to conceal the thefts, or distributed free of charge.¹²⁸ Testimonies indicate that these lootings ranged from household items to valuable objects, including works of art and gold. Representatives of the police, along with profiteers, took advantage of moments when oversight was absent.¹²⁹ Corti also donated part of the seized property to individ-

126 Ibid., Report of Giovanni Bianchi, July 30, 1946, c. 11. The International College of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, dedicated to St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, was founded in 1926 in Corso Italia, Rome, becoming the scientific center of the congregation where members of the order could obtain recognized theological academic titles. In 1954, the International College moved to the new building constructed near the Basilica of San Pancrazio in Piazza San Pancrazio (cf. Palese 2001, pp. 12–13). The Teresianum Library, founded in the 18th century, currently houses approximately 410,000 volumes and 400 periodicals covering various fields of theological science (<http://biblioteca.teresianum.net/> [November 5, 2023]).

127 The Internazionale bookstore was located in Genoa in Via Roccatagliata Ceccari no. 40; ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, vol. III, box 25, Report of Giorgio Di Stefano, September 17, 1946, c. 15.

128 Villa, in exchange for his silence, received 10,000 Lire in addition to other valuable items, including a carpet, paintings, and silverware (ibid., c. 132v).

129 During the trial, Segoni, Semino, and Villa mutually accused each other of the removal of valuable goods not included in the inventories (cf. ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding

uals in prominent positions within the RSI, who were invited to choose “the objects they liked the most.” The precise number and nature of the goods illicitly removed remain unknown, but testimonies confirm that significant losses occurred, further undermining the legality of the entire process.

The Disposal of the Artworks

The artworks were not kept under police custody. Still, they were earmarked for sale by the decision of the Genoa Police headquarters to offset the high administrative costs incurred in managing the seized goods.¹³⁰ They were not disposed of directly by the police but entrusted to intermediaries, as placing artworks on the market required both expertise and reliable contacts – particularly in wartime Genoa, where opportunities for sale were severely limited.

The treasurer of the Genoa Police headquarters, Semino, later the central defendant in the 1946 trial, took charge of the matter, with the authorization of the police commissioner, delegating most of the transactions to Corti. His involvement began when his curiosity about a set of English prints displayed in the police passport office, which had been seized earlier from Jewish property, led the treasurer to believe that he might also have access to valuable networks in the art trade. Corti sought appraisals from local antiquarians such as the Florentine Guido Mancini¹³¹, operating within Genoa’s market, and arranged for the placement of the works, generally in groups rather than individually.

One documented episode involved the attempted sale of forty-three paintings, drawings, and sketches, all belonging to Therese Abeles Heymann, which he ultimately failed to sell.¹³² In most cases, however, the records do not indicate the subjects or authors of the artworks. The only specific detail refers to six small paintings depicting farm animals, belonging to Therese Abeles Heymann. These were sold through Corti’s mediation to the antiquarian Peruzzi, whom Corti had called to appraise the paintings. Corti profited by charging both the police, for his role as broker, and the buyers themselves, either in money or in kind (in this instance, he retained one of the six paintings). More generally, the artworks were resold at inflated prices, yielding further profits for those involved.

Apart from everyday objects and glassware, all the artworks removed by Semino were traced by the Carabinieri of Genoa in 1946.¹³³

no. 771/1946, vol. III, box 1114, Report by Villa, May 7, 1946, c. 23). The Court found that, to avoid being reported, Semino provided money to the workers who assisted him in the thefts.

130 ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, Vol. I, box 1115, Report by Corti’s lawyer, cc. 372–376.

131 L’antiquario 1929.

132 The lot was directly sold by Semino to Corti for 30,000 Lire. At the time of the proceedings, the paintings remained available through an acquaintance of Corti.

133 ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, vol. III, box 1114, Report of the Genoa Public Prosecutor’s Office Genoa, December 16, 1946, cc. 1–2; *ibid.*, Report of the Genoa Public Prosecutor’s Office Genoa, 16 Dicembre 1946, c. 32; *ibid.*, Report of the Abeles’ lawyer, April 17, 1948, c. 32. According to the 1946 Carabinieri report, both the goods retained by Corti and those he resold could, for the most part, be recovered. However, their legitimate restitution to the rightful owners would entail immense work, inevitably give rise to endless civil disputes between Corti

Among the many artworks that were looted and sold, a significant number were placed in the custody of the Superintendency of the Galleries of Liguria, directed by Antonio Morassi between 1939 and 1949. This measure prevented their immediate dispersion and ensured a degree of preservation.

Two cases illustrate how artworks and Judaica came under the protection of the local Superintendency.¹³⁴ Judaica and cultural objects owned by the Rabbi of Munich, Leo Baerwald, were taken in charge by the local Superintendency inspector, Galileo Gentile, and put at the disposal of the rightful owner, including:

- a gothic *cassone*;
- a Jewish candelabra;
- nine oil paintings;
- five prints with frames;
- ten drawings and pastels;
- one portrait with frame;
- eight small boxes containing gesso medals;
- a small box containing a Hebrew parchment.¹³⁵

and the buyers, and would require considerable expenses for handling, storage, and related costs. Moreover, since the goods had by then been mixed, it would no longer be possible to sort them according to ownership without the presence in Genoa of the various proprietors – a circumstance deemed highly impractical, given that their current whereabouts were unknown to the office.

¹³⁴ Ferrari 2012.

¹³⁵ ASGe, Tribunale penale di Genova, Criminal proceeding no. 771/1946, vol. III, box 1114, Report by Gentile, August 27, 1946, c. 3.

