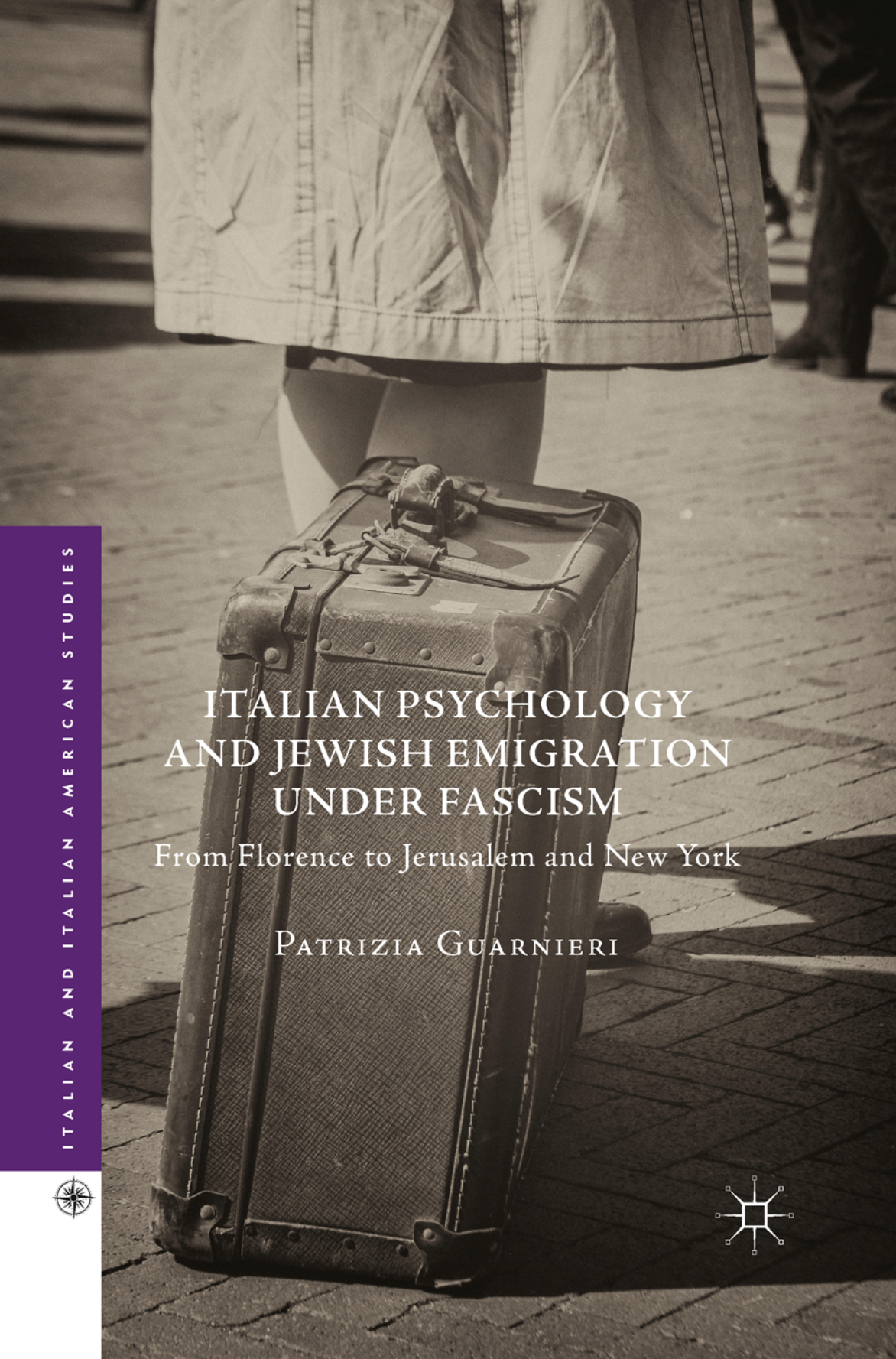

ITALIAN AND ITALIAN AMERICAN STUDIES

ITALIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND JEWISH EMIGRATION UNDER FASCISM

From Florence to Jerusalem and New York

Patrizia Guarnieri

Italian and Italian American Studies

Stanislao G. Pugliese
Hofstra University
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Patrizia Guarnieri
January 2016

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From Florence to Jerusalem and New York

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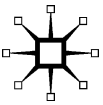

ITALIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND JEWISH EMIGRATION UNDER FASCISM

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Contents

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I hope that Olga and Ugo will always remember the beautiful things that they did together while in New York, waiting for me to come out of the New York Public Library.

Florence, May 1, 2015

Abbreviations

ADDI	Associazione Divulgatrice Donne Italiane
AFHU	American Friends of the Hebrew University
AJP	American Journal of Psychology
APA	American Psychological Association
ASP	Associazione di Studi Psicologici
BFUW	British Federation of University Women
CARA	Council for At-Risk Academics
CLN	Comitato Liberazione Nazionale
CNR	Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
DBI	Dizionario Biografico Italiano
EC	Emergency Committee
ECADFS	Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars
FILDIS	Federazione Italiana Laureate e Diplomate degli Istituti Superiori
GOI	Grande Oriente d'Italia
GU	Gazzetta Ufficiale
HU	Hebrew University, Jerusalem
ISS	Istituto di Studi Superiori Pratici e di Perfezionamento, Florence
MEN	Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale
MPI	Ministero Pubblica Istruzione
PNF	Partito Nazionale Fascista
RF	Rockefeller Foundation
SFI	Società Filosofica Italiana
SIP	(later SIPs) Società Italiana di Psicologia
SPI	Società Psicoanalitica Italiana
SPSL	Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, London
UCEI	Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane
VA	Veterans Administration
VARO	Veterans Administration Regional Office

Archival Sources

AAL	Archivio Storico dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome
—*CPC*	*Casellario Politico Centrale*
—*CSPI*	*Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione*
—*DAGR*	*Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati*
—*DGDR*	*Direzione Generale Demografia e Razza*
—*DGIS*	*Direzione Generale Istruzione Superiore*
—*DGIU*	*Direzione Generale Istruzione Universitaria*
—*DGPS*	*Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza*
—*MI*	*Ministero dell'Interno*
—*MPI*	*Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*
APICE	Archivi della Parola, dell'Immagine e della Comunicazione Editoriale, Università degli Studi di Milano, Milano
—*AP*	*Archivio proprio*
—*AS*	*Archivio storico*
—*UP*	*Ufficio personale*
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence
ASG	Archivio Storico Giunti, Florence
—*FB*	*Fondo Bemporad*
ASPI	Archivi Storici della Psicologia Italiana, Università di Milano-Bicocca, Milan
CG	*Carte Agostino Gemelli*
—*FF*	*Fondo Giulio Cesare Ferrari*
—*FM*	*Fondo Cesare Musatti*
—*FUST*	*Fondo Università degli studi di Torino, Istituto Psicologia Sperimentale (Carte Federico Kiesow)*
—*FVB*	*Fondo Vittorio Benussi*
ASPR	Archivio di Storia della Psicologia Università di Roma La Sapienza, Rome
—*FDS*	*Fondo Sante De Sanctis*
ASSR	Archivio Storico del Senato della Repubblica, Rome
ASUB	Archivio Storico dell'Università di Bologna, Bologna
—*FS*	*Fascicoli Studenti*

ASUF	Archivio Storico dell'Università di Firenze, Florence
—*CAC*	*Carteggio Amministrazione Centrale*
—*ISS*	*Regio Istituto di Studi Superiori (later Università di Firenze), Soprintendenza*
—*SD*	*Sezione Personale Docenti*
—*SLD*	*Sezione Personale Liberi Docenti*
—*SS*	*Sezione Studenti*
ASUR	Archivio Storico dell'Università di Roma La Sapienza, Rome
—*AD*	*Attività Didattiche*
—*AG*	*Archivio Generale*
—*FD*	*Fascicoli del Personale Docente*
AUC	Archivio Generale per la Storia dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan
—*CG*	*Corrispondenza Gemelli*
BLC	Biblioteca Luigi Credaro, Sondrio
—*FC*	*Fondo Luigi Credaro*
BLO	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford
—*ASPSL*	*Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning*
BU	Boston University, Boston
—*AP*	*Ascoli Papers*
—*HGARC*	*Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center*
BUF	Biblioteca Umanistica dell'Università di Firenze, Florence
—*FDS*	*Fondo Francesco De Sarlo*
—*FF*	*Sezione di Filosofia e Filologia, later Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*
—*FT*	*Fondo Felice Tocco*
—*FTS*	*Fondo Tesi Storiche*
—*FTSMO*	*Fondo Tesi della Scuola Magistrale Ortofrenica*
—*ISS*	*Regio Istituto di Studi Superiori, later Università di Firenze*
—*LF*	*Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*
CAHJP	The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CC	Carte Calabresi, New Haven
CDS	Carte De Sarlo, Florence—San Chirico Raparo
CM	Carte Marzi, Florence
CT	Carte Teicher, Cambridge
FG	Fondazione Giovanni Gentile, Rome
—*AGG*	*Archivio Giovanni Gentile*
FR	Fondazione Rosselli, Florence
—*AR*	*Archivio Rosselli*
HUCA	Hebrew University Central Archive, Jerusalem

IP	Istituto di Psicosintesi, Florence
—*AS*	*Archivio Assagioli*
ISRT	Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Toscana, Florence
—*AS*	*Archivio Gaetano Salvemini*
IU	Istituto Toscano per Bambini Tardivi Umberto I, Florence
—*LAC*	*Libri delle adunanze di Consiglio*
NSSR	New School of Social Research, New York
NYPL	New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts, New York
—*ECADFS*	*Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars*
SUL	Syracuse University Libraries, Syracuse
—*ECP*	*Edward Corsi Papers*
—*SCRC*	*Special Collections Research Center*

Introduction

Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Florence was a city of natural and human sciences, not just art. It was intellectually lively in its present, and not just in memories of its Renaissance past, even if the stereotype of the city and of Italy abroad is one of literati and artists. Laura Fermi, who immigrated to the United States in January 1939, used to get irritated when on telling American acquaintances that her husband was at Columbia University, they exclaimed: "How interesting! Does he teach music or Italian?" The illustrious physicist obviously did neither, and neither did the overwhelming majority of Italian intellectuals who emigrated as opponents of Fascism or as Jews or both.[1]

The choice of focusing on Florence for this research, and from there looking elsewhere in Italy—Turin, Milan, Bologna, Padua, Rome, Naples, Palermo—turned out to be particularly appropriate. In Florence psychology was established at the university before and better than elsewhere in Italy, esteemed by supporters and envied by rivals. The psychological school led there by Francesco De Sarlo was certainly the most feared by its neo-idealist opponents who perceived it as a bastion to be overthrown. In the battle for and against psychology it was not only the discipline that was at stake, it was also the conception of culture or two cultures, of relations between the human world and the natural world. The clash was evident from the turn of the century, not in closed academic classes, but in the debate of a secular and proud city, not intimidated by the rich or by foreigners; a city even arrogant in considering itself to be special.

Under Fascism even in the specific university environment Florence was "the city that produced, perhaps the fiercest fascists, but also the antifascists most faithful to the vow to not give in."[2] These were the words of Salvemini, who taught in the faculty where every single philosopher signed Croce's response to Gentile's Fascist *manifesto* and yet where he himself was attacked by his colleague Pavolini's son and by other blackshirts. If not beaten up, anti-Fascist professors and students were under surveillance by the Fascist police, spied on, subjected to disciplinary measures. A few declared opponents of the regime took refuge in France, England, or the United States like Salvemini; but racial persecution also hit those who were not opposed to the regime. In Florence the Jewish community was well known as the center of the Zionist awakening; the overwhelming majority of the Jews belonged to the middle classes and invested a great deal in education. After the 1938 laws many Jews left their studies and research, school and university.

I wanted to find who had left; to go beyond the loss in order to understand the heavy consequences; to follow their journey, which did not end with their arrival in another country; and to ask what they could have contributed had they returned, rather than just simply continuing as if they had never left.

Missing Pieces in a Mosaic?

This has often been a backward research. The first time I came across Renata Calabresi, to whom the last chapter is dedicated, I was thumbing through the archival papers in the Public Library of New York of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. In her folder, someone interviewed her, examined her curriculum.[3] In early 1939 she had just arrived, alone and at the age of 40, in New York, where her brother was with his wife and small children, and the American miss who asked her questions judged her. Even to help her, Miss Drury had to form an opinion about her without ever having seen her, and knowing nothing if not the academic information written on the application form. Just like me, 70 years later. She was elegant—this can be seen in certain photographs—Italian and Jewish, with excellent references. I was struck by the fact that she had studied psychology in Florence, one of the few at the time, in the university where there are now many women studying the subject and to whom I teach cultural and social history. She must certainly have been De Sarlo's pupil, the same De Sarlo whose intellectual biography I had worked on at the suggestion of Prof. Eugenio Garin, who had known him and considered him to be a first-class intellectual unjustly forgotten. A great part of the books of De Sarlo's library are now in the *Biblioteca Umanistica*.[4] Some of the instruments from his famous laboratory are conserved in the antique showcases in the former Department of Psychology; years ago we exhibited them at the *Istituto e Museo di Storia della scienza*, now *Museo Galileo*, in Florence. Some of them had been constructed by Bonaventura, who emigrated to Jerusalem, and Renata had also used them for her research.[5] In all probability Garin had met her in their same small faculty, of which he left various accounts. But I think I never heard him mention her (one of the first women in an academic career at my alma mater), and Tessa Marzi does not recall her grandfather Alberto Marzi, a professor of psychology in Florence for decades just as she is now, ever mentioning her, although he definitely knew her. Yet she had not disappeared into the air, she had been working and publishing, and until 1985 had lived in New York and another ten years in New Haven, and often visited Italy and Florence.

This cancellation regards not only Renata. We can come across many names of emigrant scholars about whom we do not always know whether or not they were Jewish. We find them in the long lists of displaced scholars. Sometimes we only know that they had been expelled, and not even whether they left Italy or gave up, whether they returned or not, and who replaced them. At the outset of my research I thought it would have been a question of reconnecting broken threads, of recovering the missing pieces of a puzzle that was, as a whole, sufficiently familiar to me—culture in Florence in the early 1900s, psychology and psychiatry, and relations with the United States. Some years after I had graduated in Florence, I was

at Harvard with a Fulbright Fellowship to do research on William James, who had been so admired by Italian psychologists and by the Florence Pragmatist Club. Now in New York, New Haven, Chicago, scattered in the Americas, or Jerusalem, I found Italian psychologists and medical scholars who had emigrated in 1939 in search of freedom and work and to make a career for themselves. I plunged into the papers hunting for more clues, more archives, and new discoveries. I had some strokes of good luck—nearly always decisive for historical research—in finding unpublished documents, both institutional and private.

Yet some pieces of the mosaic that I was painstakingly reconstructing, instead of filling the gaps and gradually completing it, actually disrupted it. New pieces did not match those already in place, and created other blank spaces; pieces already long in place overlapped, and perhaps they produced another picture altogether or more than one. It was thus not a question of simply adding missing pieces to an existing mosaic. The most significant elements that I have been gradually able to recover alter the scenario and lead me to doubt what is taken for granted.

This is why the narrative in this volume does not follow an easier chronological order, and why I have not kept to a uniform temporal rhythm. I have placed greater emphasis on some years rather than on others, and from several different angles that are usually studied and represented as separate, the history of ideas and history of institutions, historical biography and history of mentalities, political history and history of sciences. If readers may find themselves sometimes a little disoriented, I apologize, but I decided to run the risk, backed by the lesson of great historians who have shown how a backward narrative gives us a better understanding of the relevance of problematic issues, also as regards science.[6] I became convinced that disorientation here is somehow important and that going through it is more useful than ignoring or concealing it under a reassuringly linear reconstruction of often dramatic events.

Here we are in fact talking about people, ideas, and vicissitudes against the backdrop of Fascism and that were crossed by the regime. To understand them, asking ourselves how they could have arrived at that point, we need to look back at the first 20 years of the century, and to return to the second 20 armed with not enough answers but with even more questions, and with new information to confront. This allows us not only to correct some reconstructions that are generally taken for granted, but also to understand how and why such reconstructions altered the facts, and to what extent they succeeded in doing so.

Neglected sources, some lost, others preemptively censured in the Fascist era and deliberately made unavailable, produce unimaginable surprises. But how, we wonder, could they ever write their claims as truth? That De Sarlo had voluntarily abandoned psychology to which he had dedicated 20 years of his life from one day to the next. That Bonaventura had directed the laboratory at the university until 1940, a good 2 years after the racial laws had already expelled all Jews. Cesare Musatti retrospectively proclaimed himself a victim of these laws and yet was hired by a public *liceo* from which and precisely when all Jews had already been driven out. Renata Calabresi was officially declared missing in 1956, presumed emigrated to who knows what part of the Americas. How can we ever have believed these and other untenable stories for so long?

The fascistization of culture also consists in precisely this: a stealthy and distorted appropriation of the immediate past on which Fascism had imposed itself, by discrediting, suffocating, or simply cancelling whatever was unwelcome. It engulfed the present that was used as if it were its own invention and shaped it to its own ends. It made triumphal propaganda out of the present and devalued the recent past. This tacit preservation of a distorted heritage that has been minimized without confronting and without freeing itself of it has had damaging and long-lasting consequences, in some environments more than in others.

The regime had concocted its own version of pre-Fascism from which we need to disengage. This is why, although wanting to focus on the 20 years of Fascism, I have tried to stimulate a comparison with the before and after, putting in discussion some usual images. In Italian culture the continuity has been especially strong because of the role played by an all-Italian cultural movement that from the start of the century devalued the scientific and anticonservative culture prevalent in the liberal era. Neo-idealism imposed itself afterward, and this is what I have tried to show, thanks to Giovanni Gentile's personal fortune as a central figure in Fascist culture, and Benedetto Croce's as a central figure of anti-Fascism. Paradoxically if they had both been Fascists, neo-idealism would have not lasted so long. After the Liberation perhaps the continuity would not have passed so easily. Perhaps, the virtual cancellation of what idealism had attacked so violently would have not succeeded.