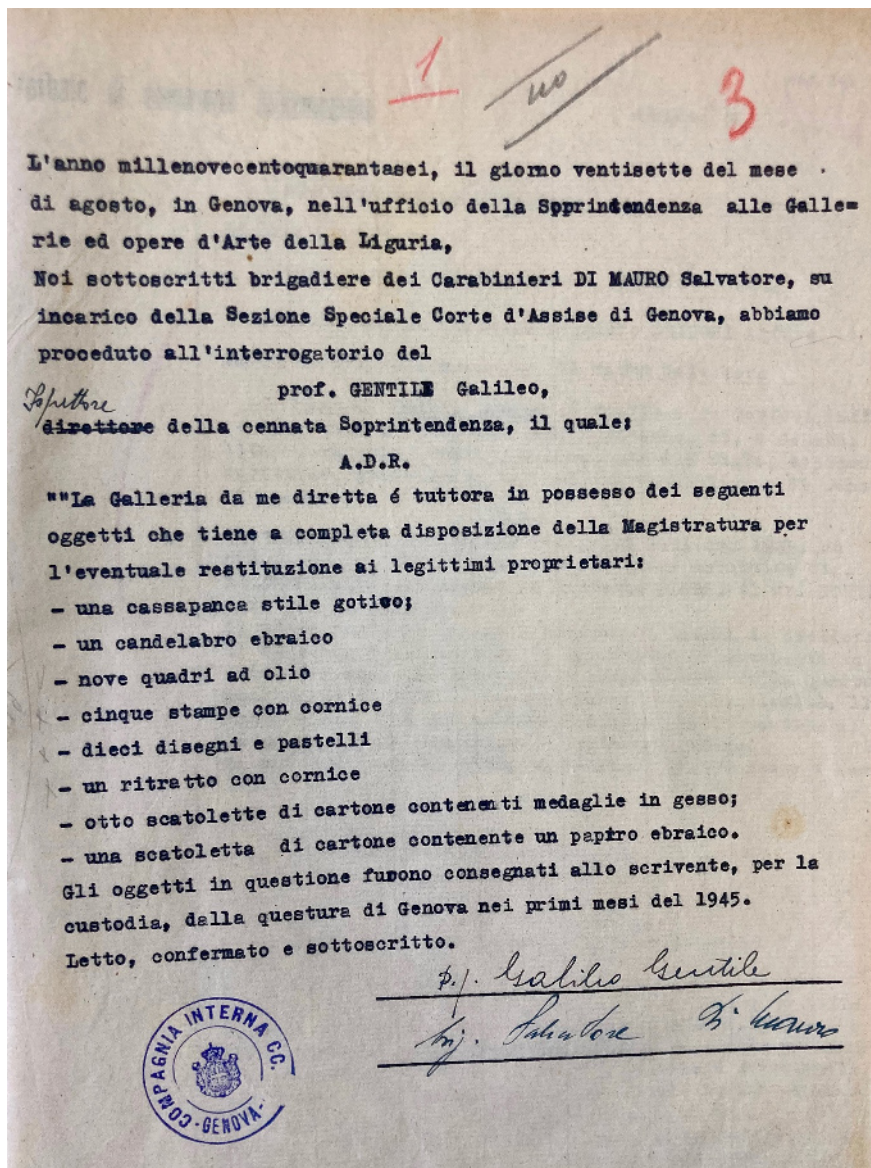


Fig. 7: Artworks and Judaica of the Jewish emigrants at the Superintendency of the Galleries in Genoa. (Photo: Daria Brasca / © Archivio di Stato di Genova)

Even the 558 artworks belonging to Therese Abeles Heymann were examined by the inspectors of the Superintendency, who, according to Morassi's post-war report, prevented these artworks from being confiscated by the Genoa Prefecture and their subsequent sale: "Although these artworks did not have a clear artistic interest, nevertheless,

this Superintendency, using its own authority, managed to overcome the pressures of the Prefecture and prevent the confiscation and subsequent sale of these paintings (...).¹³⁶

Predominantly of the German school, these works had already been appraised in 1944 by the Genoese painter Leandro Vaccari (1905–1979) on behalf of the police, with a total valuation of 511,750 Lire (based on 1944 prices) in preparation for disposal.¹³⁷ Morassi noted that the Superintendency nevertheless took them into custody even though they were not considered to possess relevant artistic value. Such a practice, frequent in the case of Jewish-owned works examined by the superintendencies during the war, reflected the tendency to safeguard objects even when they fell outside the canon then privileged in Italy, as often occurred with 19th- and early 20th-century German-Austrian artworks.

The extraordinarily high number of artworks belonging to Therese Abeles Heymann can be attributed to her first husband, Ludwig Heymann's, activities. As noted in Therese's personal file, Ludwig Heymann was a Munich-based businessman in the tobacco sector who became increasingly involved in the art market from the early 1930s, allocating two rooms of his apartment specifically for this activity.¹³⁸ Although not trained as a specialist, he cultivated a particular interest in 19th-century Munich painters and closely followed market dynamics. His collecting practice, initially pursued for personal enjoyment, gradually assumed a commercial character from 1935: he began acquiring works at relatively modest prices, frequently subjecting them to restoration or reframing, and subsequently reselling them on the Munich and Stuttgart markets.¹³⁹ He sourced many of his works from Jewish dealers in Munich, including Max Moses Blum, as well as at local auctions. For more significant paintings, he occasionally sought expert opinions, though these attributions were sometimes disputed, forcing him to withdraw or resell particular works without signatures.

On March 2–4 and May 28–29, 1937, over 200 paintings from Heymann's collection were auctioned at the Adolf Weinmüller Gallery in Munich.¹⁴⁰ This venue, run by a Nazi-aligned art dealer who had taken over Jewish-run galleries in the mid-1930s, dominated Munich's art auction scene in the years that followed.¹⁴¹ Among the lots auctioned were works that remained unsold, which later formed the basis of the criminal proceedings against Heymann. In 1938, Ludwig was arrested in Milan, where he had relocated with Therese and their son in September 1937, following an arrest warrant issued by the

136 Italian Government 2001, pp. 153–154: “Sebbene dette opere non possedessero un perspicuo interesse artistico, tuttavia questa Soprintendenza, valendosi della propria autorità, riuscì a superare le pressioni della Prefettura e ad impedire la confisca e successivamente l’alienazione di codeste pitture (...)”

137 ACS, MPI, AABBA, Div. IIII, box 118, f. Opere d’arte all’estero, 1926–49, Letter from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Public Instruction, July 14, 1947.

138 For Therese Abeles Heymann cf. Appendix 2.

139 StAL, E 323 II, box 580, folder 106, Trial against Ludwig Heymann, 1938, Statement by Heymann, July 9, 1938, cc. 88–98. Ongoing research on this matter is conducted by the author.

140 https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/weinmueller_katalog; https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/weinmueller1937_05_28xx (May 2025).

141 Hopp 2012.

Stuttgart Regional Court.¹⁴² He was accused of selling forged paintings, a charge that not only reflected his growing exposure to criminal scrutiny in the art trade but was also amplified by the antisemitic climate of the time, as shown by the defamatory campaign against his family in *Der Stürmer* in 1938.¹⁴³

The auction at the Weinmüller Gallery in 1937, held only a few months before the family departed for Italy, appears closely linked to their plans for emigration, taking place within a climate of mounting restrictions and antisemitic pressures. It is plausible that the unsold or withdrawn works were subsequently transferred to Genoa, whereas more personal and valuable pieces of the collection appear to have been deliberately retained.¹⁴⁴ At the auction, therefore, only the most marketable paintings were offered – selected not necessarily for their artistic merit but for their commercial appeal, as the family urgently needed to raise funds to finance their escape and resettlement in Milan.¹⁴⁵

Returning to the 558 works that had remained at the port, in July 1947, the Ministry of Public Education, Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Arts, requested that the Superintendency for the Galleries of Genoa assess the conservation status of the works stored at the police headquarters in Genoa within the premises of the Treasure Department. Despite the decision made by the Minister of the Interior, General Directorate of Public Security, to transfer the artworks to a more suitable location under the direct supervision of the Genoa Superintendency, in early December 1947, the Genoa Police headquarters informed the Genoa Superintendency that Therese Abeles Heymann had requested, through the Prosecutor's Office, the withdrawal of her artworks. The police headquarters itself took responsibility for the return of the assets and their shipment to New York, upon authorization from the Ministry of Public Education.¹⁴⁶ After customs clearance, the works were then returned in 1948, significantly deteriorated due to the unsuitability of the premises in which they had been stored.

According to a superintendency, it seems that in 1987 the Genoa Police headquarters delivered the remaining objects to the Jewish Community of Genoa: "In the Superinten-

142 StAL, E 323 II, box 580, folder 106, Trial against Ludwig Heymann, 1938. Among the 24 works contested by the Stuttgart prosecutor's office on charges of forged signatures were paintings later included in the Adolf Weinmüller Gallery auction of March 1937, such as Franz von Stuck, *Female Portrait Facing Left* (cat. no. 675), and Hans von Marées, *Head of a Bearded Old Man* (cat. no. 635). Other works auctioned in the same sale, though not part of the Stuttgart proceedings, were examined in 1937 by the Munich prosecutor's office, which ultimately deemed them authentic: Anders Zorn, *Portrait of a Young Woman* (cat. no. 705); Wilhelm Trübner, *Head Study* (cat. no. 683); and Eduard Grützner, *Falstaff, Bust Portrait Facing Right* (cat. no. 578).

143 *Der Stürmer* 1938.

144 During the Stuttgart proceedings, the authenticity of Ludwig Knaus's *The Schoolmaster* (79 × 63 cm) was contested. Heymann stated that the painting was in his possession in Milan at the time of the trial.

145 The reasons why Heymann and his family chose Milan – a city where no prior personal or commercial ties have so far been identified – remain unclear. The author is currently investigating whether he may have pursued contacts in the local art market before and during his brief stay or whether other factors determined this relocation.

146 ACS, MPI, AABBA, Div. IIII, box 118, f. Opere d'arte all'estero, 1926–49, Letter from the Genoa Superintendency to the Ministry of Public Instruction, December 19, 1947.

dency, (...) there remained Judaica, prints that had never been retrieved by their owner. In 1987, these were entrusted on deposit to the Jewish Community of Genova.”¹⁴⁷

Conclusion

The Genoa case highlights the multiple layers of appropriation to which the belongings of Jewish emigrants were subjected. What began as a transit of consignments through the port soon turned into a far more intricate story: their transfer to the hinterland, including Arquata Scrivia and Ovada; the official sale of part of the goods to the Third Reich; the distribution among Italian displaced persons; the illicit appropriation of others by police officers and intermediaries; and finally, the dispersal of goods through both informal exchanges and more formalized channels. This complex web of transactions shows how Fascist and Nazi institutions, local authorities, and private individuals all took advantage of the situation, blurring the boundaries between legality and outright spoliation.

Although this study has sought to shed light on several aspects of this system, drawing on largely unpublished Italian, German, and Austrian archival sources, many issues and case studies remain unresolved. Inspired by my research on the port of Trieste, as presented within the European HERA-funded TransCultAA project, this article outlines a scenario that, in some respects, proves even more complex than that of Trieste, where similar dynamics had already been documented.¹⁴⁸ Both cases, however, point in the same direction: the urgent need for comparative studies at the European level. Only by combining archival sources from different states and fostering international scholarly collaboration can the broader picture of these processes of misappropriation of Jewish emigrants' goods be reconstructed.