"The conditions of psychology are very worrying indeed [...] which, it's fair to say, was a victim of the idealistic-Fascist union of to which we are now reacting."[7] This is what Alberto Marzi, a temporary lecturer at the University of Florence, wrote in May 1945 to Prof. Mario Ponzo. Yet not long before Italian psychologists, not least the two just cited, had publically proclaimed that Fascism favored their discipline. But then the war, the German occupation, and Fascism were over; Milan had been liberated on April 25th, and on April 29th the armistice was signed at the Allied Headquarters in Caserta. The universities reopened their doors, and things had to get going again. The only chair for psychology in all of Italy's public universities was held by Ponzo in Rome and so the young and not so young looked to him as to "the only beacon left for psychology after the storms, shipwrecks...and torpedos." Marzi was referring to the purging of the state administration and public bodies, to the *Dispositions against Fascism* decreed in July 1944 by the Bonomi government, which was made up of the parties in the *Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale* (CLN).[8] What else would happen to the supporters of this science, the most damaged by Fascism and idealism? A constant problem was "the lack of agreement among psychologists. If these were to unite in intent and direction, I believe that there would be everything to gain," insisted Marzi, who had to wait another ten years, until 1955, for the chair of psychology in Florence vacant from 1923 to be finally revived (and awarded to him).[9]

From these signs we can glimpse what I hope will be clear in the book: the carefully considered choice to examine psychology allows us to see the subtle and creeping fascistization in Italian culture, albeit less flagrant than in eugenics or in the anthropology of race. Its course traces a parabola that is not automatic, nor intrinsically determined by the regime. We now know that "German psychology

under the Third Reich rather than disappearing rapidly grew into a fully developed profession."[10] Something of the kind could have occurred to Italian psychology under Fascism, since dictatorial regimes are interested in conscience and behavior insofar as this helps them manipulate and dominate. But in Italy things took a different turn. Those Italian psychologists who acquired merit under the regime received very little in exchange for their young science. It was increasingly treated as a marginal discipline; and under Fascism, it was relegated to a corner by neo-idealism, which had been pressing for this since the turn of the century but had not yet succeeded.

This marginalization of the discipline and its perennial internal strife were then joined by the losses due to political and racial persecution. Were some fields hit more than others? Were anti-Fascist scholars concentrated in particular disciplines? And were some disciplines more at risk than others that were left untouched, if ever possible, or even favored by their direct involvement with the regime? In Germany, humanists and jurists appear to have been the least represented among Nazi academics, as if the link of these disciplines to politics gave an awareness of how to withstand dictatorship that the naturalistic disciplines did not seem to have. Perhaps this was also because of their naive or arrogant presumption of the purity of science and its superiority over mundane matters.[11] There is no shortage of examples for Italy that fit these hypotheses, and a systematic analysis would certainly produce interesting results. Psychology also in this sense constitutes an intriguing case, insofar as some consider it a human science whilst others want it to be a natural science.

As regards being Jewish, it is commonly believed that most of them were supporters not of psychology but of psychoanalysis and that they were very few. But beyond the numbers, what counts is that ideas were outlawed because they were "Jewish," no matter if Sigmund Freud's ideas or Albert Einstein's, and it was near Florence on August 2, 1944, that the SS shot his cousin Robert's wife and daughters only because of his Jewish name (the three women were in fact Protestant).[12] Unlike what has been said, racial persecution also hit Italian psychology hard. Let us see it for what it was, not a closed academic circle where only one full professor still remained, but a heterogeneous environment of scholars and practitioners from a range of different backgrounds, including psychoanalysis which circulated much more than what is normally thought. The various references to psychoanalysis in this book are designed to highlight its spread in the culture of Italian psychologists, pedagogists, and doctors that successive crossfire has made us believe did not exist and has attributed exclusively to literati and artists.

In attempting to contextualize the emblematical case of Italian psychology under Fascism, chapter 1 tries to define its identity among the other sciences, which was notoriously the most uncertain and the most debated from its origins anywhere. Each national context, however, has its own specificity. What image of itself did Italian psychology have in comparison to the more affirmed German psychology? How did it present itself in international congresses of the discipline, the fifth of which was held in Rome in 1905? Where was psychology studied in Italy and from when? How did one become a psychologist without a

specific degree and regulations that entitled him or her as a professional in the field? How did one become a professor of psychology? The public university system in Italy has peculiar features that put to the test even whoever tries to explain and translate them. Yet it is only by examining its complicated mechanisms of recruitment that we can understand how concretely the discipline was contrasted; how a few professors were favored or opposed and many young scholars were kept in a sort of limbo, in eternally temporary positions to the detriment of individual merit and thus of research and teaching. What happens if the public university and school system are run by ministers of education who are precisely those philosophers most declaredly opposed to that discipline? And what happens if they exercise their institutional role in a liberal state or in a dictatorship instead?

Among the specific features of Italian psychology there was the trouble in the shape of an aggressive external opponent. Chapter 2 deals with Italian neoidealism, and its devaluation of the human sciences in particular, starting with psychology, and how Croce and Gentile concretely weakened it. It focuses on the fact that idealism was not hegemonic at the turn of the century, when it first emerged and psychology obtained its first university chairs. The hegemony of the neo-idealist philosophers occurs much later, and not for cultural supremacy but because the battle of ideas was overwhelmed by political power. How do positions relocate themselves within a scientific community under attack? Some dissent and resist, some try to negotiate, some compromise for personal gain, while others do so in the name of the discipline, sincerely or by instrumentalizing it.

Chapter 3 narrates the process of fascistization in the university, in the disciplinary community and how the abuses were carried out, but also how they were covered up and cancelled. There are the victims, but there are also those who stood by and not being personally under attack preferred to think that it did not concern them and those who opposed. Francesco De Sarlo and Gaetano Salvemini were both "*incompatibili*" with the regime and declared as such by a *fascistissima* law. The fact that their stories have never been related despite having existed alongside each other for years, in the same lecture rooms with the same students in the same small faculty, depends not so much on the marked differences between them as on the different behavior of those around them, and on to make history in watertight compartments. Precisely when he was the well-known president of the *Società italiana di psicologia* De Sarlo was isolated first of all by his colleagues. Despite his many difficulties Salvemini had a network of solidarity, that of the anti-Fascists in Italy and abroad, albeit quarrelsome. His reputation still stands today, whereas De Sarlo's name has nearly disappeared in Italy for reasons that have little to do with their respective scholarly contributions. The perception of what was lost simply vanished in the continuing minimalization of the consequences of Fascism and with its prolonged duration. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the losses.

According to Mussolini and Hitler, the university and science could do perfectly well, if not better, without the expelled Jewish scholars. They were of negligible importance, and with time this is what they really became. The emigration

of intellectuals from Italy has received little scholarly attention in comparison not only with the emigration of German intellectuals but also with the mass emigration of the poor. We know very little about those scholars who went to live and work abroad, what they did and how they managed. It is not only a question of a delay in historical research. Despite the various measures in the postwar period to reintegrate them in the public service, including universities, it was often reported only that the expelled had left and that there was no news of them. No idea of looking for them. The most neglected have been those who did not yet have a tenured position in 1938 and thus in the postwar period could not be reintegrated (something that was not even simple for who had been tenured and then replaced), and who for age and experience could have still had much to give to science and culture in Italy. The case of the Nobel Prize–winner Rita Levi Montalcini is striking. She emigrated to Belgium after the racial laws, returned to Italy, and from 1943 remained in hiding in Florence; after the war it was an American university that invited her to pursue the crucial research she had begun in 1939 in a makeshift laboratory at home. She has remained in the United States for 26 years.

Within this "absolutely irrelevant" science, as psychology was considered in Italy, I have chosen to reconstruct the stories of two emigrants who were not full professors. Enzo Bonaventura carried out all the functions of a chaired professor, directing the institute and laboratory of experimental psychology in Florence, but formally he was only a *libero docente* and an annual lecturer for 15 years (until he was expelled). Renata Calabresi was academically even more vulnerable as a *libera docente* and unpaid assistant, and as a woman she came up against even greater obstacles in her career in Italy and abroad.

These two cases are emblematic. Also due to their different destinations—Jerusalem and New York—and for the different ideals and practical reasons that influenced their respective choices. One emigrated in the desperate hope of finding a job for living; preferably where each had some acquaintance on whom to lean. Both of them had international contacts at the scientific level, and like thousands of European scholars both applied to organizations in London and New York that helped displaced scholars. Particularly Renata, who was one of the very few Italians to obtain a grant through the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. Bonaventura could count on the Zionist network, given his active role in a cosmopolitan group of the Florentine Jewish community; Renata Calabresi, like her brother Massimo, could count above all on the anti-Fascist network of their family, their professors, and their friends already in America or those about to move there.

It was not easy for any of them, that it was one of the excuses of who had been on the other side, yet both did a great deal—Bonaventura in developmental psychology and Calabresi in clinical psychology. Their reactions to the theoretical prospect of returning to work in Italy were different and emblematic, whereas the reactions of the academic environment were more or less the same. People and institutions that should have recalled them on the basis of legal provisions, and if not simply for justice certainly to the benefit of research and teaching, were all defensive and discouraging.

As Seen from a Female Students

In order to understand the events experienced by others I have often let myself be guided by Renata, who chose Florence and psychology in 1920s. The industrialist Ettore Calabresi and his wife Olga Minerbi set great store by the education of their three children. They were intelligent, used to traveling, and spoke reasonable English, good French, and excellent German from an early age. All three had attended the excellent classical liceo in Ferrara, established in 1860 and where the two girls were something of a rarity; in 40 years only five girls had obtained the school-leaving certificate.[13] The first to leave home in autumn 1917 was Renata, born in November 1899. With her strong and independent character, as soon as she turned 18 she applied to the University of Bologna, the oldest athenaeum in the Western world, established in around 1088. Then it was the turn of her younger sister Cecilia, born in February 1902, to apply to the University of Florence in October 1919. Massimo, the youngest, was a year ahead and impatient to reach them. In autumn 1920 at the age of 17 he began his medical studies.[14]

But where? In Bologna, in Florence, or somewhere else? They had to decide: in the country of "a hundred cities," there were many good universities. Their parents wanted the best for them and could afford it, "enjoying ample financial means and connections," as the prefect of Ferrara confirmed in a confidential report to the Ministry of the Interior's Department of Public Safety on "Calabresi, Ettore son of Amadio [...] well known as a leading exponent of freemasonry [...] and as an indomitable, active but even little prudent opponent of Fascism."[15] The family were also well known for their philanthropy and patriotism; in 1915 together with the Finzi and Contini families and other Ferrara Jews they had set up the *Nido Cavour* for the children of soldiers, all of them Catholic.[16]

Ferrara also had its own university, of course, and boasted a tradition of excellent teachers and pupils from the fifteenth century, such as the Polish Copernicus and the Swiss Paracelsus. But by now the Calabresis had made a more emancipated choice than other parents in their circle, when they sent their eldest daughter to study at a more important athenaeum. Their friends, the Ascolis, for example, had kept their only son Max, a year older than Renata, in Ferrara to study law. After graduating in 1920 he too left for Rome to study philosophy, and often stopped over in Florence to see his childhood friends. At the time none of them imagined that they would meet again in America: in 1931 Max Ascoli went to the United States with a Rockefeller fellowship, in 1939 Massimo Calabresi arrived at the Yale Medical School, and Renata Calabresi was at the New School of Social Research in New York.

But let us go back to when they were students, uncertain and hopeful for their own future. Renata had actually wanted to study medicine like her brother, but this was considered an unsuitable choice for a woman.[17] Therefore in her first year of *Lettere* at the University of Bologna she obtained a certificate of attendance in eleven philosophical-literary subjects and passed three exams. Not many, as everything had slowed down with the war, and not really the typical subjects for

that faculty: human physiology, zoology, and psychology. In the second year she was a little adapted and passed three exams in philosophy, one in Italian literature and one in Latin, but literature was more suited to her very studious sister as we can see from Cecilia's university passbook.[18] Renata had been impressed by Giulio Cesare Ferrari's lessons in experimental psychology. He was a psychiatrist who taught at *Lettere e Filosofia*, the translator of William James and director of the *Rivista di psicologia*. She came to know that in Florence there was not just one course held by a temporary lecturer as in Bologna, but a real institute of psychology, with its own renowned laboratory. This was run by the famous Prof. Francesco De Sarlo, who had a chair and dedicated much time and energy to his students, setting the best on the road to a career in psychology. He opened the doors to women too. This was something that Renata would definitely tell her father and he certainly inquired too.

The Calabresis could seek advice from Prof. Ludovico Limentani, their former outstanding teacher of philosophy at the Ferrara liceo, who now taught at the University in Sicily but planned to move to the faculty in Florence, which he did in 1921.[19] They could also talk to Limentani's friend, the legal philosopher Prof. Alessandro Levi who taught in Ferrara until 1920 (Max Ascoli graduated with him), and lived in Florence with his wife Sarina, the granddaughter of Rome's famous mayor, the Anglo-Italian freemason Ernesto Nathan.[20] Levi was a Socialist municipal councilor in Venice from 1914 to 1920 and had close ties with the Socialist Party deputy Elia Musatti, whose son Cesare was also studying psychology at the University of Padua. In Florence Levi mixed with promising young scholars with the right ideas; his cousins Carlo and Nello Rosselli were the same age as the Calabresi children. If they moved to Florence to study he would have introduced them.

The professors had experience teaching in many universities and could confirm that in Florence the *Istituto di Studi Superiori Pratici e di Perfezionamento* (ISS) set up in 1859 was an excellent, modern institution, which enjoyed greater autonomy than other public universities at the time. It was the pride of the city and characterized by the strong link between scientific research and innovative teaching not limited to theoretical lectures. Right from the start students received a very thorough training. It was vital for them to have firsthand practical experience in archives and libraries so much as in laboratories and clinics, irrespective of whether they were in philosophy or medicine.[21]

The Institute of Psychology was in the city center, in the Faculty of Philosophy, which was "the most formidable complex of humanities which Italy could boast," thanks to the presence of men of letters such as Attilio Momigliano; the historian and future Harvard professor Gaetano Salvemini; and Francesco De Sarlo, professor of theoretical philosophy and experimental psychology.[22] The latter was held up to students as a

> model of sobriety and methodical rigour [...] a true scholar, to whom others cannot compare [...], for his capacity as an organizer and harmonious coordinator of manifold energies, for his sense of steadfast collaboration between teacher and disciples [...who are] the most successfully talented young people.[23]

Limentani in particular had an infinite admiration for his colleague De Sarlo and believed in the importance of the new discipline of which he himself was a recognized follower,[24] and a member of the *Società Italiana di Psicologia* (SIP). In 1920 the president was De Sarlo himself. It was he, trained in medicine and specialized in psychiatry, who set up the first academic laboratory of psychology in Italy with the approval of the entire faculty in 1903/1904, even before the ministry announced the creation of the first three chairs in Rome, Turin, and Naples in 1905.

What else did Renata and her parents need to know to remove any remaining doubts about studying in Florence? The city was certainly beautiful and stimulating, with a marked presence of well-to-do foreigners, a very cultured Jewish community, and a mayor from Piedmont, who was also a university professor of physics.[25] After the victory of the Socialist Party in the 1919 political elections, Italy seemed to be on the brink of civil war, but in Tuscany tensions were lower than in Emilia, which was "the real cradle of Fascism," in the words of director general of police from Rome.[26] Between November and December 1920 the Fascists' crusade against the socialists led to serious incidents, with deaths and over 50 wounded on the streets in Bologna, then in Ferrara, which became a center for blackshirts.

Ettore and Olga Calabresi were relieved knowing that Renata had moved. On December 1, 1919, she had applied to the chancellor of Bologna for "permission" to transfer to the third year of philosophy at the *Istituto di Studi Superiori* in Florence (exactly where De Sarlo taught), on the grounds of her family's move there. In fact her parents stayed put for a little longer. Perhaps it was after the violent clash in Ferrara and the disturbing increase in the number of people enrolled in the *Fasci* that they finally decided a set up house in Florence where their children were already settled.

Even if they studied in two different but neighboring faculties, they were near to one another, frequented the same circles, and got to know some exceptional figures. Massimo began to frequent some of his sisters' professors, in particular Gaetano Salvemini, whose impressive history classes he attended along with the young jurist Piero Calamandrei and students from other faculties. Above all they met people outside the classroom at the *Circolo di Cultura* and not only there. In turn Renata and Cecilia got to know the head surgeon of the city's hospital, Gaetano Pieraccini, future mayor of Florence after the Liberation. They often met Alessandro Levi and his wife, and even more Levi's young cousins Carlo and Nello Rosselli. The Rosselli household in via Giusti was a railway station. Renata struck up a friendship with Nello's wife Maria, which was to last three-quarters of a century.[27]

University years develop ties that may last a lifetime and offer encounters and experienced events that often changed lives. For this reason too the choice of city is important. For the Calabresi children their time and experiences in Florence were decisive. Cecilia took one exam after another and developed a passion for literature. Massimo was happy in his studies in medicine and discovered politics, and the meaning of ideas that had permeated his upbringing. Renata spent much of her time in the laboratory preparing an experimental thesis.

She defended it in June 1923 before an examining board with Professors De Sarlo, Limentani, Bonaventura, and eight others, and received top marks and the offer of publication—a great satisfaction for a young woman at the time. Immediately afterward she enrolled for the *Perfezionamento* in psychology.[28]

In December the same year the famous Professor De Sarlo suddenly stopped teaching the new scientific discipline, which was out of favor with the recent ministers of education, Benedetto Croce under Giolitti, and Giovanni Gentile under Mussolini. It is generally said that the professor left his post in 1923 to his assistant Enzo Bonaventura, who in turn left it in 1938 in the hands of his own assistant.

What really happened to Professor De Sarlo in the ISS that in December 1924 became a university like nearly all the others in Italy? What happened to his colleagues Limentani and Levi, and to students and assistants? And in particular what happened to Renata Calabresi who left for America, and to Enzo Bonaventura who emigrated to Palestine? This book will attempt to tell their stories based on intense and protracted research in cities and countries once distant.

I would have liked to give a narrative of other psychologists and scholars for which I had collected material. To each his or her own story, between discoveries and gaps that one always hopes to fill. A found correspondence, unseen documents could even change what has been painstakingly reconstructed through clues and evidence. But this book would never be finished. It therefore contains promises, wants, and many obligations. In some way it wants to convey the feeling that there are still many people, ideas, and stories still waiting to be investigated and that deserve our attention.

1

Psychologists "in the True Sense of the Word"

Education, Professionalization, Reputation

What did a scholar living in Italy in the early twentieth century need in order to be and to be considered a psychologist? The question is a first step toward identifying and quantifying this professional category, albeit rather approximately. It is a complex question, and we can try to give a partial response in specific contexts: scientific, academic, institutional, and professional community. These different contexts all help to construct an identity for psychology, and interact with one another and with other country-specific factors. They do not coincide or develop in parallel, and they sometimes contradict each other or conflict. Let us begin from where, how, and who studied psychology in Italy.

In Italy elements of psychology were also taught in the *scuole normali* (teacher training schools). At *liceo* (high school) pupils also acquired some knowledge of psychology as part of their education in science and philosophy. The first included elements of psychophysiology, from sensations to reflex actions, and the localization of cerebral functions. Other topics dealt with were "illusions and hallucinations. Sleep, dreams, lethargy, somnambulism and hypnotism." As regards philosophy, in three years teachers had to cover not only logic and ethics, but also "descriptive psychology, consisting of the specification, classification and analysis of basic psychical facts and the explanation of their empirical laws. The professor will focus principally on the facts referring to knowledge" in relation to logic, while psychical data "of practical activity (feelings, inclinations, instincts, passions, will)" were taught alongside ethics. This was the situation from 1889 until 1923, when the educational reform literally abolished psychology and transformed philosophy into the history of philosophy.[1]

Naturally much depended on how and how much *liceo* teachers were trained, whether or not they still held the old ideas of speculative psychology and had not realized that psychology should be an autonomous scientific discipline. As a pupil in Florence the young Eugenio Garin, future professor of philosophy at the university where he replaced Ludovico Limentani in 1938, was unlucky; at the classical *liceo* Galileo Galilei in Florence he had a white-bearded teacher

who burdened his pupils with revelations such as "that sensation was something rather mysterious that linked the mystery of the subject with that of the external world."[2] The fault was not that of psychology, but of the way the elderly schoolteacher discouraged pupils with his "dictations," irrespective of what he taught.

Things were different when it came to universities where there was specific tuition in psychology. In some degree courses it was obligatory, for example, for the two-year course in philosophy in Florence as of 1903/1904. Not only did philosophy graduates have some knowledge of the discipline, but also those studying medicine or those in other faculties where psychological sciences were taught under various labels.

And just how many students graduated with a thesis on a psychological subject? The lists of graduates in the university yearbooks (*Annuari*) only provide data by faculty. After the Great War, in 1919/1920 when the Calabresi sisters enrolled in university, there were 161 including 58 women registered in the Faculty of Philosophy and Philology in Florence; 24 graduated, of whom 9 were women. The next year 203 enrolled (more in the physical and natural sciences, as well as in medicine and surgery), and of these 43 graduated. In 1921/1922 there were 171 enrolled and 44 graduates (their gender was not specified). It was only starting from 1924/1925 when philosophy and philology became *Lettere e Filosofia* that we can distinguish: of the graduates in *Lettere* there were 14 women and 23 men; of the graduates in philosophy there were 2 women and 2 men; and those enrolled in Philosophy were altogether 18 in comparison to 168 in *Lettere*. Two years later in the *Annuario*, which began to record the number of foreigners in the different faculties, we find 46 graduates in *Lettere* and 7 in philosophy; and this increase continued in the following years.[3] There was no degree in psychology per se, and in the faculties we should identify which theses dealt with a psychological argument (not exclusively in philosophy) and did not necessarily coincide with the theses supervised by professors of psychology *stricto sensu*.

It is not easy to find the necessary data, even where the presence of influential scholars of psychology suggests a greater visibility of the discipline in the theses themselves. In the Faculty of Philosophy at Harvard where William James had been appointed as professor of philosophy in 1885, from 1878 to 1915 psychology had 47 philosophy doctorates while the other three philosophical sectors together had 76. Yet the historian who had carefully drafted this list admitted that the attribution of the "label to psychology doctorates reflects my sense of psychology's place in philosophical studies" for the period.[4] In both the Italian and American cases the numbers are misleading since they are based on uncertain theories and data a posteriori.

Right from the outset the new science attracted a significant number of women. The very few women graduates in medicine stood out in a male world, but the larger number of women studying scientific psychology in the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia*, where teaching and research in psychology were concentrated, were simply lumped together with other graduates in the same faculty and all passed for "literate." If we take the academic year 1926/1927, for example, when Massimo Calabresi graduated in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Florence, there were only 2 women graduates out of a total of 35. In the Faculty of *Lettere e*

Filosofia the numbers rose sharply to 32 out of 46, or 33 out of 53 if summed with the graduates in philosophy, mostly male (i.e., that year 6 out of 7).[5]

Apart from a few well-known cases, women psychology students simply disappear into the larger number of women taking literary studies, and are not counted as part of the minority studying sciences. This lack of clarity corresponds to a series of prejudices, and perpetuates them unintentionally, as regards women and science and psychology considered as not sufficiently scientific. At Harvard, the ban on women meant that even following regular graduate courses a woman could only obtain a doctorate from Radcliffe. In the period 1913–1930 only five obtained a doctorate in psychology while in the earlier period it is impossible for us to distinguish among the nine graduates in philosophy.[6] Mary Calkins was elected president of the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1905 without officially holding a degree, despite having been Hugo Münsterberg's best pupil.

In any case, a university degree was neither sufficient nor strictly necessary for American and Italian men and women wanting to call themselves psychologists. In the professional sphere the vagueness of professional identity reemerged and broadened. Not only private but also public bodies in Italy decided at will whom to employ as a psychologist, depending on their ideas of psychology. This idea did not necessarily correspond to the candidates' curriculum of studies or with the discipline taught by the university professors of psychology. In 1908 the Municipality of Milan requested an ad hoc committee, none of whose members had any specific competence in psychology, to select a psychologist, preferably a physiologist. Prof. De Sarlo lodged a complaint, and he was not the only one to do so.[7] The committee should have stuck to relevant qualifications, seeing that the subject was officially taught in some Italian public universities, but not even postgraduate studies in psychology were taken into account.

In other words, psychologists existed in Italy but for decades the criteria that defined them professionally were not formalized. Only in 1989 did law 56/1989, which is still in force, first define the profession of psychologist (Art. 1), and the requirements to practice it with a specific university degree, a final state examination, and enrolling on a professional register (Art. 2).[8] In Germany the Diploma Examination Regulations for professionalization had been introduced under Nazism in 1941, over 50 years earlier than in Italy, and this makes a vital difference. Before then German psychologists had a similar problem of professional identification.

In a new specialization where the professional criteria are not yet formalized it is often having experience in the field that defines and builds the practitioner. Graduates in medicine who worked in public mental hospitals throughout Italy became psychiatrists, and physicians treating children in Italian foundlings hospitals were pediatricians before the university teaching of pediatrics existed, first in Florence and Padua from 1882. There was a need for psychology in prisons, schools, mental hospitals, courts, army barracks, and many other places, observed Francesco De Sarlo in his opening address at the new Florentine Institute of Psychology in January 1904.[9] During the war, other contexts of action emerged and stimulated academic psychology to develop in new directions. Therefore there was no specific institution or ambient that made a scholar a psychologist,

but several environments where there was contact with renowned professionals and experts in already consolidated disciplines who considered themselves psychologists or, on the contrary, who frowned on whoever introduced a psychological perspective in a field that they considered their exclusive domain.

Experience alone is not enough, but has to be combined with research and a new paradigm. For example, the failure of physicians to treat children persisted until it was finally "discovered" that children were not miniature adults and required their own specific treatment. The first psychology professors demanded specific scientific training in a discipline that was no longer part of philosophy, anthropology, psychiatry, or physiology, but an equal to these and with its own epistemology, methods, and research programs. But here the problems reemerge. As an autonomous science psychology offered a very different picture of itself. If it had indeed come of age, even the academic system had a hard time identifying it, on both the scientific-disciplinary level and the bureaucratic-administrative level. The recruitment procedures should have presumed a shared evaluation of the necessary skills. It was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to claim that the followers of psychology shared a scientific paradigm, the same opinion on the epistemological status of their discipline in comparison to those cited earlier, and from which each of them was derived, since specific university training in psychology either did not exist or was a rarity.

The situation was more or less the same everywhere. Even in Germany, where there were fewer professorships specifically for psychology than in Italy and where they appeared later, contrary to what we would expect in a country that has been considered the most preeminent in scientific psychology.[10] As in Italy, the German university system was state run. Scientific research depended mainly on public financing, yet many different approaches coexisted in the discipline to the point that in the 1920s Karl Bühler described it as a fruitful "tower of Babel." Even here, interpretations differed. In 1911 in Paris the Russian psychologist Nicolai Kostylev declared that this variety was an indicator of the failure of experimental psychology. By contrast, in 1926 Bühler described it as a typical phase of growth, and an indication of theoretical richness.[11] Since its promising debut everyone, including De Sarlo in 1914, was talking about the crisis in psychology, stressing its great potential, or accepting its theoretical uncertainty in order to focus on its applications, as many American psychologists preferred to do.

A legal definition of the profession was lacking, the institutionalization of psychology as an autonomous discipline in the universities was partial and weak, and the theoretical statute was controversial. Nevertheless—Geuter's observation for Germany can be generalized—"there was a feeling of belonging to a group of researching psychologists" who met in associations, who attended conferences, who took part in debate and published in scientific journals. This was a much broader network than the academic one and allows us to identify who considered themselves—and were considered as—scholars of psychology; for example, members of societies or congresses.

Moreover, it was precisely the absence or vagueness of normative and institutional criteria that made it so important to belong to such a network. To obtain professional or academic recognition what counted above all was reputation, the

legitimation that a person obtains from a group of peers. This is despite the fact that beyond a shared attachment to the discipline there were clear differences of gender and generation, academic status and job security, relations and merit among these peers.

How did someone become a member of the discipline's national societies? The statute of the Society for Experimental Psychology set up in Germany in 1904 stated that membership was open to "whoever has published a work of scientific value in the field of psychology or bordering areas." This meant that the qualification of "experimental" was not a constraint even before the Society changed its name to the German Society for Psychology in 1929.[12] For the *Società Italiana di Psicologia* (SIP) created in 1910 there were no precise requirements. To become a member it was evidently deliberated in a discretional way. The Council was supposed to be "nominated annually in the general meeting with all members present, whatever their number" (Art. 8). In practice this was not the case because the first reelection did not take place during the Second Congress in 1913; the Third should have followed three years later but was postponed until 1922; the Fourth was held in 1923; and the Fifth was suspended. In 1927 the Council was abolished and only the appointments of president and secretary with uncertain tenure remained.[13]

The positions and organization of the SIP seemed to be in the hands of a very few chairs. For half a century the presidency was monopolized by just five men for different periods: Sante De Sanctis for a year (1910–1911), Cesare Colucci for nine (1911–1920), Francesco De Sarlo for three (1920–1923), Friederich Kiesow for four (1923–1927), De Sanctis again for seven (1927–1934), and Colucci for nine (1934–1943). This was only beaten by Mario Ponzo, a second-generation chair, who was president for 16 years from 1943 until 1959.[14] Each of them presumably decided on the admission of new members, but unfortunately we have no membership lists. In 1927 the names of those who had paid their annual subscription were published: with a total of only 44, less than the 53 founding members in 1909.[15] The numbers do not reflect the actual composition of Italian psychology, which was then already seriously weakened. What they do indicate is the scarce organizational capacity and the unrepresentative nature of the SIP that had been presided over for four years by Professor Kiesow, the psychophysiological experimentalist par excellence. He had held the position since 1923, the year of Gentile's educational reform, and coming after De Sarlo, who in 1913 had founded another national body, the *Associazione di studi psicologici* (ASP), in Florence, which carried a certain weight. It published its *Bollettino* and had a larger number of members than the SIP, at least at the outset. In 1914 there were around 80 members, who "cultivate[d] psychological studies." Without other precise qualifications, admission depended on the executive committee of which at least a part was made up of young scholars.[16] We lose trace of the ASP during the traumatic events that literally dismantled the Florentine group. In general it is not remembered much, but the SIP still exists today.

If psychology's associational network did not coincide with the rather limited circle of its academics, it was nevertheless directed by them. Something of the kind seems to have emerged in the specialist journals. The first and most long-lived in Italy was the *Rivista di psicologia*, set up in 1905 by the psychiatrist Giulio

Cesare Ferrari, its lifelong director, who opened it up to SIP members and various chair-holders (he was not one), according to the alliances of the time. The title page bore the name of the Institute of Experimental Psychology in Rome from 1912, and from 1913 also the name of a parallel Institute in Turin, before once again becoming the organ of the SIP after a period of interruption. From 1922 it declared its collaboration with listed university professors of psychology. Among the other Italian journals that dealt partly or exclusively with psychology we should mention the brief Florentine experience, the highly innovative but less academic *Psiche. Rivista di studi psicologici* set up in 1912. But with the *Archivio italiano di psicologia* from 1920 published by Kiesow's institute in Turin, academic identity prevailed or at least obtained more recognition.[17]

Academic Narcissism

The history of Italian psychology appears to be imprisoned within the walls of academia: we repeatedly run into the same individuals, with no increase in the already low number of full professorships in the first half of the twentieth century, which actually dropped. The effect is claustrophobic. As regards German psychology, Ulfried Geuter very effectively applies the criterion of professionalization, which was established in 1941; but the same criterion is not applicable in Italy until the 1989 Law. Historians are faced with a low level of recognizable identity among psychologists; without precise qualitative and quantitative criteria of definition they stick to academic qualifications, the only ones available, but certainly not the most substantial criterion. Outside academia psychology took other directions, which merit closer scrutiny and make it possible, at the same time, to review the overall picture. Recent studies show that Italian psychotechnics was not a fascist invention, and that industrial and organizational psychology was already "a liberal utopia," later incorporated and reformulated in the process of so-called modernization for which Fascism took the merit, not only in this field but also in other areas of the sciences and their applications.[18]

A sort of academic and hierarchical narcissism has operated both in the scenario then, and in its subsequent reconstruction. It has had the unintentional effect of underrating Italian psychology, its national specificity, and heterogeneity, because it adopts criteria that exclude rather than include, and that reduce and impoverish even its academic profile. They complain that in Italy the discipline had too few chairs to be sufficiently well-established in universities and the historical narrative has been limited to professors, indeed almost exclusively to chair-holding professors. Very little is known about the *libero docenti* in psychology, who after having acquired this title from a university, through a *concorso* (public examination), did not necessarily teach. We lack a precise understanding of what *incaricati* (temporary lecturers) did, for 30 years in the case of Giulio Cesare Ferrari, or for just a single academic year. The position was short term and renewable, could be awarded to a *libero docente*, to *comandati* (teachers temporarily on loan from high schools), or *aiuti* (adjunct professors or instructors or lecturers) and to university professors of other disciplines considered analogous. In Florence, psychology was

taught by the famous professor of anthropology Paolo Mantegazza, professors of philosophy Felice Tocco and Ludovico Limentani, by lecturers Enzo Bonaventura, Ettore Patini, Antonio Aliotta, and others among De Sarlo's many pupils, and by the full professor De Sarlo himself. In addition, there were the professors and lecturers of various subjects who included psychology as part of their own courses, such as Eugenio Tanzi for clinical psychiatry or Augusto Conti, a philosopher who upheld the idea of soul, or his antithetical colleague Giuseppe Tarozzi, who replaced him for a year before the arrival of De Sarlo.

All this should be reconstructed step by step, faculty by faculty, from the *Annuari*, from university minutes, and from other archival documents where these are available. In academic year 1901/1902, for example, a single printed source referring only to three precise faculties lists the following courses: experimental psychology in Pavia, Turin, and Naples; psychophysiology and psychology in Rome; physiological semiotics in Modena; psychopathology in Parma; social psychology in Catania; and anthropology and comparative psychology in Milan.[19] This is certainly a finding by default, yet it indicates the sheer range that disappears in the histories of Italian psychology, which are limited to the few with a chair in experimental psychology, leaving out even "psychologists with a chair" and all the others. Instead these last two categories are distinct but both were recorded in the list of 15 full professors who did research and taught psychology in Germany in 1933. If only the chairs of psychology are counted, then from that list we should cancel 13 or 14 professors whose chairs were mostly denominated philosophy or pedagogy. Even the great Kohler, Wertheimer, and Katz would be excluded from academic psychology, as indeed they were, but by Nazi persecution.[20]

In Italy it is always reported that there were three chairs of psychology in 1905, four in 1922, and only one in 1938. These were the chairs of "experimental psychology" according to a controversial ministerial denomination that lasted from 1905 until 1938 when the adjective was abolished. Sticking rigidly to experimental psychology as if this term corresponded exclusively to a sole psychology or, even worse, to the only "true" one, does not give us the real picture. Moreover, it reduces it in comparison to other countries for which different criteria are used, even as regards periodization. The start of psychology as a scientific discipline is conventionally dated as 1879 in Germany, the year when Wundt, professor of philosophy in Leipzig, set up his laboratory. Apart from the fact that this start was already contested in the late 1800s, if we adopt the same criterion the start in Italy should be 1889, that is, when the laboratories of experimental psychology were set up in Rome by Giuseppe Sergi, professor of anthropology, and in Palermo by Simone Corleo, professor of theoretical philosophy. Instead the start of the discipline is normally dated to the year of the national *concorso* for the three chairs in 1905: that is, almost 20 years before Germany created its first chair of psychology in 1923 in Jena, and the second one in 1938 in Halle.[21] In addition to the tighter timescale there is also a geographical concentration with chairs—except Naples—from Rome northward (Turin, Padua, and Milan, and even Florence). Psychology in the South ended up in the shade, and it is associated with the stereotype of the delayed South. On the contrary even in this field several pioneers came from the Italian *mezzogiorno*.

It is not a matter of who came first, but of understanding what occurred and how the promising beginnings of Italian psychology had disappointing outcomes. The strictly academic criterion of experimental psychology leads to errors of historiographical reconstruction, which are important to understand. Nevertheless, this chapter deals with the university aspects of the discipline and tries to examine the issue with critical awareness. There is always the risk of an uncritical subordination to the interpretations that have imposed themselves over time in a battle not just of ideas. This is confirmed by the significant exceptions.

Agostino Gemelli never had a chair of experimental psychology; in the private university that he founded and where he was provost he could of course give his chair the denomination he liked most, that is, "psychology." Yet he is recognized as one of the very few academics in the discipline (despite the peculiarity of his position and that of the *Università Cattolica* in a state system). In his case the terminological rigor of academic bureaucracy is left aside. Whereas in the case of De Sarlo it was applied, since he had a chair in "philosophy and experimental psychology" or only theoretical philosophy, he was not considered part of the very small category of "official chair-holders for psychology."[22] When he was excluded from university psychology it was certainly not because of a bureaucratic denomination. Yet this bureaucratic logic helped to conceal the real reasons and concrete facts that led to his removal from the academic scenario in which he had been an omnipresent protagonist for decades.