As this essay is published in the proceedings of the German Maritime Museum, alongside other contributions on the fate of Jewish emigrants' belongings shipped through German ports, it is hoped that such work will provide the foundation for a larger European initiative – one that includes all the countries involved in these migratory and confiscatory processes – and addresses a history that remains, even today, insufficiently studied.

147 Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici delle Liguria 1989, pp. 33–34, 36 (footnote 2). Ongoing research on this matter is conducted by the author.

148 Brasca 2022; <https://www.transculataa.eu> (May 2025).

Appendix 1: About David Israel Aronsfeld¹⁴⁹

David Israel Aronsfeld was born on September 21, 1873, in Exin (then Germany, today Kcynia, Poland) into an Orthodox Jewish family. He became a well-established wine merchant in Berlin. In 1908, he married Emma-Rachel Herzberg (1889–1972), and they had four children: Căsar Casper (1910–2002), Avraham (1916–2000), Frieda (1911–1977), and Tzipora Florence (1922–1970).¹⁵⁰



Fig. 8: David Aronsfeld and his family in front of his shop in Berlin, 1920s. Courtesy of the Aronsfeld family. (© Aronsfeld heirs)

149 I would like to deeply thank the family and heirs of David Isreal Aronsfeld for the information provided and the photographs published here.

150 <https://www.geni.com/people/David-Aronsfeld/6000000007060441140#> (May 2025).



Fig. 9: David Aronsfeld and his wife Emma in London, after 1939. Courtesy of the Aronsfeld family. (© Aronsfeld heirs)

Between 1933 and 1939, amid rising antisemitic persecution, the family emigrated from Berlin to London.¹⁵¹ David's sister Klara Albert was deported from Berlin in 1941 to the Chelmno extermination camp, where she was murdered in May 1942. Following her daughter's deportation, David's mother, Albertine, took her own life. David and Emma, along with three of their children – Cäsar Casper, Frieda, and Tzipora Florence – remained in London, where they later established their own families.¹⁵²

In London, Cäsar Casper Aronsfeld collaborated closely with Alfred Wiener in developing the renowned Wiener Library, particularly through the translation of German-language documents related to antisemitism and the crimes of the Nazi regime.¹⁵³ He later became a prominent English journalist and historian, widely recognized for his work documenting the experiences of Jewish refugees in Britain.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, Avraham emigrated to Israel and enlisted in the British Jewish Brigade, fighting against Nazi

151 David arrived in Great Britain on February 5, 1939.

152 Cäsar Casper married Helga Kamm (1909–1995), and Frieda married Karl Herzberg (1910–?), while Tzipora Florence married Erwin Hearst (1912–1975).

153 Barkow 1997; Homes 2003.

154 Aronsfeld 1952.

Germany. After World War II, in 1948, he married Ilse-Aliza Chaym, and they had four children. David Israel Aronsfeld passed away in Tel Aviv on September 22, 1967.

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE No. 404449
 ISSUED AT Commercial Street
 ON 14th February, 1939
 NAME (Surname first in Roman Capitals) ARONSFELD David Israel
 ALIAS
 Left Thumb Print (if unable to sign name in English Characters)
 PHOTOGRAPH
 Signature of Holder
 Nationality German
 Born on 21.9.73 in Gelnhausen
 Previous Nationality (if any)
 Profession or Occupation Visitor (No Occupation)
 Single or Married Married
 Address of Residence 38 Gloucester Drive, Tinsbury Park, N.H.
 Arrival in United Kingdom on 5.2.1939
 Address of last Residence outside U.K. Berlin Germany
 Government Service
 (Passport or other papers as to Nationality and Identity)
 German passport no 11/9295/38
 issued Berlin on 13.1.1939

Fig. 10: David Aronsfeld's identification document. Courtesy of the Aronsfeld family. (© Aronsfeld heirs)

Appendix 2: About Therese Abeles Heymann Silbermann¹⁵⁵

Therese Abeles was born in Chyše, in West Bohemia (then part of Austria-Hungary, now the Czech Republic), into an entrepreneurial Jewish family.¹⁵⁶ Her father, Max Matatiahu Abeles, commercialized silk, and after he moved to Munich in 1899, he founded the well-known Munich cigarette factory, Zigaretten & Tabakfabrik Abeles GmbH, in 1921. The factory produced popular brands such as "Nameless," "Blanko," "Caliph," and "Casino."¹⁵⁷ The family settled in Munich in late 1899. Therese was the only daughter among eight children: Friedrich (Fritz), Ernst, Eugen, Oskar, Otto, Joseph, and Heinrich.

¹⁵⁵ Heymann, Leopold. Interview 34341. Interview by Ruth Meyer. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, September 25, 1997 (<https://vha.usc.edu/testimony/3434> [March 30, 2023]).

¹⁵⁶ Seidel 2004, pp. 37–42; Hadrys 1999; Baumann/Heusler 2004.

¹⁵⁷ https://dingpflge.museumderdinge.de/pflegedinge/abeles-zigarettenetui-blanko/?utm_source=chatgpt.com (May 2025).