The historian's role is certainly not that of retrospectively attributing scientific legitimacy to one approach in psychology or psychoanalysis rather than another. To do so would be detrimental to understanding what actually took place. Right or wrong, the label ratified by the ministry did not help the image of Italian psychology abroad, even among the estimators of the *History of Experimental Psychology*. In this popular work, published in 1929 and revised and enlarged in 1957, Edwing Boring made no mention of Italy. He only cited Kiesow (who was in Turin) as one of the fifteen assistants of the mythical Leipzig professor, and Vittorio Benussi as an "outstanding figure [...] of the Austrian school [...who] went to Italy before [obviously] his death"; but he considered both of German affiliation.[23] The Trieste psychologist Benussi, who became professor in Padua in 1919, at the age of 41, instead felt Italian: he refused to declare "German sentiments" or to Germanize his name to Viktor as requested by the University of Graz, and his *italianità* cost him any chance of a career in Austria.[24]

In 1904–1905 (i.e., before the chairs were created) two articles in the *American Psychological Journal* had already explained that Italian psychology existed and had its own profile.[25] It did not coincide with Kiesow's psychophysiology (Benussi appeared much later), or with experimental psychology per se. In 1932 the *Psychological Register*, planned by the untiring Carl Murchison of Clark University, dedicated a section to Italians with their respective curricula, list of publications, and a great many misprints. The editor, Sante De Sanctis from Rome, had selected 32 names.[26] He did not say what criteria he used, and we cannot understand which: it was not academic qualifications, or SIP membership, or the frequency of publications in psychology journals. In applying any of these requirements we find that every possible list is either too long or too short in

comparison to De Santis's list. This included professors of other subjects, but not all those who were known to deal with psychology; there was Ludovico Limentani, but not Antonio Aliotta, for example, De Sarlo's pupil, who wrote the entry for "Experimental psychology" in the monumental *Enciclopedia Italiana*.[27] Cesare Lombroso was very popular in the Americas also as a psychologist, but there was no entry in his name. Perhaps dead psychologists were excluded? Yet we find Benussi, already dead for five years. There was Gina Lombroso Ferrero, living in Strada in Chianti, but not his sister Paola Lombroso Carrara, author of *Essays on Child Psychology* and of other psycho-pedagogical works and initiatives.[28]

In the *Register* De Sanctis was particularly stingy with women. Only three were listed: Cesare Lombroso's eldest daughter; the Roman pedagogist Emilia Santamaria Formiggini; and Silvia De Marchi, wife of the psychologist Cesare Musatti. It is striking that De Sanctis "forgot" the already famous Maria Montessori with her decisive contribution to psychology, with whom he worked closely, almost like Giuseppe Montesano the expert in "abnormal children," another figure unjustly excluded in the *Register*, alongside many unknowns. The list even omitted Renata Calabresi who was in Rome from 1930, where she became a *libera docente*, collaborated with the chair of experimental psychology, published, taught, and carried out research. She had all the requisites to present a good impression of Italian psychology, and indeed she was acclaimed in a review in the *American Journal of Psychology* (AJP). This was something quite rare, given that "most Americans do not read Italian," or other foreign languages, as Boring admitted wondering whether "American psychologists read their European colleagues."[29]

Of the 44 countries considered for the 1932 edition of the *Psychological Register* it seems that everyone had decided as they pleased. The British Psychological Society set up a committee to distinguish between its members who were "merely [...] interested in psychology" from competent psychologists who would be included. The Americans decided to not limit it to members of the APA and listed around 50 nonmembers to stress that in "the United States [...] there are many fringes to psychology."[30] Variety was not appreciated by the editor of the Italian section of the *Register*, the then president of the SIP and a professor of psychiatry. Looking at the names chosen by De Sanctis, the different levels and lengths of the biographies (the longest was for Gemelli, immediately followed by De Sanctis), we have the strong suspicion that his list was to a great extent shaped by particular personal evaluations, likes and especially dislikes, expedience and obligations to include some, but above all, to exclude others. If the list of Italian psychologists had been drafted by someone else the result would have been more than just a little different. Without formal criteria of qualifications and without a substantial shared identity, the evaluation depended less on the qualities of those evaluated than on their complicated relations with those doing the evaluating.

For decades the question of who psychologists were reappears in different guises depending on when the question was asked, who provided the answer, and the particular context dealt with. In order to be recognized as an academic psychologist even Sante de Sanctis had had to undergo a nationally regulated

selection procedure. Whoever wanted to become a *libero docente* to teach the subject had to apply to a faculty, which then set up an examining committee. But this was not enough. Both the candidate's documentation and the evaluation by the faculty committee were submitted to a ministerial body, the *Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione* (the High Council of Public Education, hereafter High Council), and then ratified by the minister. In 1899, at the age of 37, De Sanctis presented his application in psychology, withdrawing from one in experimental psychology because he had been advised against it. The Faculty of *Lettere* at the University of Rome, where he had good connections, named a committee and approved its positive evaluation. The Council and consequently the minister rejected it. Then in 1901, another minister, the "morally very debated" Nunzio Nasi, annulled the previous decision and accepted the candidate's application. Two years later, almost automatically, De Sanctis even won the chair of experimental psychology in Rome. What had happened? In the initial selection the High Council had asked whether "the candidate is a psychologist in the true sense of the word." The reply was no, his curriculum and qualifications showed that he was an expert in "pure psychiatry and nothing else."[31] A *libero docente* in psychology also needed philosophical-theoretical skills, which were required according to faculty regulations; an exclusively experimental approach was not sufficient. The High Council discussed the matter at length.

When the minister and neuropsychiatrist Leonardo Bianchi set up the first chairs five years later, the name given to them meant that from the academic year 1905–1906 a "psychologist in the true sense of the word" was officially an experimentalist, albeit without a laboratory because the chairs had none.

What followed was a great deal of debate, with various reconsiderations and much work to try and clarify things, both on the theoretical definition and as regards academic policy. What emerged were both contrasts within the heterogeneous community of psychologists and among the academics in particular, and an external attack by the opponents of psychology. The Italian psychologists had undervalued this for too long, taken up with vying with one another. Yet an external "enemy" had accompanied them from the outset, in an almost parallel development.

Experimental Psychology or Simply Psychology?

After 20 years it was time to take stock of the situation. In the period 1920–1924 the official organ of the SIP, the *Rivista di psicologia*, published a series of articles on Italian psychology. It is worth analyzing these as each reconstruction contains a different vision of what needed to be done, how to overcome the internal obstacles, and how to counter the external devaluation of the discipline. All this took place against a traumatic background for the country—the war and the advent of Fascism—and for the young science itself. The SIP that had not met for 13 years now exceptionally held two consecutive national congresses, in 1922 and 1923.

The first of the articles in the *Rivista di psicologia* also caught the attention of Edward B. Titchener and the *American Journal of Psychology* that once more

examined the Italian situation after over 15 years. In 1904 and 1905 it had published essays by two Italian authors, both on experimental psychology in Italy, the second disagreeing with the first.[32] In 1921 Titchener recalled these two articles for readers and summed up "the evolution," which had taken place in the meantime as outlined by Umberto Saffiotti in the *Rivista*. Saffiotti was an expert in measuring intelligence in school-age children and convinced of the social value of psychological research. His curriculum was unusual: he had graduated in philosophy in Messina in 1908 with a thesis on a psychological argument supervised by a neo-Kantian professor. He had worked in Milan in the municipal laboratory of psychology and after the death of its director Zaccaria Treves in 1912 had become assistant to Giuseppe Sergi in the Institute of Anthropology at the University of Rome.[33] In 1918/1919 the University of Palermo awarded him a teaching post in experimental psychology. The same year, Titchner stressed, the University of Padua also decided to set up a course in experimental psychology and appointed Vittorio Benussi to run it.

At this point they began to see some improvement. From his Palermitan observatory Saffiotti reconstructed an innovative and articulated scenario. He recollected that the start of scientific psychology in Italy had taken place thanks to three Sicilians, a fact also known to AJP readers. Giuseppe Sergi was a professor of anthropology, and since 1876 he had formally requested the minister to set up special chairs "of psychology in the universities and *Istituti Superiori*, considering the progress made by the Science."[34] The response was negative and he had continued with only private courses at the University of Messina in 1878/1979. The second pioneer was Gabriele Buccola, a psychiatrist working in Italy's most progressive mental hospitals, in Reggio Emilia with Augusto Tamburini and in Turin with Enrico Morselli. In the period 1880–1885 he had introduced an "experimental trend in pathological psychology," thus acquiring international merit and fame. As a university lecturer in psychology he wanted to return to Palermo to teach pathological psychology but died young in 1885. The third and final pioneer was Simone Corleo, who had graduated in medicine and was professor of philosophy at the University of Palermo. In 1889, two years before his death, he had set up a laboratory of experimental psychology at the Institute of Physiology. The same year Sergi finally had followed suit in Rome at the Institute of Anthropology, renamed the Institute of Anthropology and Experimental Psychology, in the Faculty of Physical, Natural and Mathematical Sciences.[35] Psychological research in Italy was mainly carried out in psychiatric hospitals with their laboratories (the best being in Reggio Emilia with Giulio Cesare Ferrari) and physiology laboratories including the one set up by Angelo Mosso in Turin. Saffiotti held that Mosso's work was not continued by Kiesow, as usually believed, but by Mariano Patrizi, professor of physiology at the University of Modena, lecturer in experimental psychology, and Lombroso's pupil. Then came the turning point.

> Finally there was the independent university laboratory of experimental psychology at the *Istituto di Studi Superiori* in Florence: founded and still directed by Francesco De Sarlo, formerly a psychiatrist and physiologist, one of the researchers

> at the Reggio Emilia mental hospital, [who] later shifted to philosophical studies of which he is today one of the Italian masters. With this institution he wanted to affirm that Psychology belonged to Psychologists.[36]

Saffiotti thus confirmed a widespread opinion, as did Titchener who had been in direct contact with De Sarlo at least from 1902, when his Italian colleague had promoted the Italian translation of his *Manuale* in 1901.[37] The successive milestone events had taken place in 1905: in April the International Congress of Psychology in Rome, presided over by the neuropsychiatrist and minister Leonardo Bianchi; and in June his decree on the three chairs of experimental psychology. Saffiotti mentioned the winners: "Federigo Kiesow of the Wundtian school" in Turin, Cesare Colucci "psychiatrist and psychophysiologist" in Naples, and at length the Sante De Sanctis winner in Rome. Rather than limit himself to these three cases, as usual, his reconstruction of scientific psychology in Italy also cited the case of Milan where he had firsthand experience. In 1908 the *Gabinetto civico di pedagogia*, set up ten years earlier, was reconverted into a laboratory of pure and applied psychology, and the Municipality awarded its direction to the physician Zaccaria Treves, his mentor, in whose memory the provincial mental hospital had set up a new laboratory of psychology in 1912.

There were other similar situations. The picture could have become more intricate and larger. Saffiotti valued the psychological activity of public centers, university, and otherwise. What mattered was that they had adequate means and were able to carry out research and to respond to needs and opportunities of applied psychology as those that the war had highlighted, for example, in the workplace and in the armed forces.

But was psychology always and everywhere "experimental" as it was called in universities? Or was any label now either cumbersome or reductive? The professor posed these questions from his lecture room in Palermo (Titchener did not follow). He made a stark distinction between two terms that were often erroneously associated (an allusion to Kiesow): "for many years the term physiological had become excessive and useless for our psychology," which did not, he continued, consist certainly in a sole group of research limited to study "the physiological processes associated with particular psychological processes." In the term "experimental" he saw instead a symbol, the flag of psychology's independence qua science. Was it still necessary? Some sciences on the one hand and philosophy on the other hindered the emancipation of the discipline. This is why, declared Saffiotti, "it seems not inopportune to keep that flag of experimental science flying."[38] He argued that the expression had the power to aggregate Italian psychologists faced with many difficulties. Yet on the basis of past experience there was every reason to doubt it.

In the same *Rivista* the Neapolitan Ettore Patini (to whom the AJP had dedicated a positive review) invited scholars to give their opinions on the word "experimental under which psychology is now officially taught in our universities." He asked them to examine whether the title and "the approach indicated by that title as incorporating everything, or at least as predominant with respect to other approaches actually correspond to the actual state of psychology." In other

words was it "experimental psychology or simply psychology?"[39] As a lecturer at the Institute of Psychology in Florence, and a trained psychiatrist, he had no hesitation: the term "experimental" had to be abolished. It implied a "privilege conceded to one direction [of research] to the detriment of others that would have had equally, even if not greater right of analogous proclamation." Far from unifying, it was used to delegitimize some valid trends in the new science. If it was eliminated this did not mean reverting to teach psychology in a speculative sense. On the other hand, wanting at all costs to avoid dealing with theoretical problems revealed an exaggerated fear and became a torment of Tantalus. Here too he disagreed with his colleague, without naming him. Saffiotti advised caution and invoked a more agnostic approach, which some psychologists had used to shield themselves. Not that he liked agnosticism: "Such a mental attitude can seem mean and petty, it can throw a shadow of dull and blind futility over the professed science." Yet, the "consensual separation" between philosophy and psychology seemed expedient because, to cite De Sanctis, "agnostic psychology unites us, while philosophical psychology would divide us even more than we are already divided."[40]

In synthesis: did the word "experimental" unify or divide the various trends in Italian psychology? Did it damage or reinforce the process of autonomous scientific development? Were the difficulties only external, as Saffiotti seemed to claim, or were there also internal contrasts, which opponents took great advantage of as claimed Patini? These were not abstract questions, since school and university reform would decide the fate of the discipline and its adherents.

The first signs were rather threatening. In 1917 the director of the *Rivista di psicologia*, Giulio Cesare Ferrari, had protested against the abolition of psychology in the courses for *diplomati* from teacher schools (*scuole normali*). It was an attack on an application of psychological studies, one that had damaging consequences for teacher training, for the *Scuole pedagogiche* in universities, the feather in Italy's cap. Was the minister doing it to save money? Not really, because the courses were making a profit and the "infamous *decreto luogotenziale*" banned them even if professors were not paid to hold them, as some had offered to do. Even De Sanctis had lost his agnostic detachment and was angry with "the God-fearing souls of some pedagogists and those of many philosophers [who] congratulate themselves for having finally disinfected the *Scuole pedagogiche* of the noxious fumes of a science partly based on the experimental method." Then he relented because, "whether one wants it or not, full professors or lecturers in experimental psychology cannot be abolished."[41] Not long afterward events were to prove him wrong.

Behind these opposing evaluations there was a different reading of the recent past. The academic institutionalization of psychology in experimental psychology had now lasted since 1905. In order to claim that it had an aggregating power Saffiotti presented a linear and conflict-free evolution of the discipline. But was this reconstruction reliable? Not even he believed it and in the same article he lingered over the clashes that he had suffered. It was not surprising that he had escaped from Milan and from Agostino Gemelli. The struggle for Treves's position as director of the laboratory and its chair of psychology had been to the bitter end: "one can continually sense the presence of a hidden and tenacious will

pursuing a specific end, preparing and manipulating committees and *concorsi* just to make a certain candidate win, who is certainly not the one who would have the best chance of success under normal conditions." This in Piero Martinetti's words, a gentleman philosopher who never managed to keep silent, even later in the presence of fascists.[42] In addition to the usual academic quarrels, every time psychology's controversial identity was dug up: candidate psychologists were asked to have the qualifications of a physiologist or a philosopher; and on this occasion even the psychophysiologist Kiesow demanded the latter in order to block his pupil's feared opponent in the Milan *concorso*.

Knowing this behind-the-scenes activity is important because it influenced the positions taken and allows us to read between the lines. If we stick to the explicit discourse, according to Saffiotti the enemies were external—philosophers. But which ones? As a group the psychologists were not compact, but neither were Italian philosophers. The trends had mutated, and not pacifically, during the last 15 or 20 years. The labels—positivist and neo-idealist, *spiritualista* (not to be confused with spiritualist) and neo-Kantian, experimentalist, empirical, introspective, and so on—were neither used nor understood neutrally. The same terms were sometimes used to express appreciation and sometimes to express contempt. This is a problem for the reader, who always has to decipher the evaluative implications.

The neo-idealists spoke of positivism as if it were a single bloc, a sort of materialist dogmatism that had remained unchanged for decades. Yet this was not the case; mutation is more visible in psychology than in other fields. For those who had grown up under the positivist, secular, and antimetaphysical revolution and had experienced the crisis of naive positivism, the basic lesson was still to meet the sciences and their "social ideals." At this point let us look back, beyond the taken-for-granted reconstructions, but with the caveat of being careful with labels, to control the varied associations that each of them generated in different contexts, times, and languages.

Between Germany and the United States: The Psychiatric Soul of Italian Psychology

The following statement appeared in the April issue of the *American Journal of Psychology* in 1905:

> Although it is always in bad taste for compatriots to contradict each other before strangers, I believe it my duty as an Italian to present to the readers of the AJP, rightly so well thought of for the precision of its information, some facts which will, I think, modify the opinion which my countryman has had the honor to express concerning experimental psychology in Italy and its tendencies.[43]

Prof. Giulio Cesare Ferrari, university lecturer of psychology at Bologna, had been irritated by the article published in the *Journal* by "Mr. Chiabra" (in fact, doctor and professor of philosophy), who had presented the "psychological thought now dominant in Italy" in two currents: the school of the physiologist Angelo

Mosso in Turin; and the school of "the eminent psychologist and philosopher" Francesco De Sarlo in Florence, to whom he gave more space. Perhaps it was to make himself understood by non-Italian readers that the author had said that such currents "correspond to the schools of Münsterberg and Wundt."[44] Ferrari denied both comparisons and above all he clarified that in Italian psychology Mosso only represented himself. Chiabra had mentioned various scholars as the "representatives" of the discipline (including the senator Cantoni, Filippo Masci, and Roberto Ardigò), all professors of philosophy and convinced supporters of relations with the sciences. Ferrari instead insisted on the decisive contribution made to the new science by psychiatrists. He listed them, their journals, and their laboratories; the first was the one in the Emilian mental hospital, which he came from as a physician alienist. Moreover, he recalled that in 1891 at the same "Psychiatric Institute of Reggio Emilia [which] has always kept the tradition of experimental psychology [...] De Sarlo made his first mark with an important experimental study on cerebral circulation."[45] For this reason too, Ferrari was very much in favor of recognizing the great importance of the Florentine professor. It confirmed that the key tradition of Italian psychology was its psychiatric origin, as the readers of the AJP could note from Italian books reviewed in the past 20 years. "Why not make this clear?," protested Ferrari.