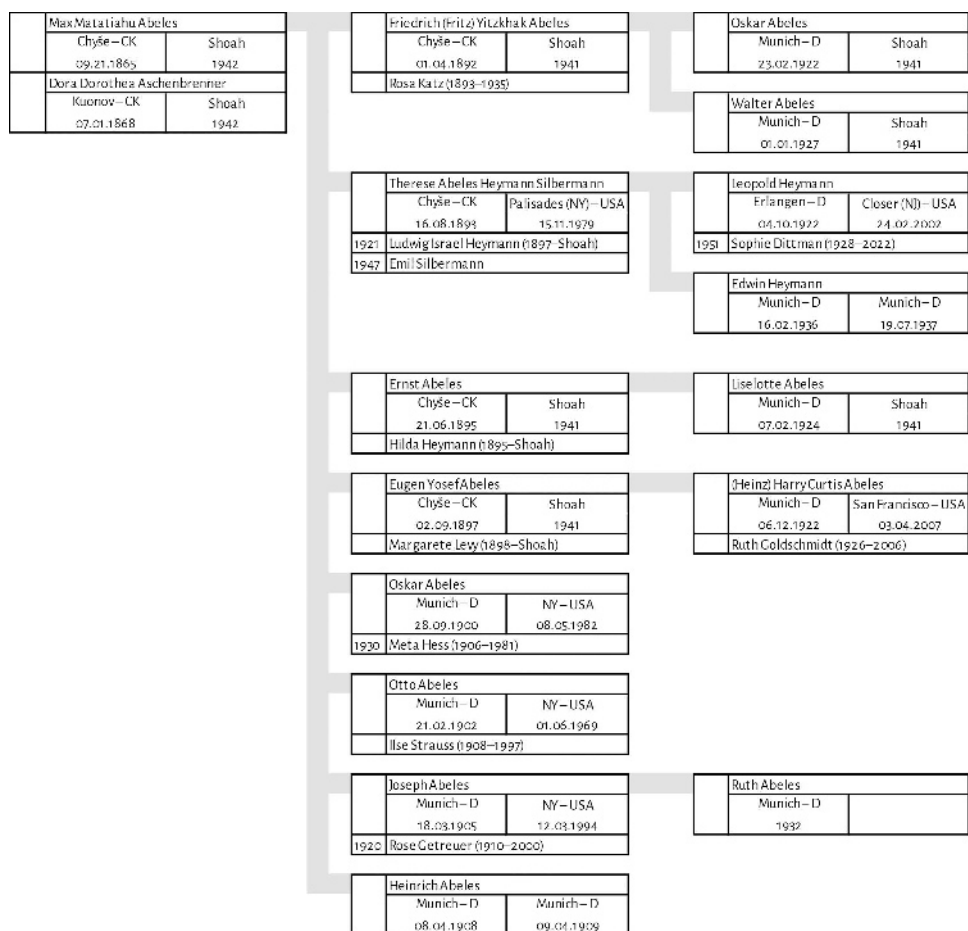


Fig. 11: Genealogy of the Abeles family.

Several of her brothers worked in the family business. Eugen served as owner and managing director, and later passed the management to Otto, while Fritz, the firstborn, managed wholesale and retail trade in tobacco products. In 1927, he established his own successful business, opening tobacconist shops at Theatinerstraße no. 52, Schillerstraße no. 36, and Dachauerstraße no. 5. The Abeles cigarette company, with its headquarters located at Lindwurmstraße no. 125 in Munich, was prosperous and well-established. In 1934, it issued a pictorial booklet titled “The Wanderer Through the Millennia” (*Der Wanderer durch die Jahrtausende*), as promotional material, distributed as cigarette cards illustrating 1,000 years of world history.¹⁵⁸ This very commercial activity was targeted by the antisemitic weekly *Der Stürmer* in July 1938, which published an article against the Abeles factory and its business under the title “From Silk Trader to Cigarette Manufacturer –

158 *Der Stürmer* 1938; <https://search.catalog.loc.gov/instances/9121300e-c7df-5cde-b4c1-f26d3f245946?option=lccn&query=2005690727> (May 2025).

The Abeles Cigarette Factory in Munich.”¹⁵⁹ Ernst, partner in the family business, was an influential board member of the Adass Jeshurun, the Orthodox Jewish Community of Munich. He operated in the wholesale trade of oil paintings.

Therese’s first husband, Ludwig Israel Heymann¹⁶⁰, whom she married in 1921, was involved in the management of the Abeles cigarette company, but was also active in the art trade since 1930.

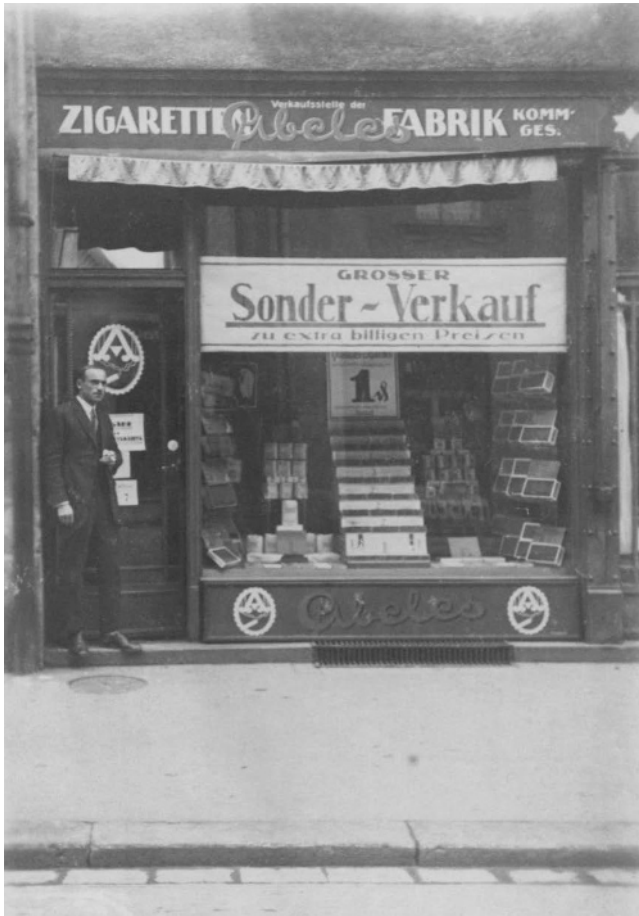


Fig. 12: Ludwig Heymann in front of the Abeles shop in Munich, 1920s–1930s. (© Stadtarchiv München, DE-1992-JUD-F-0186-03)

159 *Der Stürmer* 1938.

160 https://gedenkbuch.muenchen.de/index.php?id=gedenkbuch_link&gid=4674 (May 2025).

In 1937, following the accidental death of their young son Edwin in a bicycle accident, the Heymann family decided to relocate to Milan. Ludwig travelled ahead to arrange accommodation; the family followed in September 1937, entering Italy via Switzerland. At Chiasso, customs authorities stopped their car, and they continued to Milan by train, with their furniture shipped separately. They settled near the synagogue, and their son Leopold was enrolled in the local school until racial laws forced him to leave.¹⁶¹ In May 1938, Ludwig was arrested in Milan by Fascist police at the request of the Stuttgart Regional Court, accused of selling forged paintings. In May 1939, he was sentenced to two years and six months' imprisonment. Upon release, he was deported to Kaunas and shot there on November 17, 1941.

Meanwhile, in Nazi Germany, the Abeles family's business faced mounting pressure. Following anti-Jewish economic measures in August 1938, they attempted unsuccessfully to sell the company. Following the 1938 November pogroms, operations ceased, and the shop at Theatinerstraße was damaged, subsequently closing. Fritz's business was deregistered and his inventory sold to the tobacconist Hans Lorenz for a considerably lower value. In the meantime, Eugen Abeles was appointed liquidator of the Abeles company.¹⁶² Stock was sold at reduced prices, and the company was removed from the commercial register on December 31, 1938.¹⁶³ The cigarette factory and its offices at Lindwurmstraße no. 125 were repurposed after the demolition of Munich's main synagogue. The former machinery hall was converted into a prayer room, while the first floor housed the administrative offices of the Jewish community. The upper floors served as living quarters and temporary shelter for members of the local Jewish community until their deportation.

After the Abeles factory was confiscated and liquidated, the Abeles family tried in vain to emigrate from Nazi Germany. In June 1942, Max Abeles and his wife, Dora Dorothea Aschenbrenner, were deported from Munich to Theresienstadt and then to Treblinka, where they were killed.¹⁶⁴ Brothers Eugen¹⁶⁵, Friedrich¹⁶⁶, and Ernst¹⁶⁷, with their families, also perished in the Holocaust. Only Oskar, Otto, Joseph, and Therese, along with some younger relatives, managed to emigrate to the United States.¹⁶⁸ Among

161 Leopold has no memories of his father and had no contact with him after their stay in Milan.

162 After that the company was expropriated in 1938, and from 1942 it was run by the Zigarettenfabrik Union (A. Schaefer & Hille).

163 The claim proceedings against Germany ended in June 1950, in which the Abeles heirs had demanded compensation of 450,000 German marks. They finally received only 30,000 German marks in 1950.

164 https://stadtgeschichte-muenchen.de/denkmal/gedenkorte/d_gedenkorte.php?id=218; https://stadtgeschichte-muenchen.de/denkmal/gedenkorte/d_gedenkorte.php?id=213 (May 2025).

165 https://stadtgeschichte-muenchen.de/denkmal/gedenkorte/d_gedenkorte.php?id=182&utm_source=chatgpt.com (May 2025).

166 https://stadtgeschichte-muenchen.de/denkmal/gedenkorte/d_gedenkorte.php?id=573 (May 2025).

167 https://stadtgeschichte-muenchen.de/denkmal/gedenkorte/d_gedenkorte.php?id=214 (May 2025).

168 Otto Abeles obtained visas for himself, his wife, Ilse Strauss, and his son, Ernest, on February 8, 1939. They traveled from Munich to France, specifically Le Havre, and embarked on the Manhattan ship on February 25, 1939, arriving in New York on March 3, 1939. Oskar Abeles, along with his wife Meta and sons Peter and Fritz, arrived in New York from Southampton aboard the *Queen*

them was Eugen's son Heinz (later Harry), who served in the U.S. Army during the war. Also, Therese's son Leopold volunteered for the U.S. Army and was sent to southern England in 1942, and served for four years.

Therese, supported by relatives already in America, applied for a U.S. visa through the American consulate in Naples. For Leopold, born in Munich, the process was straightforward, but for Therese, born in Bohemia – by then annexed to the Reich – it was more complicated. Mother and son stayed in Milan from January to March 1939, awaiting passage to their destination.¹⁶⁹ They travelled separately from Genoa to New York: Leopold first, in 1939, followed by Therese in 1940. In New York, Therese married Emil Silbermann in 1947, a widower she met at the synagogue. Leopold, from 1954, successfully ran a butcher shop, “Abeles & Heymann,” with his uncle Oskar (1900–1982), specializing in hot dogs and kosher products.¹⁷⁰

Therese Abeles Heymann Silbermann died in Palisades, Rockland County, New York, on November 15, 1979.¹⁷¹

Mary, which sailed on November 26, 1938. They had obtained their U.S. visas on November 10, 1938. Joseph Abeles, accompanied by his wife, Rose Getreuer, left Germany from Hamburg and reached New York on August 17, 1939.

169 They obtained the emigration visa from the U.S. Embassy of Naples, and Leopold embarked on the *Conte di Savoia* in Genoa on March 8, 1939, while Therese embarked on the *Conte di Savoia* on May 15, 1940 (New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1925.1958 (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-95FT-97N2?i=53&cc=1923888&lang=it>; <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-G5NH-99LW?lang=it&i=904&cc=1923888> [May 2025])).

170 <https://jewishstandard.timesofisrael.com/a-european-odyssey-an-american-tale/>; <https://abeles-heyman.com/pages/about-us> (May 2025).