"Nor can one understand the silence of Mr. Chiabra concerning the recent foundation of two chairs of experimental psychology [...] occupied by Prof. De Sanctis and Prof. Colucci."[46] Here however Ferrari went too far: the chairs had been set up by decree of June 1905. How could this have been mentioned in an article written in 1904? It was strange that he spoke of it ahead of time, seeing that his article mentioned the International Congress of Psychology of April 1905 as an event that had not yet taken place. But some news spreads rapidly, especially when it comes to "guessing" the winners of public *concorsi* beforehand. Ferrari named two out of the three, those with psychiatric training. But not a word on the Turin chair—the first advertised—or who won it.[47] To Italian colleagues Friederich Kiesow, a physiologist by training, Polish German, and the only "true" Wundtian in Italy, was not particularly representative of psychology; neither then nor afterward. In response to those who argued that he was probably the most experimental, Ferrari replied that his works dealt with "physiology or at the most psycho-physiology, while modern experimental psychology [occupies] much vaster fields."[48]

Ferrari concluded that Italian psychology was not only experimental, it did not only have two inclinations, much less followed Münsterberg or Wundt. Psychology was not just a German specialty, and De Sarlo thought so too. In the *Istituto di Studi Superiori* in Florence, German science had always enjoyed a "particular consideration [and] a knowledge of German was taken as essential" for students with the task of reading the great works of reference in the original language.[49] Yet some university scholars were now looking with more curiosity elsewhere; both he and Limentani, for example, recommended reading English and American authors. Even in comparing laboratories, the superiority of the United States over Germany had been demonstrated, for example, by Guido Villa in his much translated work *Contemporary Psychology*.[50]

But the virtue most admired was the capacity for renewal. In Italy this was held back by the widespread attitude of academics to not "abandon the master's tune," De Sarlo argued. "We should look to powerful and *free* England and to *free* and rich America to achieve a real theoretical reawakening," as he had already exhorted in his book of 1898.[51] What enthused him in those countries were not so much specific philosophical or psychological theories as their modern and emancipated attitude. Germany had been the cradle of philosophy, but now produced "nothing new," and in fact all that remained was a historical and neo-Kantian approach, the latter being vital to evoke the theoretical assumptions of experience and science that also served psychology. The illusion of a single Wundtian school had also faded in Germany, where a breach appeared in the deterministic quantitative model, and Wundt was outplaced by Gestalt psychology and above all by the new epistemology proposed by Brentano.

Franz Brentano had come to Italy after having left Vienna where, as a non-Austrian citizen, he had lost his chair, and in 1896 he had settled in a beautiful villa in Bellosguardo overlooking Florence. He also took part in the discussions in the *Biblioteca Filosofica*, where the ASP directed by De Sarlo met. It was one of his members, the Sicilian Mario Puglisi—Methodist member of the *Associazione cristiana dei giovani* in Florence, under the YMCA—who translated several of Brentano's works, and published an article on him for the AJP. In 1913 Puglisi edited in Italian the first part of the famous *Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint* published nearly 40 years earlier. The same year De Sarlo chose an almost identical title for his paper at the Second SIP Congress, to stress the link with that work and their common research on the specific nature of activities and psychological facts. He dedicated his *Introduction to Philosophy* to the memory of "*maestro* Brentano" as a way of bearing witness to his influence, subsequently passed on to his own Florentine pupils, Enzo Bonaventura and Renata Calabresi in particular.[52] After the excesses of laboratory-based psychology, looking at Franz Brentano's observations, at psychoanalysis, and Alfred Binet's rich legacy, besides Harvard's "truly insuperable psychologist," the author of *Principles*, was in any case looking in a different direction.[53]

In the AJP (the Florentine institute had been a subscriber since 1890), Giulio Cesare Ferrari confirmed that William James was a great stimulus for Italian psychology. The Italian edition of *The Principles of Psychology* that he had edited with the psychiatrist Tamburini in 1901 was a great success, and sold over 2,000 copies in two years. Therefore with Mario Calderoni of the Florence Pragmatist Club he had immediately translated (and revised) *The Varieties of Religious Experience* with a preface by Roberto Ardigò, the doyen of positivists.[54] In the spring of 1905 the many Italian admirers of the great William James were awaiting him in Rome, at the Fifth International Congress of Psychology. Ferrari himself was organizing the great event with energy, spirit of initiative, and his usual public relations suavity:

> When he appeared there were the cordial and nasal "hellos!" of the Americans, the flattering warblings of the French, respectful wincing of the Germans in frock coats, the affectionate cordiality of the Flemish [...] He spoke English without

> knowing how to, French in Italian and German I never heard him say a word. But everyone understood him.

This is in the words of a colleague who often accompanied him in travels in Europe and the United States.[55] Ferrari called on AJP readers to come to Rome and meet Italian psychologists. And James did not miss the appointment.[56]

Hosting the Fifth International Congress of the young science was certainly a unique opportunity to win international approval and to promote the recognition and development of the discipline in Italy. In the early twentieth century Italian psychologists did not have academic stability, or a legally formulated professional identity; at this date neither the *Società italiana di psicologia* nor a journal dealing exclusively with the subject existed. Yet, evidently, they had a reputation, seeing that in 1900 the Fourth International Congress of Psychology in Paris (the first had also been held there in 1889) had deliberated that after London in 1892 and Berlin in 1896, the next Congress should be held in Rome in April 1905. Eminent foreign figures were expected—Théodore Flournoy and Pierre Janet, Alfred Binet, James Sully and Henry Watt, and Theodor Lipps; Felix Kruger brought Wundt's greetings. It was a success insofar as it attracted around 470 participants to Rome, more than any previous Congress. The French came first, followed by the Germans, over a hundred Italians, and the English.[57]

What picture did Italian scholars have of psychology and of themselves? How did they present themselves to others? Their publications always appeared in the *Psychological Index*, from vol. I in 1894 in fourth place after works in German, English and American, and French, and at a great distance before the works of the other countries. Of the four national lists compilers cited, only the Italian one was missing, and thus the total (202 works cited for 1904) fell short of its actual number.[58] The trends and fields of work were many, and continually increasing, each with its own specific domain. We can see this in the thematic expression of each congress that changes from one to another, depending on the year, place, and presidency. The 1905 committee tried to establish an overall harmony. The committee was made up of eminent professors from the University of Rome: the physician and neurophysiologist Luigi Luciani, who however resigned[59]; the anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi; and the psychiatrist Augusto Tamburini, assisted by two vice-secretaries with psychiatric training, Ferrari from Bologna and De Sanctis from Rome, both candidates for the much anticipated chairs in psychology.

Preparing the Congress proved a difficult task. The various sections were drawn up, dismantled, and redone several times. It seems that the real director was De Sanctis, who then edited the *Proceedings*. The final program had four sections (instead of the seven of the French in the 1900 congress) defined by topic and in relation to other disciplines from which psychology was hopefully freed, but always linked. Section I dealt with "Experimental psychology in relation to physiology," and was chaired by three physiologists (Giulio Fano from Florence and Mariano Patrizi and Friedrich Kiesow from Turin) and a neuropsychiatrist from Rome (Giovanni Mingazzini). We can say that it was reminiscent of the German tradition of Leipzig and Munich where two of these scholars had done part of their training.

Section II on "Introspective psychology in relation to the philosophical sciences" was presided over by the elderly philosopher Roberto Ardigò from the University of Padua, who had launched *Psychology as a Positive Science* in 1870 to contrast it with the speculative tradition linked to Catholicism. This icon of early Italian positivism was an unfrocked priest who lost his faith over papal infallibility, passed to the infallibility of science, and committed suicide at the age of 98. Even his devoted pupils now considered him dated, particularly for his claim that psychology only dealt with conscience.[60] However, he did not take part in the section of the congress that was entrusted to the copresident De Sarlo, who was not a materialist nor thought that the psychic unconscious was a "contradiction." The physician-philosopher, director of the Institute of Psychology in Florence, got along with the other two theoretical philosophers of the session—Guido Villa and Alessandro Groppali—exponents of neocriticism, that is, of a movement that with the return to Kant valorized human sciences and contested determinism and any metaphysics.

Section III focused on "Pathological psychology: hypnotism, suggestion and similar phenomena, psychotherapy" with a committee of neuropsychiatrists (Ernesto Belmondo, Ernesto Lugaro, Cesare Colucci) presided over by the famous Enrico Morselli, psychiatrist and anthropologist at the University of Genoa, founder of the *Rivista di filosofia scientifica*, for a decade the flagship of antidogmatic Italian positivism.[61] Section IV was entitled "Criminal, pedagogic and social psychology" and dealt with delinquents, the mentally ill, and children. It was obviously chaired by the psychiatrist and anthropologist Cesare Lombroso from the University of Turin, surrounded by his criminologist pupils (Salvatore Ottolenghi, Scipio Sighele, and Alfredo Niceforo).[62]

Of the names mentioned so far, all renowned in Italy, some were or would become well known abroad. One of the few women at the congress was Maria Montessori, who had graduated with a thesis in psychiatry and set up the first Children's House three years later in 1908 in Rome, visited by specialists the world over, including Lightner Witmer, the founder of clinical psychology in America. At the end of 1913 she went to the United States, where "an eager public was waiting for [...] one of the most famous women in the world [...] A woman who revolutionized the educational system."[63]

At the time of the 1905 Congress one the most popular figures was Lombroso. South America, Argentina especially, and the United States gave what he described as "a warm and sympathetic reception" to his theories, an "almost fanatical adherence", and put his ideas "speedily into practice."[64] It was the Italian who "had inspired a new science in the U.S.," where not only specialists but also a "large audience [was] hungry to read what he had to say on almost any subject"; between 1891 and 1912 around 40 of his articles appeared in English-language magazines. Lombroso can be criticized on many accounts, "but [...] his work is undoubtedly epoch-making," concluded Helen Zimmern, an American writer of German Jewish origin. For educated Americans science still appeared to be European; and if psychology was mainly German and Austrian, the preeminence of the new scientific criminology—that dealt with actual criminal individuals and not abstract crime—was Italian thanks to *Cesare Lombroso. A Modern Man*

of Science, as the German neurologist Hans Kurella entitled his biography, which was translated into English in 1911 with the help of the British psychologist Havelock Ellis.[65]

In 1909 the Turin Professor Lombroso, psychiatrist, anthropologist, and psychologist was invited to the United States to give the Harris lectures at Northwestern University, in Chicago, but at the age of 74 he felt unable to make a transatlantic voyage. In August of the same year Freud accepted Stanley Hall's invitation to Clark University in Worcester and went accompanied by Jung. Also the Americanization of Lombrosian ideas would change radically over time, from a long-standing fascination with cross-fertilization, in the 1930s and 1940s, in the approach to juvenile delinquency by *émigré* Jewish psychoanalysts in Chicago, to the historically untenable accusation in the 1970s and 1980s that Lombroso's work had inspired the "final solution."[66] Here we should stress that he was grateful to the United States for having treated him as a psychologist as well. He felt better understood in America than in Italy or France, where some referred to him as the "steelyard psychiatrist," and accused him of too much organicism.

At the International Congress of Psychology in 1905, however, he was greeted as "one of the titans of modern psychology [...], inspired in pointing out new ways to the science of abnormal man."[67] In that context it was a significant remark, as it stressed the progress modern psychological studies had made from their psychophysical and Wundt's initial model, which was limited to consciousness and normality, to the adult male, and not just the white adult male but the white German adult male. This was no longer the case, and perhaps had never been in French or Italian psychology. From the glorious humanistic tradition of Philippe Pinel in Paris and Vincenzo Chiarugi in Florence, psychiatry had exerted a great influence on psychology. This was also visible in the strong presence of the psychiatrists at international congresses (Charcot president of the First, Tamburini secretary of the Fifth), and had inspired a model that found the experimental dimension more authentic and revealing in pathological processes and exceptional states of the mind. Psychology offered "the guiding thread in a very complicated labyrinth of psychic facts," and psychiatry "in turn supplied new and precious data for renewal of the psychological science."[68]

This is what Ferrari meant to say to AJP readers in 1905. That same year, two months before the congress, he had set up the first Italian periodical of the specialization. He had called it the *Rivista di psicologia applicata alla pedagogia e alla psicopatologia* (from 1933 on, *Rivista di psicologia normale e patologica*), because it favored those theoretical and applied ambits, even if it would "remain open to all tendencies." He directed the public mental hospital in Imola as well as the *Istituto medico pedagogico* for disturbed minors. The editors of the *Rivista* were also psychiatrists-psychologists like him, and Luigi Baroncini, one of those whose work was recognized by Freud and Jung, was among the first to popularize psychoanalysis in Italy through the inquisitive community of psychiatrists.[69]

It was their *Società freniatrica italiana* (Italian Society of Psychiatry), founded in 1875, that demanded chairs in psychology in Italian universities at the national congress of 1901, acting on the proposal of its influential members Enrico

Morselli and Leonardo Bianchi.[70] When Bianchi became minister of public education, from March 27 to December 24, 1905, in April he inaugurated the Fifth International Congress of Psychology, and on June 1 he signed the decree creating chairs of the discipline in Turin, Rome, and Naples. The 1905 congress had certainly produced important results, as everyone recognized including Saffiotti in his reconstruction in 1920. And Italian psychology had certainly obtained the promised help from psychiatry.

A Sense of Inferiority

Yet behind the International Congress of Psychology one could hear that "at the most alienists and anthropologists are intruders and incompetents in the field of psychology." This was a false and intolerable accusation. Enrico Morselli was furious. But who had said it? Philosophers, or some of them. It was not a question of disciplinary affiliation, and the psychiatrist-anthropologist Morselli, being the leader of Italian "scientific philosophy" before the arrival of the "neo-idealistic reaction," knew this very well.[71]

Ferocious arguments broke out among the Italians during and after the congress. It is unlikely that the European and, even less, the American colleagues could understand what was going on. The national press contained many accounts, especially indirect accusations. A "war scene," commented the young philosopher Giovanni Vailati from the *Florence Pragmatist Club*.[72] A dispute along the lines of "you don't know who is the 'true' psychologist here." Ferrari tried to minimize: "The divisions of the sections set by the Committee were not excessively respected," but this depended on the "basically anarchic spirit of Latin peoples." Nevertheless if almost none of the Italian psychologists wanted to be where he had been placed, there must have been some reasons.[73] Disagreements over the organization of the congress were related to the uncertain identity of the discipline; and rather than in a realignment, the differences developed into competitive polarizations.

It was said that the two sections of experimental psychophysiology, and introspection in relation to philosophy, respectively, were antithetical. De Sarlo was called on to chair the second section, and immediately declared that "speaking of introspective psychology as something distinct from experimental psychology is nonsense. There is only one Psychology." Psychological experimentation could not however coincide with physiology that regards precisely the psychic factor, individual and subjective, qualitatively different from physical as a "disturbing element."[74] In short, the first two sections seemed tailor-made to set one group against the other; in the other two the psychopathologists ended up under attack. It was reasonable to suspect that someone wanted to sow seeds of discord among the various souls of psychology.

The eminent psychiatrist Morselli, supporter of psychological examination in diagnosing mental illness—on which he had written a very popular manual[75]—launched the alarm. Some "infatuated neo-idealist (or neo-opportunist?)" delegitimized those who had worked so hard for the psychological sciences, and without

having any authority to do so they granted the status of scientific exclusively to physiological experimentalists inclined to reductionism and materialism.[76]

The contrasts on the epistemological status of psychology and its academic collocation were openly declared. But between those who defended the need for a theoretical dimension, and those who supported a completely technical and physiological approach, now a few neo-idealist philosophers—to whom the new science was clearly unknown—arrived and demanded to establish who must or must not do what. A week after the congress closed, Benedetto Croce commented on it in the press, stating with surprise that "philosophers attend the congresses of naturalistic psychology" (a denomination to his own taste).

> Why? In what way, can philosophers be of any use in the matters of empirical science? What are they up to among physiologists, zoologists, physicians, alienists, criminologists, and similar philosophical and anti-philosophical people? Why not be consistent to the ideas that they support in their books, namely that naturalistic disciplines and philosophical research are absolutely dissimilar?[77]

The call for coherence was a cunning attempt to trap the philosopher-psychologists to whom he referred. He saddled them with positions that were in fact his own: according to Croce they argued that psychology could only be "naturalistic, [and] recognizes no values, does not speculate but collects particular facts, has no teleology and proceeds with mechanical method."[78] But in fact they believed quite the opposite: that the new science would mobilize, not only for itself, a non-naturalist scientific model with qualitative rather than quantitative differences between physical and psychic. Hence they wanted a cognizant relationship with philosophy, and certainly not "the old speculative psychology."

It was De Sarlo who understood what would develop from the strategy of the "diverging roads" proposed by the neo-idealist Croce, and made an almost prophetic "Dichiarazione" in Carlo Cantoni's *Rivista Filosofica*, the official organ of the SFI:

> On the one hand there are naturalists who say that a true explanation of psychic facts can only be given on the basis of a knowledge of physiology and the anatomy of the nervous system, and on the other [hand] there are many philosophers, who start from opposite premises to those that move the naturalists but reach similar conclusions insofar as for them empirical psychology cannot, and must not, exert any action on the development of the "sciences of the spirit." In such conditions it would seem that peace [...] must soon be made: the naturalists aspire to the monopoly of psychology, the philosophers desire to free themselves from it; what better opportunity to agree if all reasons for conflict are lacking?[79]

The peace would be in fact a mutiny. The anticipated separation was not among equals. Croce favored the kind of psychology that he referred to as "naturalistic" not because he valued it more than other approaches, but because he considered it irrelevant and thus innocuous. And whoever represented the naturalistic psychology was delighted to mount the podium standing above his colleagues who would never have allowed it otherwise. All the energy needed to respond to

critics was saved, presenting the presumed superiority of psychology as a natural and experimental science against all other tendencies. It was what we have seen Patini denounced as regards the use of the word "experimental." In 1923 it was no longer possible to have any illusions, but the debate was already old in 1905.

If there was a sort of mystique surrounding the German-oriented psychophysical experimentation, someone had already made final judgments after having gone to Germany to learn it. In his 1890 *Principles of Psychology*, published in Italian in 1901, William James had written:

> It would be terrible if even such a dear old man as this [Fechner] could saddle our Science forever with his patient whimsies and, in a world so full of more nutritious objects of attention, compel all future students to plough through the difficulties [...of] this dreadful literature.[80]

"Surfeited by too much reading of classic works," James said he preferred the "descriptions of the shapes of the rocks on a New Hampshire farm," and he was certainly not the only one. Yet after having destroyed the system of Fechner's psychophysics even the most radical critics "wind up by saying that nevertheless to him belongs the *imperishable glory* of [...] turning psychology into an *exact science*(!)" Why? Was that really the aim to pursue? And at what price? Why was twentieth-century psychology—the century of psychology and psychoanalysis, as has been said—unable to emancipate from the traditional hierarchy of the sciences, where the new science was not even admitted by the positivist Comte, founder of sociology or rather of social physics?

Psychology had long been weighed down by a sense of inferiority, which became more acute in times of crisis. Clearly the situation during this particular period was not easy, much less for the Italian supporters who found themselves ostracized by the rising hegemony of neo-idealism, hostile to the human sciences. First and foremost was the need to gain scientific respectability, which may have sparked a tendency to emulate their "betters," the hard sciences, in competing to show how they were more "scientific," more exact, and more experimental than other approaches. In this way it ended up accepting exactly the criteria that caused the marginalization of psychology with respect to the other sciences, and reproducing both hierarchy and marginalization within the young discipline.[81] The experimentalists thus appeared "better" than the child or educational or social psychologists; evidence artificially reproduced in laboratory more serious than outcomes from investigations on mentally disordered patients, not to speak of the research on "exceptional states of mind." Besides Cesare Lombroso and Enrico Morselli, who had been hypnotized by a Belgian "magnetizer," the scholars who investigated with scientific methods the experiences of the famous Eusapia Paladino and other mediums were of all nationalities, and on both sides of the Atlantic.[82] The esteemed president of the International Congress of Psychology in London, Henry Sidgwick, was also the president of the *Society for Psychical Research*, and William James was the founder of the American branch.

The obsession with appearing truly "scientific" pushed psychology toward an experimental or naturalistic model, or Galilean, to use Carlo Ginzburg's

expression in his famous essay on the dilemma of the human sciences.[83] It degraded the range of psychological research, often the most innovative. Yet on the other hand, attesting to experimental psychology seemed safer, particularly in times of crisis. It was probably for reasons of this sort that after many years of waiting, in the midst of fierce arguments of the congress, the first Italian chairs were set up in "experimental" psychology. Every now and then it came to mind to repropose the reassuring word—as happened to Saffiotti in 1921—even if the doubts as to its effectiveness were on the increase. It was abolished in 1938, when all the chairs but one in Italy had disappeared.[84] And much worse was happening.

Recruitment or the Consecration of Existing Situations?

The *concorso* was finally announced in 1906. But who would judge the candidates? The commissioners had to be full professors, and they could not be in experimental psychology, seeing that it did not yet academically exist. They had to be borrowed from similar disciplines. This also applied to future *concorsi* in the field, among which those for *libero docenti*, until the number of chair-holders in experimental psychology would be sufficient. What were the selection criteria? The decisions taken would have an impact for years to come. The successful candidates would be responsible for generations of students, for training future psychologists who would go on to practice the new profession in various ambits, or other professionals with a psychological training to use in prisons, courts, schools, and other educational and health institutions. Not just for academic psychology, but for all psychology any development depended largely on the *maestri*, their scientific identity, what each of them could teach and transmit to the increasing number of their students. It was no coincidence that the debate in the early 1920s went back over these stages, and to reflect on the decisions taken at the outset.

The minister and neuropsychiatrist Bianchi had nominated five important commissioners: two physiologists, Angelo Mosso from the University of Turin and Vittorio Aducco from Pisa; the 1906 Nobel Prize winner in physiology or medicine Camillo Golgi from Pavia; and two psychiatrists, Enrico Morselli of the University of Genoa and Eugenio Tanzi of the ISS in Florence who replaced his colleague Cesare Lombroso from Turin.[85] The three winners were a physiologist and two psychiatrists: Friedrich Kiesow, Sante De Sanctis, and Cesare Colucci became professors in experimental psychology in Turin, Rome, and Naples, respectively.

Florence already had a professor at the peak of his career teaching psychology. Francesco De Sarlo was qualified in a *concorso* in theoretical philosophy and in 1900 the *Istituto di Studi Superiori* had appointed him. He was made responsible for planning and directing an institute of psychology with a well-equipped laboratory. This opened in January 1904 when he was already promoted to full professor.[86] From 1859 the ISS could vaunt its excellence and superiority in the national university system. The autonomy of the *Istituto*

provoked praise and envy in Rome, and had to defend its own choices several times before the minister of public education. One of these regarded De Sarlo's position, which was somehow anomalous given the recent creation of three chairs of psychology.

Before then, the ISS could boast that it was the only institution in Italy to have a chair in this discipline. It now risked "finding itself in a condition of inferiority compared to other universities of the Kingdom." But why? Formally it had never asked the minister for recognition for De Sarlo's course, who therefore was not taken into account "in naming the committees for *concorsi*" in psychology.[87] The dean Pasquale Villari, former minister of Public Education and senator, understood that a swift remedy was called for. He worked on this for months together with the faculty and the superintendent. Beyond reinforcing the financing and personnel of psychology in the ISS, they sent finely reasoned requests to the minister (in a year there were four) and on December 18, 1906, asked that De Sarlo's chair be called the chair of "theoretical philosophy and experimental psychology." The proposal was voted unanimously by the Florentine Faculty in May 1906, but had to be examined by the High Council of Public Education, which was then examining the minutes of the triple *concorso* in experimental psychology. The two issues had a reciprocal influence on one another.

To become a professor of experimental psychology in Italy the High Council stipulated that an applicant had to have basic skills in neurophysiology and psychiatry, experimental techniques, and philosophical sciences; more precisely experience in theoretical philosophy was appreciated in order to ensure that psychology had a theoretical dimension, which is essential in science. This rather complex profile for eligible candidates meant that a "mixed committee of biologists and philosophers" was necessary. The Council deliberation de facto delegitimized the results of the first *concorso*: its committee lacked the philosophy members and all three winners lacked the theoretical competence. Among those who were already professors, which one now corresponded best to the required profile? Certainly De Sarlo, whom some members of the High Council particularly appreciated.[88]

As regards another controversial issue, they deliberated one more change of line. The advertisement had not specified the collocation of the discipline, but the three chairs had all been requested by the respective faculties of medicine. The councilor Filippo Masci—provost in Naples, neo-Kantian philosopher, author of works that criticized the *Psycophysical Materialism and the Doctrine of Parallelism in Psychology* (1901)—proposed instead that they be set up in the faculties of philosophy. And the High Council approved this, in order to avoid the fate that otherwise awaited psychology. Added to the medical faculties it "will immediately bear the hallmark of the physical sciences [...] so while it is declared to carry out experimental science [actually] it is carrying out materialistic metaphysics."[89] The belief that psychology, in order to be a science, must subordinate itself to the natural sciences based on physics and chemistry simply meant practicing bad philosophy. Research in the psychological field revealed that psyche cannot be reduced to soma. Experimental psychology was only a branch of the discipline.

According to Masci and most of the councilors, reducing all the tree to a branch in order to obtain the academic institutionalization of the discipline had not been a good idea. Nevertheless, this is precisely what had happened. Some adjustments for the future were possible, and were made regarding the mixed composition of the evaluating committee, the profile of candidates, and the collocation of the discipline in the Faculty of Philosophy.

It was not a corporative revenge by philosophers against physicians. The two categories were not armed one against the other for the simple reason that neither of them was internally cohesive. It was a transversal front supporting an antideterministic and qualitative model of the sciences. Psychology could not be reduced to mere physiology, and psychiatry would withstand neurological organicism. Not unsurprisingly it was a psychiatrist commissioner of the fateful *concorso* for experimental psychology who commented privately:

> Bianchi's idea?…excellent, wonderful: but is should be done in the Faculty of Philosophy not in the Medical Faculties where frankly it seems to me that such teaching is out of place and superfluous, and above all unpopular with students or of almost no use to them, and is also suspected and contested by colleagues (I have the proof!) and by philosophers: a fish out of water.[90]

Morselli was an authority in the medical faculty, and was content when the High Council approved the proposal of the philosopher Masci and set things right. But not without some compromise. After that discussion, the new minister who took office on May 29, 1906, assigned the chairs of experimental psychology, in Turin to the physiologist Kiesow, and in Naples to the psychiatrist Colucci, both to the respective Faculty of Philosophy. An exception was made for the psychiatrist De Sanctis in Rome, who had the chair in the Faculty of Medicine. Why? He already had a temporary psychology position in that faculty. But so did the other two colleagues, and yet they had to move to Philosophy and open their laboratories there. The exception, goes the saying, confirms the rule.

Paradoxically the most "regular" in all aspects was Florence. In addition to an excellent Faculty of Medicine inspired by the "experimental" program of the great Maurizio Bufalini, the ISS had devised its own up-to-date Faculty of Philosophy and Physiology (*Lettere* did not appear yet) as a center of human sciences. The presence of psychology, like anthropology before it and scientific pedagogy afterward, was crucial in that Philosophy Faculty, where students had also courses in biology, in "the physiology of the sense organs and the nervous system," and the most envied Laboratory of psychology directed by De Sarlo. He edited the first volume of his pupils' *Ricerche di psicologia* as early as 1905, and it was immediately reviewed in the AJP.[91] The faculty was authorized to award the title of *libero docente* to his pupil Antonio Aliotta from Palermo, well known for his work on *The measure of experimental psychology*, because the position of Professor De Sarlo was resolved, as planned and requested, by the Ministry.[92] From then he could be nominated to selection committees for psychology, including those to promote his three new colleagues to full professorships.

Can we presume that professors of experimental psychology devoted themselves to this domain? When the discussion returned to the "experimental" character of psychology in the 1920s, Ugo Saffiotti suggested that what made it different was its laboratory activity. So did the three professors work and make their pupils work by and large in the laboratories? From their repeated complaints, public and private, this does not appear to have been the case.

Although it was in the Faculty of Medicine and not *Lettere*, experimental psychology in Rome had no laboratory. De Sanctis had to borrow instruments from Tamburini's psychiatric clinic for "eminently didactic" use; in other words, they could not carry out scientific research.[93] In the 1920s students and their needs increased, but time, staff, and money were still short: "we have worked and [continue to] work with out-of-date equipment and, in general, with material that costs less, giving the preference to studies of observation and reserving experiments for teaching."[94] In Turin only accepting a private donation of 20,000 lire (unusual in the Italian academic system) the university set up "a psychophysical laboratory" in memory of a pupil; but Kiesow had to continually find funding to make it work,[95] while Colucci went heedless of the difficulties. In 1919 in Padua the professor of psychology arrived at his first lesson with colored chalks and a blackboard announcing that these were his only scientific instruments.[96] The laboratory was prepared three years later, once again salvaging old instruments and premises from others. Obviously the situation deteriorated when unfavorable trends of cultural policy prevailed. After the 1923 reform and the state's neglect the only thing left to do was to ask "the citizens themselves," wrote Benussi to the widow of Count Francesco Papafava dei Carraresi, advocating the importance of pure psychological research and its social applications "of psychic therapy, pedagogy and legal psychology."[97]

Yet there is another important fact. Apart from the interminable debates, in 1906 the national committee had not really selected the candidates on the basis of the profile of "experimental psychologist." They had simply taken note of previous existing situations. "The *concorso* for Rome, Naples, Turin could only end *by consecrating the fait accomplit*," commissioner Morselli admitted before the disappointed Giulio Cesare Ferrari. The latter had applied from Bologna, but the University of Bologna had not requested the chair and a psychiatrist friend reminded him that the "three local candidates taking part in the *concorso* for the three chairs" had to be given a position. Normally there was the jackpot of three qualified candidates for each chair, who then remained waiting to be summoned locally. Not in that case. Why? "It was impossible to indicate nine psychologists: there are not so many in Italy!" argued Morselli. He exaggerated, but not when he claimed that "above all there is no financial provision for such teaching."[98] The chairs would indeed have been costly if they had their own laboratories, equipped and with personnel, a research budget, library, and whatever else was necessary. This was the case in Florence, but not elsewhere.[99] Naturally it was a question of academic politics; in the 1920s it became clear that the priorities were different. Who then were the three "consecrated" local candidates in 1906 and in whose hands would Italian psychology end up and remain for decades?

Chair-Holders and a Modus Vivendi

In 1894 at the University of Turin Friedrich Kiesow, the German physiologist of Polish origin, had begun to work at the Institute of Physiology. He was Wilhelm Wundt's *Famulus* and had convinced him that it would help to learn the technique of graphic tracing for which Angelo Mosso was internationally known. Two years later he had imported the experiments with the pletismograph and the sphygmomanometer to Leipzig; he had translated two books by Mosso—one in English with his wife Emma Lough, the other in German—and the Turin professor had offered him a post as assistant in his laboratory.[100] In 1899 Mosso had helped him to obtain a *libera docenza* in physiology; two years later Kiesow held a course of psychology and when he won the *concorso* of the discipline in 1906, the Faculty of *Lettere* (where Mosso also taught) gave him two rooms thanks to a private donation. As a scholar of sensory processes, gustatory sensitivity, and geusic zones, Kiesow stuck to psychophysical parallelism and the program of Theodor Fechner to establish "the relation between mind and body" using "exact measures." He was convinced that experimental methodology placed psychology among the natural sciences. He trained a good number of pupils—experimenters and at the same time experimental objects in the laboratory—and set them to translating Wundt into Italian,[101] and encouraged them to seek experience abroad, especially in Germany. He even sent there the friar Agostino Gemelli, who only presented himself in his Franciscan habit to the atheist Kraepelin on the last day. Still in *Archivio italiano di psicologia*, founded by Gemelli in 1920, Kiesow tried to relaunch the Wundtian lesson: "experimental psychology, psychophysics in the broader sense of the term, differential psychology, folk psychology, comparative psychology, history of psychology."[102]

In 1930 he was the first from Italy to appear in the well-known series *A History of Psychology in Autobiography* for Clark University Press, followed by Giulio Cesare Ferrari (vol. II), Sante De Sanctis (vol. III), and Agostino Gemelli (vol. IV).[103] Evidently his name had been mentioned, perhaps through some academic acquaintance in the United States (in 1927 at Springfield, Ohio, he appears to have received a *laurea honoris causa* but in law),[104] but it is doubtful whether Kiesow was representative of the Italian scenario where he was criticized several times. He generally published in German but without accommodating the new approaches of German psychology or psychoanalysis. He opposed Gestalt that was advocated instead by the school of Padua. He also rejected American psychology and William James, who colleagues in Bologna and Florence were promoting in Italy. He only wanted to embody experimental Wundtian orthodoxy, a strong point for some and a limitation for others.[105]

In 1910 the committee nominated by the minister did not consider him qualified for promotion to a full professorship; it was a mixed committee of physiologists and philosophers-psychologists, five in all including De Sarlo. The majority criticized that Kiesow put experimental psychology and physio-psychology on the same level. They confirmed that the former was "a complex of study methods, not a distinct science," so that three examiners contested once again the opportunity that experimental psychology (and Kiesow) should have "a full professorial chair" for him.[106] Yet he remained rock-fast in the University of Turin until the

age of 75. The only two Italian psychologists to have a chair after 1906 until after World War II came from his school: the most long-lasting and in some way the most prolific, although his physio-psychological experimentalism was considered limited and not very innovative. This was a useful contradiction because the reasons for this long duration were not exclusively scientific.

At the thirteenth-century University of Naples, the chair set up by Bianchi had gone to his pupil, the neurologist Cesare Colucci, who could arguably boast the protection of his mentor more than his own curriculum. The most long-standing of the chair-holders of experimental psychology, from 1906 to 1937, was also the least incisive for the discipline as we can see from his presidency of the SIP, which extended from 1911 to 1920 and from 1934 to 1943.[107] Already rejected in a *concorso* for university professor of psychiatry, Colucci was basically a physician, head surgeon, and director of a mental hospital of Naples set up by Bianchi, and continued in a private clinic after the duty introduced in 1923 to opt for either a hospital or a university position. Colucci kept the chair at *Lettere*, in Naples the faculty of prestigious masters, where he also taught pedagogic psychology and from 1911 to 1915 pedagogy. He had a vast clinical experience, yet when he had to express himself on psychology he sided with "undoubtedly [...] psycho-physiology [...], with the school of Mosso and Lombroso, and with the specializations of Patrizi."[108] Rather naively he believed that he could legitimate himself scientifically by relying on support from Turin, even if he remained in Naples. His hypothesis of the "cerebral pulse" was anything but scientific, and he was unable to attract pupils (the *Psychological Register* does not even cite one from Naples), or to formulate some original orientation. In his 1935 *Lessons on Experimental Psychology*, printed by the *Gruppi Universitari Fascisti* (GUF), he dealt with unrelated arguments and gave space to Freud's ideas as did many others. Colucci paid little attention to international debate, refrained from theoretical discussions on psychology, and as a practicing Catholic lived his "*spiritualismo*" in total harmony with his physio-psychological experimentalism. In this sense he was more in line with Father Agostino Gemelli than with the secular freemason Leonardo Bianchi, his mentor.

Sante De Sanctis also came from psychiatry and did much to promote child neuropsychiatry in Italy.[109] In comparison to the other two we can say that the Roman school had a strong and special commitment to childhood. It was here that early experiences of social medicine converged: the psychiatrist Mingazzini's *Asili scuola* in 1899, the *Scuola Magistrale Ortofrenica* directed by Montesano in 1900, and the *Case dei Bambini* of his companion Maria Montessori in 1908. The presence of the professor of pedagogy Luigi Credaro, Minister of Public Education from 1910 to 1914 and an opponent of neo-idealism, supported all these initiatives and the discipline of psychology in general, which his mentor Cantoni had sent him to study in Leipzig.[110] At first De Sanctis had worked in the laboratories of pathological anatomy in the mental hospital in Rome, and after studies on aphasia and hypnotism in Zurich with Forel, he had been attracted especially by French psychiatry, at the Salpétrière. He also wrote *Dreams. Clinical and Psychological Studies of an Alienist*, which Freud read in its German translation and publicly commented on: "I have unfortunately been unable to escape the conclusion that his painstaking volume is totally deficient in ideas—so much so, in fact, that it would not even lead one to suspect the existence of the problems I have dealt with."[111]

In 1896 De Sanctis had obtained the *libero docenza* in psychiatry, and the next year a position in a mental asylum in Southern Italy, at Nocera Inferiore. He had applied in vain for university chairs in mental and nervous illness in Padua, Sassari, and Pisa. He then decided to try the new academic psychology. As "a pure psychiatrist" he was rejected for the *libera docenza* in psychology in Rome in 1900, which he nevertheless obtained later. Soon after he won the chair of experimental psychology, exceptionally, in the Faculty of Medicine as noted. After seven years, instead of the usual three, in June 1913 he won the *concorso* for a full professorship, at the age of 51, with the positive vote of the younger De Sarlo, full professor since 1903. He continued to apply for the chair of psychiatry in Rome whenever it fell vacant. In 1929 he finally received it, and left the chair of experimental psychology. He appeared everywhere and in various capacities, careful not to be identified exclusively by any of them. Academically he was an experimentalist yet at the same time was known as a psychopathologist; for official committees he was a "psychotechnician" as early as 1926 according to Gemelli; but in addition he was almost a Freudian so that in fact in June 1925 he was offered, but refused, the presidency of the new *Società Psicoanalitica Italiana* (SPI).[112]

He always managed between the "neither positivist nor idealist," psychophysical parallelist or rather "proportionalist": more than for a certain position he was known for his confirmed agnosticism that cost him much criticism. He did not intervene in the heated discussion between De Sarlo, Croce, Morselli, and others after the Fifth International Congress because it "was badly presented."[113] Better to be practical than to philosophize: "I often wonder why a chemist or a physiologist is not asked today what his philosophy is, his morals, his beliefs." Lucky naturalist scientists! For this reason too might psychology have been better off among the natural sciences?