171 She was buried at the Beth-El Cemetery, Paramus, Bergen County, New Jersey (USA).

Appendix 3: List of the consignments transported by the steamship *Adana* and stored at the port of Genoa, and their subsequent distribution into seized, sold, and released goods (the latter eventually dispersed)

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (2871/277(S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (2871/277(S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
84	DR. V. Alexandria	309	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	1,170	4	The consignment quantity in the seized list looks like a 4, not a 1.		
1	Franz Hieck Chemnitz – Tel Aviv	78	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	1,550	1			
10	S.B. Tel Aviv / J.K.	700/h	2	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	320	2			
10	J.K. Tel Aviv	20/5	6	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	822	6			
11	P.G.	960	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	4,960				1
no	P.G.	961	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	4,970				1
11	P.G.	961/A+C	3	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	174	3			
12	E.D. Tel Aviv	5	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	2,130	1			
12	E.D. Tel Aviv	6	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	2,530	1			
18	R. Tel Aviv	1/06	6	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	1,423	6			
19	AU Tel Aviv	55/60	6	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	1,070	6			
31	B.& R.	881/93	13	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	703	13			
32	J.T.	100/h	2	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	471			2	
34	F.	188090	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	147	1			
36	A.M.	757	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	480			1	
37	J.H.	764	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	150	1			
44	H.F. Tel Aviv	517	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	2,770	1			
44	H.F. Tel Aviv	383	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv		1			

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (287/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (287/277/S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
44	H.F. Tel Aviv	384	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv		1			
44	H.F. Tel Aviv	385	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	430	1			
44	H.F. Tel Aviv	386/9	4	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv		1	Differing consign- ment quantities in the lists.		
48	KOSMOS	323/353	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Tel Aviv	1.790	1			
6	ITEKO	51957	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Haifa	1.790	1			
18	W.S. Haifa	27/08	2	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Haifa	388	2			
22	O.W.	184	1	Used personal belongings	Bremen	Haifa	65	1			
306	1065 MALTA		1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Malta	3.790	1			
301	C.H.T.	2585/9	5	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	500			5	
306	M.F.	1/4	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				2	
306	M.F.	1/4	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	380			1	
306	M.F.	1/4	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
317	R.K.	166/70	5	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	371			5	
318	T.B.	1/7	6	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		6			
318	T.B.	1/7	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	1.293	1			
319	C.K.	11/13	3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	521	3			
320	W.	4592/4	3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	395	3			
321	H.W.	50/51	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	281	2			
327	S. Tel Aviv	571/87	17	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		17			
327	S. Tel Aviv	588	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	4.000	1			
327	S. Tel Aviv	591	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	82	1			
328	E.T. TEL AVIV	952	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	1.170	1			
329	E.W. TEL AVIV	149	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	2.910	1			
330	M.S. TEL AVIV	227	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	3.530			1	

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (287/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (287/277/S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
331	F.F.	1/9	8	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	737			8	
331	F.F.	1/9	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
332	A.S.	20/06/2025	7	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		7			
332	B.S.	5	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	917	2			
332	J.S.	1		Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		Quantity of consignments not specified.			
333	A.St.	1/3	3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		3			
333	A.St.	4	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			
333	A.St.	5	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	420	1			
336	K. & N. TEL AVIV	50	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	2,400			1	
338	A.R. TEL AVIV	277/81	5	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	1,129	5			
338	E.G.E. TEL AVIV	277/81	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		2			
338	E.G.E. TEL AVIV	277/81	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			
338	E.G.E. TEL AVIV	277/81	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	179	2			
338	R.M. TEL AVIV	918	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	112	1			
339	J.H. TEL AVIV	1/2	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	713			2	
342	F.A. Sachtes Quedlinburg		1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	2,740	1			
343	Tel Aviv	1985/2012	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	3,550	1			
344	A.S.	1185	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	1,280	1			
345	Sieg. Marg.	100	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	2,500	1			
348	J.S. Tel Aviv	1011	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	110	1			

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (287/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (287/277/S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
351	H. Sch.	1	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	140	1			
353	W.W. *	10	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	170	1			
353	FEIGA WAHR-MANN – W.W.		11	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	1.314	11			
353		11	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			
356	M.B.	4/9	6	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	816			6	
356	M.B.	10	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
356 A	S.H.	1	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	110	1			
356 A	S.H.	2	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			
357 A	L.J.	590/97	7	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	747	7			
357 A	L.J.	590/97	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			
358	INTERCON-TINENTALE G.m.b.h.		3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	182	3			
358	INTERCON-TINENTALE G. H.J.V.	45/6	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	100	2			
358	INTERCON-TINENTALE G. H.G.	1948	1	Glasses work	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	12,8	1			
359	A. Kinkel A.G. Königsberg (Pr.) Tel Aviv	230 A	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	4,000	1			
363	Schenker & Co. Tel Aviv		1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	39,5	1			
364	H. Tel Aviv	375	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	240	1			
369	M.O.	27	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (2871/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (2871/277/S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
369	M.O.	7/15		Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		Quantity of consignments not specified.			
369	M.O.	25-26		Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		Quantity of consignments not specified.			
369	M.O.	19		Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		Quantity of consignments not specified.			
369	M.O.	20-24	18	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	4.620	18			
369	M.O.	1700	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			
369	M.O.	01/06	6	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		6			
369	M.O.	16	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv		1			
369	M.O.	28	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	7.491	1			
5	D.H.	200/201	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	100	2	Differing consign-ment quantities in the lists.		
10	K.G.	136	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
10	K.G.	1370	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
10	K.G.	1380	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	289			1	
	J.N.	20/23	4	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	162			4	
	J.H.R.	150	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	J.H.R.	119	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	177			1	
	L.H.	120	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	L.H.	1210	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	352			1	
	R.G.	137	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	R.G.	138	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	Adr. Golberg		1	Bike	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	337			1	
	S.B.	19	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	70			1	
	G.C.	28	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	160			1	