He explained the "effort by many of us supporters of psychology *qua* science [...] to find a modus vivendi to legitimize ourselves as psychologists faced with the intransigence of modern philosophical thought."[114] His relationship with philosophers had always been problematic: the philosopher Cantoni accused him of being insensitive to the theoretical dimension of psychological science; the philosopher Croce on the other hand attacked any psychologist who theorized rather than just collecting empirical laboratory data. And "as long as philosophers leave [at least] applied psychology in peace, De Sanctis makes important concessions: he insists to the point of self-denigration on the humble and modest character of psychological inquiry [...] comparing it implicitly or explicitly to the noble and superior character of philosophical speculation."[115]

But were Croce and Gentile satisfied with what De Sanctis referred to as "a new approach"? By this he meant "separating psychology from all philosophy, even scientific philosophy [...], its autonomy from metaphysics, but also natural sciences and life sciences."[116] This is what he wrote in 1911, when the *Società Filosofica Italiana* led by a mathematician represented quite different positions, to the regret of Italian neo-idealists. De Sanctis realized that the latter would prevail and wished to avoid a clash. Perhaps his "operational agnosticism" rather than facilitating scientific psychology, pushed it to accept a modus vivendi that was increasingly less capable of accommodating it.

2

Neo-idealism and the "Cinderella of the Sciences"

Consensual Separation? A False Pretext

For love of psychology they had to come to terms with neo-idealism and Fascism; this was the justification repeatedly adopted by Italian psychologists a posteriori. Behind the protection of technical and aseptic scienticity, without values or choice, universal and neutral, some scientists of the psyche, like those of physics, abdicated their sense of responsibility, and slipped from theoretical agnosticism to a disengagement from the social and political implications of their work. In doing so they failed to ask themselves why and how or even what the consequences would be.

In the early 1920s Italian psychology entered this tunnel through to Fascism, particularly in some applicational contexts at the service of society and ideology.[1] Until Agostino Gemelli in Milan imposed himself—from 1926 professor of psychology at the *Università Cattolica* of which he was founder and provost from 1921—the person who dedicated himself most to the academic politics of the discipline was unquestionably Sante De Sanctis in Rome. De Sarlo and De Sanctis had opposite "temperaments," to use the words of William James's famous lecture "The Present Dilemma in Philosophy" the year after having attended the Fifth International Congress of Psychology.[2] On the one hand, acting as a mediator—a role that De Sarlo was not suited for and which he did not like—De Sanctis emerged as the disinterested referee of the contrasts among Italian psychologists that he himself had instigated. On the other hand, he believed in a peaceful consensual separation between scientific psychology and philosophy in order to neutralize the aggressive Italian philosophical trend against the human sciences in general, and psychology in particular. What would the consequences have been for psychology, philosophy, and culture in Italy? Supposing that all his colleagues had agreed—which they did not—would the separation really have appeased the neo-idealists who were trying to force psychology into a corner?

No, separation was not enough, certainly not for neo-idealist philosophers. This was the reply that appeared in the *Rivista di psicologia* in 1924. The debate opened up by Saffiotti and Patini continued in the lucid analysis of Cesare

Musatti, the future "father" of Italian psychoanalysis, then unpaid assistant to Vittorio Benussi at the laboratory of experimental psychology in Padua.[3] He had graduated less than three years earlier from the University of Padua, in November 1921, with a thesis on the philosophy of non-Euclidean geometry, initiated under the supervision of Prof. Antonio Aliotta, one of De Sarlo's brilliant pupils who, before his premature move to Naples, had already prepared Musatti with the *Idealistic Reaction Against Science* (1912). In his article "Psychology as a Science" Musatti made the convincing argument that the greatest problems facing psychology in comparison to other sciences, for example, in measuring psychical facts, or temporal changes in states of consciousness- were surmountable technical difficulties that did not jeopardize scientific research. The real issue was with philosophy: "for an idealistic interpretation [...] it is not even enough to attribute to psychology the merely empirical value that is attributed to scientific thought in general, but it is even necessary to deny the existence of psychology."[4]

According to the neo-idealists, he explained, the empirical knowledge typical of the natural sciences objectifies nature because of a "realistic prejudice," while the spirit, which is fully aware, resolves nature in itself. On the contrary, objectifying "the spirit in nature and mechanizing the spirit in itself is actually an absurdity." In the opinion of the neo-idealists, psychology thus had more difficulties than most sciences because it could not behave in the same way as them: neither "autonomy" from philosophy nor a total "independence" or separation would work. If in experimental practice psychologists were now free of the philosophical "residues," it was precisely "the possibility of such an abstention for science from philosophical [...] problems that idealism basically denies." So, what could be done?

The proposals made by De Sanctis and Saffiotti were apparently not enough. Musatti offered his "different interpretation of historical and also logical relations between philosophy and science," such as to give rise to a "mutual independence." Exactly how was unclear, since he himself had shown it was theoretically impossible for idealistic philosophy to admit the independence of psychology. Basically he wanted to reassure the antipsychologists: "psychology, precisely because [it is] independent, [is] also compatible with any philosophical conception, or with any religious conception [...]; thus particularly compatible with an idealistic position." A step backward had to be taken by "that philosophy that can be practiced by psychologists in the philosophical sphere." Musatti reproached them for complicating things, and exposed them as responsible for the Italian delay in making the young science autonomous. Such a delay, he argued, should be considered due to "the prejudice of believing that psychological objects are more interesting, than the objects of other sciences, for the problems of philosophy, and hence to consider that object from philosophical points of view."[5]

Who was Musatti alluding to in this tortuous logic without naming names? In the *Società filosofica italiana* (SFI) many had expressed themselves in favor of a reciprocal interest of the sciences and philosophy. Those particularly in favor of psychology were Cantoni, Masci, Villa, Morselli, and their pupils. Musatti could not avoid alluding, primarily, to Professor De Sarlo and his school. They believed

that scientific psychology could provide instruments conducive to a greater awareness in the classical areas of philosophy: the theory of knowledge, logic, and ethics.

The young Musatti had written the piece immediately after he had attended the SFI and SIP congresses in Florence in October 1923, both organized by De Sarlo. The board of the SFI congress, which included psychologists such as Enzo Bonaventura and Roberto Assagioli and Ludovico Limentani, trusted that the organizational "coincidence" would ensure a "large participation of followers of psychology at our [philosophical] Congress and of philosophy at the psychological [one]."[6] They were looking for reciprocal involvement rather than separation, and indeed the list of congress participants included many who were interested in psychology. And in his inaugural address the mayor Antonio Garbasso, president of the *Società italiana di fisica*, declared his own preference for psychologists over neo-idealist philosophers who scorned experimental sciences.[7]

In Florence after the inaugural speech, the debate had been opened by the professor of psychology from Padua. Vittorio Benussi had declared that scientific psychology was "compatible with any philosophical-metaphysical system of belief, precisely because it is deeply extraneous to it," and thus affirmed his dissent with De Sarlo. In praise of the latter the philosopher Giuseppe Tarozzi, collaborator on the *Rivista di psicologia*, had reaffirmed the greater importance of psychology with respect to other sciences in constructing a theory of knowledge. And the great neuropsychiatrist Ernesto Lùgaro, in open dispute with Gentile, had declared that "philosophy is not possible without psychology."[8]

Giulio Cesare Ferrari's *Rivista* never published the congress report that he had announced, and the proceedings only give a single page of dissent.[9] It is surprising that the clash has been recorded as the decisive event of the Fourth Congress; apart from this, much worse occurred during the congress and was *not* reported. Yet the fact that the normally reserved Benussi expressed his dissent with his host De Sarlo and that his resourceful assistant developed this into an article for the SIP journal, all as agreed, indicates an internal repositioning of alliances and strategy.[10] As usual, De Sanctis publically abstained and did not even attend the congress in Florence.

Yet in private he had set Benussi up to attack "the greatest sworn enemy of experimental psychology in the shape of the official professor of the discipline! The Florentines have always tended towards separatism. Be warned!!"[11] This was in his letter to Benussi, who appears to have been emotionally dependent on De Sanctis in his periods of greatest psychological distress. But who was "the enemy"? Someone cut out his name with a pair of scissors. Perhaps Benussi did it himself, or perhaps Musatti who took possession of Benussi's papers after his suicide in 1927. There is little doubt that the name removed was that of the father of the Florentine school of psychology. This is obvious from the relations between De Sanctis and De Sarlo, from the marked diversity of their positions, and from the specific context of that letter with the Roman professor's double resentful reference to Florentine separatism and an unofficial professorship in psychology, since De Sarlo started teaching it as professor of theoretical philosophy. In this period De Sanctis was trying to build up personal contact with another "eminent

professor" of philosophy. He had even invited him to the wedding party of his daughter Amalia, and asked whether "an illustrious colleague such as yourself" would do him the honor of celebrating her marriage in a civil ceremony in Rome's Campidoglio. Prof. Giovanni Gentile accepted.[12]

The question of psychology's "enemies" was too often relegated to second place. In first place remained the internal rivalries. After Gentile's reform had hit psychology hard at the secondary school and university levels, the assistant Musatti, who was looking for a paid position for 1923/24, became spokesman of a strategy that effectively opened the way to the powerful neo-idealists.[13] Searching for the compatibility of psychology and metaphysics and even with religion, he opened the way to the neo-scholastic Gemelli's turning the clock back by over half a century. The provost was busy putting his "pastoral medicine" and psychology at the service of the Catholic Church, albeit not without asking and obtaining favors from Croce and Gentile between 1920 and 1924; that is, the years of the debate. If this was the strategy, then the message was that whoever shared the opinions of the then president of the SIP De Sarlo should simply get out of the way.

For years De Sarlo had been the butt of neo-idealist attacks. These were aimed at the most influential exponents of scientific psychology, and in rejecting its legitimacy they paid little attention to those who were innocuous. Just thumb through the index of *La Critica*, the journal directed by Croce with Gentile's help. They attacked the Florentine psychologist and his pupils while the other, not even mentioned psychologists stood by mutely. They imagined that they would be unharmed and some may even have hoped to profit from the difficulties imposed on others. The final benefit for the few was much less than imagined and the damage was immense for all. In the end, Italian psychology recognized not only that it had been the "victim of the idealistic-fascist clash," but even worse, that its most deadly enemies were psychologists themselves.[14]

In comparison to Germany the problems facing psychology in Italy had specific complications due to neo-idealism. This exclusively Italian cultural movement emerged in the early 1900s, was affirmed by Fascism's philosopher Gentile, and with anti-Fascism's philosopher Croce persisted in the wake of World War II. Beyond their political divergences, both shared a program of national cultural renewal based on the recovery of the classical tradition that prepared the organic reform of the national educational system, which was launched by Gentile in 1923 and only started to be dismantled in the 1960s. The consequences of neo-idealism were thus more lasting than its effective hegemony. This was to the detriment of the sciences, to some more than others. The long battle over psychology is therefore significant, and goes beyond those directly involved, who have long since almost disappeared from the scene where they were once protagonists, and far beyond the discipline in question. Let us take things one at a time.

The neo-idealists understood little or nothing about science in general. What did they know about psychology? Croce almost nothing; Gentile just a little, which is even more serious since his reform decided its fate in the public schools where it was abolished, and the universities where it was intentionally left to languish. Their long lists of publications reveal "an extraordinary ignorance" of the development of contemporary psychology.[15] When instead of just arguing

about psychology, they touched its thematic contents, the outcome was banal and moralizing. For example, when the minister Gentile made forays into *The Introduction to the Study of the Child* in 1923 regardless of the great amount of work being done on the subject in Italy, Europe, and the United States. Gentile had devoted himself to pedagogy early in his career, but whoever held his ideas "cannot trust in the science of the child," an expert pedagogist had concluded in *Psiche*.[16]

Croce was heavily sarcastic: psychophysics was "a pastime, no more important than playing solitaire or collecting stamps"; and the folk psychology was an "inexistent science." Many would not dissent on his critique of the old Fechner and Wundt. The point is, however, that Croce was neither able nor willing to look further, toward the psychology that went beyond Wundt. On the contrary he preferred what he judged as irrelevant: "A mythology . . . comfortable for *philosophia pigrorum*." Like his friend, Gentile was furious at the idea that psychology or any other science dare compare itself to philosophy.[17]

To "promote a general reawakening of the philosophical spirit," the sciences should take more than a step backward. With such a program in 1903 we find the first issue of Croce's confrontational periodical with its eloquent title and subtitle, *La Critica. Rivista di letteratura, storia e filosofia*.[18] In the meantime the existing differences between him and Gentile increased. But what counts here is that both believed that cultural supremacy should be awarded to literary studies, which constituted the better and nobler part. De Sarlo's diagnosis was instead that "the real malady of Italian philosophy is the 'literary plague' that generates amateurism in many."[19] Italian neo-idealism immediately presented a unitary humanistic culture to contrast the proliferation of scientific specializations encouraged by positivism everywhere. Croce claimed that all possible knowledge was derived from art and history in his *Estetica* (1902), and from philosophy as history of philosophy, and belittled scientific knowledge as pseudoknowledge. De Sarlo's response was harsh:

> By dint of analogies [. . .] one eliminates for example every difference between the various aesthetic categories, between real and possible, and hence between history and art, and then between language and aesthetic fact, and hence between science of language and aesthetics, and then between economic fact and legal fact, and thus between economy and legal philosophy [. . .] a scandalous simplification whereby [. . .] one ends up identifying everything and explaining nothing.[20]

The neo-idealistic reaction against science differed depending on the particular science. Enrico Morselli, who was an expert of human sciences and scientific philosophy, realized immediately and sharply: what was so disturbing neo-idealism, "above all, and on top of everything else" were the ambitions of "those moral [sciences], Sociology, Ethics, History" that appeared to threaten the supremacy of the philosophy of the spirit.[21] An armistice could be made with the natural sciences on the condition that it did not meddle with philosophy. As regards psychology, or some trends of psychology, this was simply out of the question.

Francesco De Sarlo or the Third Way

> Speaking two different languages, Croce and I could not understand each other even in signs. He is totally disdainful of empirical psychology. I on the other hand believe that a philosophy of the spirit without a broad psychic and historical experience is nothing but a soap bubble.[22]

Felice Tocco had said it loud and clear. It was precisely for this reason that he, the neo-Kantian philosopher, and Pasquale Villari, the positivist historian, were such keen promoters of a modern department of philosophy and philology, with anthropology, scientific pedagogy, and psychology as its axis in the humanistic sciences. The Institute of Psychology set up by De Sarlo in prestigious premises in the academic year 1903/4 was the first and best equipped in Italy. The Florentine group—because this is what it was right from the start—immediately attracted much praise, insidious rivalry, and even fierce attacks. What did it have more than the others? The *Istituto di Studi Superiori* had invested financial and human resources, space, and expectations in an ambitious plan: the creation of a school of scientific psychology where "young scholars can be trained to do research also by means of experimental procedures."[23]

This did not materialize out of the blue; students had been hearing discussions about psychology from the 1870s onward, but there was a desire to offer them something new. In other universities it was simply what already existed. In Florence the proposal had come from the new arrival, a young Professor De Sarlo. Older and distinguished colleagues had given him credit. After all they had chosen him in 1900 precisely because he contributed to the program of renewal inspired by Dean Pasquale Villari's famous lecture on "Positive Philosophy and Historical Method" published in *Il Politecnico*. The great traditional syntheses lacked the explanatory capacity to deal with the world and therefore to explain it. What was needed was a study of "man living and real, changeable in a thousand guises, shaken by a thousand passions, limited in every way yet full of aspirations."[24] In line with the mission of the ISS, the human sciences in their various specializations were essential.

The chair of theoretical philosophy was vacant, and the department of philosophy had chosen a scholar known for his unusual curriculum, a large number of publications, and a "positive attitude to philosophical studies in general and to psychologists in particular." He had already been noticed in earlier *concorsi* by the examining committee: De Sarlo came to philosophy starting with a degree in medicine under biological sciences for what he describes as "a certain mental need." He had gone on to develop this in the lessons of the mentor of Hegelianism in Naples, Bertrando Spaventa, and then focused on the study of Darwin and James Stuart Mill in English philosophy. His analytical gifts came from experimental and clinical studies in the mental hospital of Reggio Emilia, such as Tamburini, Morselli, and Tanzi, the best alienists of the time. He had both "extensive expertise in the research of psychophysiology," with "independence of thought [...] and critical rigor," enough to avoid the theoretical naivety typical of naturalists who often stumbled into determinism and reduced the psyche to

soma. The High Council of Education concluded that "his knowledge in biological sciences, the quality of experimenter original, the broad understanding especially of contemporary psychology and his skill in reasoning and criticism provided him with the means to work well."[25] But in what in particular? In psychology obviously, as this was understood and valued in a certain cultural milieu strongly favoring sciences, and that insisted on the range and irreducible specificity of the human world (in comparison to the natural world) and, moreover, of the individual human being.

In the ISS the studies of physiologists and anthropologists had converged on an interest in psychological matters; at the Institute in Florence, decades before the German political refugee Moritz Schiff and particularly the Russian Alexander Herzen (exiled by the Tsarist regime for being a "very dangerous free thinker") had made psychology a sort of extension of the physiology of phenomena, from the most simple phenomena to the most complex. Their colleague Paolo Mantegazza, who had lived several years in South America, had instead recommended the comparative psychology of races, peoples, and individuals to study behavior "modifiable by a thousand varying causes according to age, sex, race."[26] From respective points of view—which converged in sweeping away the outdated speculation on the soul—they had written about psychology, and discussed it in the lively meetings of the Society set up in Florence in 1870 by Mantegazza, to the point that in 1878 its committee agreed to change its name to *Società italiana di antropologia, etnologia e psicologia comparata*. This last discipline was added in the statute and became an integral part of the texts and title of the *Archivio*, the society's well-known periodical, until 1911.

In the meantime Tocco, former professor of anthropology in Rome (where the chair had been abolished) had moved to Florence and explained to members of the Society that physiopsychological causality would once again collapse into materialistic metaphysics. For the good Herzen this accusation sounded slanderous and unintelligible, due to his scarce theoretical ability. Tocco had been called for the history of philosophy, which he taught from 1877 to 1910 working on psychology as well; he revised the "Instructions for the study of Comparative Psychology" to help ethnologists and explorers collect data, and worked on his unfinished *Elementary Treatise on Psychology*.[27] In 1886 the professor of anthropology Mantegazza had submitted a plan for a Psychological Museum. This had been accomplished by the ISS in three years and entrusted to Mantegazza with the duty to "give some free lessons in *experimental psychology* every year," which would produce great advantages for criminology, sociology, pedagogy, and philosophy.[28]

For the Florentines "experimental psychology"—the denomination of De Sarlo's compulsory course for students of philosophy in January 1904—was not in the least synonymous with physiological psychology. Through the stages cited earlier with Mantegazza and Tocco, psychophysiology had already revealed its theoretical weaknesses and practical limitations. One path had come to an end. Now it was time to take another path and forge ahead. Other positive elements for the construction of the new science psychology came from psychiatry and here Florence boasted the great tradition initiated by Vincenzo Chiarugi.