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (287/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (287/277/S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
	H.H.	3814	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	139			1	
	N.H.	42	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	69			1	
	I.N.	55	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	I.N.	56	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	192			1	
	B.K.	113	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	104			1	
	R.N.	18	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	158			1	
	A.N.	68	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	142			1	
	F.S.	129	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	106			1	
	H.A.	21/3	3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	57			3	
	F.B.	11/12	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				2	
	F.B.	13	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	F.B.	14	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	350			1	
	H.B.	20/21	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				2	
	H.B.	22	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	H.B.	23/24	3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	278			3	
	N.B.	15	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	54			1	
	H.F. dm.	17	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	140			1	
	P.F.	70/73	4	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				4	
	P.F.	74/76	3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	667			3	
	L.H.	51/52	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				2	
	A.H.	53	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	L.H.	54/57	4	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				4	
	L.H.	58	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	556			1	
	R.K.	13	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	102			1	
	H.L.	19519	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	99			1	
	W.L.	1130	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	169			1	

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (2871/277(S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (2871/277(S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
	J.L.	1126	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	J.L.	1127	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	250			1	
	H.L.	21/22	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	49			2	
	R.M.	1136	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	140			1	
	R.P.	24	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	86			1	
	J.R.	245/46	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	298			2	
	S.R.	14	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	121			1	
	S.R.	16	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	21			1	
	E.R.	4	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	E.R.	5/6	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				2	
	E.R.	7/8	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	321			2	
	S.S.	100/101	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	279			2	
	E. Sch.	42/43	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	122			2	
	A.W.	12	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	A.W.	13/14	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				2	
	A.W.	15	1	Bike	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	79			1	
	B.D.	130	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	V.W.	131	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	63			1	
	B.G.	411/1	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	B.G.	11	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	178			1	
	K.S.	230	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	71			1	
	A.M.	504	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	A.M.	505	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	168			1	
	H.A.	11	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	115			1	
	C.A.	12	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	119			1	
	B.G.	13	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	187			1	

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (287/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (287/277/S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
	B.L.	92	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	B.L.	93	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	325			1	
	H.D.	50	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	117			1	
	J.E.	50	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	112			1	
	F.K.	17	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	240			1	
	U.F.	98	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	U.F.	62	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	159			1	
	J.K.	5	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	100			1	
	R.L.	102	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	119			1	
	T.L.	18	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	147			1	
	A.M.	54/55	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	164			2	
	G.R.	32	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	96			1	
	E.S.	7/8	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	140			2	
	H.V.	149	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	114			1	
	L.W.	7	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	128			1	
	J.W.	49	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	97			1	
	G.W.	75	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv				1	
	G.W.	76	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Tel Aviv	174			1	
302	F.H. Haifa	1244	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	1,370	1			
304	E.K.	23/26	4	Books	Hamburg	Haifa	350	4			
305	A.G.	127	1	Personal travel effects	Hamburg	Haifa	20	1			
307	H.R.	698	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa		1			
307	H.R.	699	1	Wardrobe	Hamburg	Haifa		1			
307	H.R.	700	1	Iron bed	Hamburg	Haifa	424	1			
316	M.V.	1985/89	5	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	870	5			
317	K.O.	90/91	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa		2			

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (287/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (287/277/S) and desquestreted	Distroyed after air raid
317	K.O.	92	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa		1			
317	K.O.	93/95	3	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	1,128	3			
318	W.M.	1/10	10	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	1,518			10	
319	E.K.	51/54	4	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	461	4			
320	H.K.	402	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	702			1	
322	E.S.	83/84	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa				2	
322	B.	85	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	137			1	
322	B.	1	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa				1	
322	B.	2	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa				1	
322	B.	3	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	150			1	
322	H.J.V.	47	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	50			1	
322	P.	199	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	88			1	
323	J.T.	30/31	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	142	2			
327	H.H.	207	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	4,640	1			
328	S.C.	122/27	6	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa		6			
328	S.C.	120/121	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	775	2			
329	B.E.	1	1	1 bed - 1 bike	Hamburg	Haifa		1			
329	B.E.	3	1	Mattresses and bedding accessories	Hamburg	Haifa		1			
329	B.E.	2	1	Household linen and clothing	Hamburg	Haifa	226	1			
331	E.L. Haifa	834	1	Sewing machine	Hamburg	Haifa	100			1	
332	J.R. Haifa	1/14	6	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	507			6	
332	J.R. Haifa	1/14	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa				2	
332	J.R. Haifa	1/14	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa				2	
332	J.R. Haifa	1/14	1	Base for sewing machine	Hamburg	Haifa				1	

Bill of lading	Cargo mark	No.	Total consignments	Typology of goods	From	To	kg	Seized (287/277/S) and sold to Third Reich	Comments	Seized (287/277/S) and desequestered	Destroyed after air raid
332	J.R. Haifa	1/14	1	Blackboard	Hamburg	Haifa				1	
332	J.R. Haifa	1/14	2	Easels	Hamburg	Haifa				2	
334	H.T.A. Haifa	126/h-2	2	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	497	2			
335	A.G. Haifa	1830	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	2,840	1			
335	A.G. Haifa	1807	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	1,655	1			
338	INTERCON-TINENTALE	124	1	Used personal belongings	Hamburg	Haifa	3,810	1			
306							392	4	No. not listed in the seizure list.		
306							507	14	No. not listed in the seizure list.		
Total			410					246		181	2

Sources

ACS: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome
 ASAl: Archivio di Stato di Alessandria, Alessandria
 ASFe: Archivio di Stato di Genova, Genoa
 CEDEC: Centro di Documentazione Ebraico Contemporaneo, Milan
 JDC: Archive American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, New York
 LAB: Landesarchiv Berlin, Berlin
 MAE: Archivio storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Rome
 NARA: National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Washington, D.C.
 ÖStA: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna
 StAHH: Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburg
 StAL: Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, Stuttgart
 UCEI: Archivio storico dell'Unione delle Comunità Italiane, Rome

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