In 1896–1897 the *Istituto* had asked Eugenio Tanzi from Trieste, its clinician for mental illness, to inaugurate the academic year in the *Aula Magna* in Piazza San Marco, with a lecture on "The limits of psychology" because psychiatry's contribution to the new science of psychology was already acknowledged, particularly in France and Italy. But it was not enough.

Four years later with the arrival of De Sarlo (who replaced the old-fashioned Augusto Conti), the ISS took a third way:

> Until this point experimental psychology in Italy had remained confused, at least in appearance, either with physiology or psychiatry: the first among us to argue that experimental psychology could not, and should not, be associated with the other two disciplines was Francesco De Sarlo.[29]

The process started again with a move to "give psychology to psychologists": such was the enthusiastic perception of those around him.

On one side of Piazza Santissima Annunziata with Brunelleschi's portico was the ultramodern laboratory of psychology with instruments and its own library, which started to function after three years of work. Only then was the course inaugurated in the presence of the authorities, students, and the general public with the auspicious title "The Horizons of Experimental Psychology," that in his publication became "*empirical* psychology." It provided ample room

> for the explication of all tendencies [...] whoever has an aptitude for the research of precise measures, for patient investigation of recording will find the equipment necessary. Whoever prefers studies of applied psychology will find a way to carry out direct enquiries [...] This laboratory could be the organizational hub of a collective work, done with method.[30]

De Sarlo saw a very favorable climate for the study of psychology. In many ambits its use was now acknowledged: the judge can understand the reliability of witnesses and the motives of the accused; the educator can comprehend those entrusted to his care; and the institutional physician can analyze deviant individuals, criminals, or the insane. Yet each worked on his own, ignoring the research of the others:

> Such a dispersion of human resources would certainly stop once there is an institute under the guide and direction of specialists who draw up projects for research, and suggest experiments to be carried out in schools, military barracks, mental hospitals and prisons.[31]

Neither closing oneself in a laboratory, nor losing oneself in speculative abstraction, psychological research was placed at the service of society, almost like a civil commitment. Some academics in the Florentine ISS were active in politics and in philanthropic associationism, especially the physicians; the psychiatrist Eugenio Tanzi and the pediatrician Giuseppe Mya had been elected in the "popular bloc" (socialists, republicans, and radicals) with Francesco Sangiorgi, Florence's first nonaristocratic mayor from 1907 to 1910, and carried

out surveys of popular housing and childhood in Florence promoted by the Municipality.[32] The experts of the *Società Toscana d'igiene* reported problems that needed to be dealt with in Florentine primary schools; De Sarlo planned and coordinated research on children's mental development and "character anomalies." "We approached the primary school teachers so that they would carry out the investigation among their pupils on our behalf."[33] He taught them to use the Binet test in a version that he had adapted and how to process the results statistically; his lab assistant registered variations in children's attention. He often dealt with public schools in a participative way, as seen in his correspondence with unknown teachers.[34]

In 1899 the *Istituto Toscano per bambini tardivi Umberto I* was set up in Florence. It was the first of its kind in Italy for the treatment and reeducation of children with mental disturbances; by helping families it prevented children from ending up in asylums alongside adults. De Sarlo immediately pressed his pupils into becoming involved and at least two of them did—the Palermitan Antonio Aliotta, and the Calabrian Giovanni Calò, who specialized in pedagogy for abnormal children and in training special teachers to work with them. Limentani and Lamanna were among the members of the Istituto Umberto I.[35] It was only the beginning—forgotten like much else—of a concrete collaboration among pediatricians, psychiatrists, pedagogists, and psychologists concerned with childhood and adolescence that developed over the decades, silently, and that was resumed after the dramatic events in the wake of World War II.

The promises made were kept. Laboratory research was plentiful and varied, from the physiological correlation of emotional states, to the analysis of dreams, and from reaction times to optical-geometric illusions. Here elements that were considered marginal or even "disturbing" in physiological experimentation were treated instead as the most revealing in psychological experimentation: confusing the two "reveals a lack of the most basic preparation in order to deal with psychological questions."[36] It was striking that they did not focus exclusively on technical rigor, but were nearly always accompanied by a reflection on methods, implicit assumptions, and consequences. The pupils in Florence recognized the professor's merit in having trained them in a constant critical exercise of awareness and antidogmatism: "in general in laboratories one collected data, and synthesized formulae, but one did not ask what those numbers meant."[37]

The productivity and quality of the Florentine school were there for all to see. Villari and Tocco expressed their satisfaction with "the results obtained by the well-deserving Prof. De Sarlo [...] beyond our hopes," and were periodically referred to by the superintendent. The *Istituto di Studi Superiori* decided to publish the monographs of psychology in its own series, under the Faculty of Philosophy and Philology: the first volume was by De Sarlo in 1903, the last by Renata Calabresi in 1930. The greatest acclaim was the fact that the "newly inaugurated disciplinary sector" was followed "by many of our young students."[38] His first two pupils were the brilliant, pluri-award-winning Aliotta, who became a professor at a very young age; and Giovanni Calò with his "agile tongue, [...] he knew everything, was interested in everything, talked about everything,"[39] ever deferential toward his esteemed mentor even when he became an Italian deputy.

In 1913, describing the situation of the Italian experimental psychology, the highly popular *Almanacco italiano Bemporad* confirmed the chronological and qualitative supremacy of Florence, albeit mentioning Rome and Turin where professors had won the *concorso* for psychology years earlier but continued to remain basically either psychiatrists or physiologists.[40]

De Sarlo was younger than them and an outsider. Until 1900 he had taught in Italian *licei*, while constantly doing research, publishing, and occasionally applying for a *concorso*. Then came his startling career: he was promoted to full professor in December 1903, director of the laboratory of psychology in January 1904, and in July he became member of *Accademia dei Lincei*, the most prestigious cultural institution in Italy that had already awarded him *Premio Reale* in 1897.[41] He had three daughters, a wife, a brother priest who visited him in Florence every now and then, and relatives in Basilicata in the South. Twice widowed, he would return home to his village each summer with his son Luigi, known as Luino, born in 1911 from his second marriage.

Extremely determined to do well, the master knew how to surround himself with enthusiastic young students, worked hard, and made others do the same with little idea of what troubles he was getting himself into. He had a brusque character, incapable of compromise, and perhaps not very suited to the academic environment.

Benedetto Croce: "Either a Physician or a Philosopher"

At the outset Croce had tried to blandish De Sarlo. He reviewed an important work of his and, completely distorted its meaning, rejoicing that an Italian had confirmed that psychology "must be treated as a simple naturalistic discipline, in the same way as physics or botany. Croce claimed that he had always believed this (De Sarlo never). He was however "rather dissatisfied [...] with the lack of confidence, of sharpness" with which "the valiant author" had expressed himself. Therefore Croce prescribed to De Sarlo what he should say to resolve the problem: first of all that empirical psychology could "never be a system of knowledge, but must remain, as every natural science, a simple collection of facts, always increasable and variable, grouped and schematized for the benefit of memory."[42]

De Sarlo kept silent and went ahead with his work. Soon afterward, at the International Congress of Psychology in Rome in 1905, Croce immediately intervened, and decided again who should do what, aggravating the differences between psychologists and condemning those whom Gentile had already described as "those many writers on philosophical issues [...] astonishingly obstinate in not looking where philosophy itself is at hand."[43]

The reaction of the neo-idealists was equally aggressive at the Fourth International Congress of Philosophy in Bologna in 1911 against its organizer, who was primarily a mathematician and philosopher, the founder and president of the *Società filosofica italiana* (SFI) Federigo Enriques.[44] If true philosophers were well advised not to waste their time with "naturalistic congresses"; it was intolerable that scientists did not keep to their place (or what Croce and Gentile presumed this was) and demanded to engage in matters of philosophy.

Either here or there. Otherwise there would simply be confusion, chaos, and insecurity. The only possible solution was that of diverging distances, but not even between equals. This was the line taken by Gentile and Croce, and even by those psychologists who "faced with intransigent modern philosophical thought," believed it better to adapt their position gradually.[45]

De Sarlo declared that "it is our firm opinion that philosophy cannot today be built on a vacuum, but that it needs a substratum and concrete content." On this premise, in 1907, he had decided to take action with a new journal—and many young scholars on the editorial staff, who would have shown

> how much and how, in a word, each order of scientific knowledge, none excluded—neither the natural sciences, nor the moral sciences—from mathematics to biology, psychology, law etc., contributes and can contribute to a systematic knowledge of the world and to a philosophical conception of all reality.[46]

It was clear from its agenda that *La Cultura Filosofica* was an alternative to *La Critica*. Comparing the two new journals, the antipositivist Giovanni Papini recognized that the Florentine journal was trying "to grope its way along, combatting the Hegelians on the right and the Positivists on the left,"[47] to construct a third way of dealing with the opposition between idealism and Italian materialism. Instead the Hegelian Croce did not budge from his position, and insisted on seeing the opponent as "something similar to positivism."[48] Mistakenly as it turns out, because the battle of De Sarlo and of many others scientist-philosophers against the defects of "contemporary positivism" in Italy had been his priority for years. Yet faced with the neo-idealist *imperium* and his own defeat, in the 1920s he preferred to define himself as "the last of the positivists." He claimed that even when he had criticized Italian positivism—"based as it is on anticritical dogmatism *par excellence*, [...and] unfortunately [...] more like a sect than a school of philosophy"[49]—he had always defended the scientific knowledge.

Croce instead accused him of creating "confusion [...] unifying two disparate things: *bringing together the results of the sciences* (with what competence I cannot say) and *philosophizing*: which is a function quite different to a bulletin on the innovations in chemistry or physiology." He took that "sort of little magazine of reviews with the inappropriate title of *La Cultura filosofica*" as a personal challenge, and unequivocal proof that "De Sarlo aspires to succeed to the philosophical papacy."[50] At the fourth cut and thrust, he publicly declared that if he had first been indulgent, now "the implacable craving for fame of the shadowy personage" (De Sarlo did indeed overshadow him) forced him to change his approach.[51] Was this a warning or a threat?

> I put De Sarlo in his place [...] I decided to give him no quarter and to write three, four, ten articles until he keeps quiet. I know I am right; and that De Sarlo, for the post that he holds in Florence, has an influence and aspires to assume an authority, that may prove very damaging...I am not aiming at him but at the youth who listen to him and who read him.[52]

This is what Croce confided in a letter to Giuseppe Lombardo Radice. What sparked it, however, was De Sarlo's critical review of Croce's book on what was living and what was dead in Hegel. He had not appreciated it and had replied "loud and clear." De Sarlo from the pages of *Cultura filosofica*, and Croce from those of *La Critica* went ahead to see "who could exaggerate the most," as a dismayed young philosopher commented the mounting insults—from "macaronic" to "scoundrel"—into which De Sarlo had let himself be drawn.[53]

Croce had already been severely criticized by the young scholars who paid attention to De Sarlo rather than to him. In 1904 a 23-year-old Palermitan, freshly graduated from Florence with honors, had written that Croce's aesthetics came from metaphysics, distant from experience and unable to establish links with it. His maestro had taught that one's ideas should be defended seriously, and so Antonio Aliotta held his own with Croce, in a double response.[54]

Giovanni Calò was another competent young scholar who had specialized in psychology in Florence and whom the neo-idealists found indigestible, a *libero docente* in pedagogy from 1907. Croce branded him an "*arriviste*" and a proselytist for De Sarlo, and set against him Gentile, whose ideas Calò had criticized.[55] Different contents, but the same script. Calò contested the idealistic theses analyzing the requirements of a pedagogic science; Gentile rejected the idea of even "treating pedagogy as a science," and asserted that the German Herbart "indeed did not show why and how it should be regarded." Calò analyzed the relation between teacher and taught; Gentile declaimed "our *maestro* is the spirit, ours and of others, but always the spirit, neither old nor young, neither beautiful nor ugly."[56]

In *La Cultura Filosofica* De Sarlo hosted both positions, declaring to Gentile that he was happy to publish his contribution; unfortunately, due to a lack of space, he had to shorten it—albeit he reassured him—"leaving the theoretical part intact." This led to the umpteenth incident; the author hinted, and the director took offense. Gentile wrote to Croce: "This imbecile loses his temper [. . . his] lack of tact is rude [. . .] also because of his schoolboy reply, that I would like to give the answer he deserves, both to him and his maestro [. . .] I would want to expose the bestiality of the Florentine school. Tell me if you think it appropriate."

The two friends congratulated each other. Croce applauded Gentile for "teaching Calò a lesson, clear and cogent [. . .] That boy's tone irritated me; and I was consoled for my regret that I had been too hard on De Sarlo." Not a bit, the other insisted: "your fierce article is spot on [. . .], we must continue."[57] And indeed, they did continue, without respite, systematically slating books and even Congress intervention: "More about Prof. De Sarlo and his School."[58] The latter reacted thus to the umpteenth attack: "The diatribes of Mr. G. now leave us cold. And since he clearly seems to be suffering from a pathological condition (psychopathy or bad liver) I, who am also something of a physician, advise him to go to Naples, where he has many friends, for a suitable cure with Prof. Bianchi or Prof. Senise," both of whom were illustrious neuropsychiatrists.[59]

It was a double taunt. In *La Critica* the director Croce had recalled De Sarlo's youthful studies in medicine in order to mention that perhaps this could make him "useful for a colleague who asked him for a medical opinion [but] gave

him no special competence or advantage in philosophy." He should therefore decide:

> Once a friend of mine in Naples said to his colleague the deputy mayor, who at carnival was disguised as Pulcinella, "either be deputy mayor or Pulcinella." Either a physician or a philosopher! Mixing natural science and philosophy De Sarlo set up a laboratory of experimental psychology in Florence that was useless, one that, and any case, it was not the professor of theoretical philosophy's job to set up; for the same confusion, two years ago, he wanted to go to Rome for a congress of naturalist psychologists and cut a rather comic figure.[60]

Croce sneered and mocked. He allowed himself to scold "the professor of theoretical philosophy at the ISS in Florence [who] should have the duty to study *not the results of the natural sciences*, but the *historical results of philosophy*, that is, classical works with which De Sarlo is unfamiliar."[61] Not even this was true, to judge by his rival's books. But, beyond their tones, those insults reveal Croce's provincialism. Having studied at the University of Naples, but never graduated, he clearly knew of De Sarlo's medical and philosophical studies, but apparently nothing of the intellectual paths of Fechner and Wundt, James, and many other German, European, and American psychologists who had graduated in medicine, dabbled in philosophy and taught it at university. Not to mention the very many who had come to scientific psychology directly from philosophy.

The Noninelucta ble Hegemony

In the meantime the young collaborators of *La Cultura Filosofica* were rapidly making careers for themselves. The scientific works in question, theirs and those of their maestro, were awarded by the *Accademia di scienze morali e politiche* of Naples and by the *Regio Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere* in Milan. In 1917 the *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* awarded the *Premio Reale ex aequo* to De Sarlo and Gentile, and the *Società Reale di Napoli* awarded Antonio Aliotta a prize for his work on *The Idealistic Reaction against Science* of 1912.[62] Croce and Gentile did not yet lay down the law, despite all their efforts. Since the anti-idealists named here were all, or nearly all, from the South, it must be noted that they did not dominate Italy's Southern culture either, despite the fact that the Sicilian Gentile congratulated himself with Croce (who was in fact also admired in Turin) boasting the South "follow[s] our work with devotion."[63]

In the idealistic hegemony it is a question of distinguishing where and, above all, when. The cards were not on the table from the start. In the 1920s the young scholars who had not experienced the difference with the liberal era perhaps thought that things could not be any different, and this became a powerful justificatory refrain. Yet looking back this presumed inevitability emerges invalid.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century the scenario was different from the one that would become dominant. That is why in 1903 Croce had entrusted Gentile with the specific task of combatting the contemporary philosophy, so disliked by neo-idealists. There was criticism for everyone, positivists,

neo-Kantians, and all the rest.[64] When Federigo Enriques of the University of Bologna founded the SFI in 1906, Croce as usual mocked it, and made sarcastic utterances on philosophy "that arises easily in the brains of mathematicians." He was also irritated that the SFI congress in Milan unanimously voted the agenda proposed by De Sarlo to set up chairs of psychology with laboratories for degrees in philosophy.[65]

The following year the SFI met in concomitance with the *Società italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze* set up by the mathematician Vito Volterra from Rome, in order to increase the collaboration between philosophy and science, and to promote links between science and democracy, the former being a condition of the latter.[66] In 1911 the SFI directed by Enriques, who was asked to organize the International Congress of Philosophy, was held in great esteem by foreign and Italian scientists and philosophers. For two years the Society had its own organ, the *Rivista di filosofia*, born from the fusion of two journals representing neo-Kantians and new positivists: Cantoni's *Rivista Filosofica* and Giovanni Marchesini's *Rivista di filosofia e scienze affini* had joined forces to contrast the neo-idealism.[67]

In short, the Italian cultural panorama was not exclusively neo-idealistic. Its greatest complexity lies in the historical studies on particular figures and aspects that unfortunately are known today only in a limited circle of specialists. A rather black-and-white picture still persists—neo-idealism vs positivism, the victory of the former and the failure of the latter—and it has absorbed little of the subtle and traumatic changes that took place in the transition from the liberal era to Fascism. Perhaps because what prevailed afterward was a desire to sustain the reciprocal extraneousness of idealism and Fascism, by denying even the most evident links.[68] In so doing, the postwar culture has not even recognized that positivism had been "condemned *en bloc*." It had been cancelled together with the liberal democratic orientation that it contained, by the crossfire among the idealism of Croce and Gentile, the Church, and Marxism. In his *Memories of the Rosselli Brothers* the philosopher Alessandro Levi wanted to testify to this. Positivism "should be studied in its various currents, also and especially in its Italian version, which recognized, along with Roberto Ardigò, the great value of social ideals," Levi recommended in 1947, after he had courageously reproposed *The Political Positivism of Carlo Cattaneo* under Fascism.[69]

The battle was not only about ideas, and became fierce. Beyond the polemics in journals and newspapers, and the sometimes ferocious attacks, there was also the academic scheming to place the members of one's own clique, who might not always be very good, to fill all available positions and, above all, to prevent others from taking those positions. In the habitual maneuvering of university *concorsi*, Gentile behaved like a dictator. The documentation examined by one of his biographers reveals how much energy he had dedicated to this activity for decades. His intervention, as professor, member of the High Council of Education from 1915 to 1920, and later as minister in a totalitarian state, had huge consequences, directly and indirectly.[70]

Let us take a look at the dates. In the same year that Gentile had been declared unsuitable for a chair in theoretical philosophy by a *concorso* committee and had begun to polemicize in *La Critica*, in 1903, De Sarlo had become full professor

in the same subject (and Edoardo Gemelli had become Friar Agostino). In 1906 Gentile was assessed by another committee, which was prevalently positivist and neo-Kantian, and thus not in tune with his ideas. Yet here Gentile finally obtained a position, but in the history of philosophy at the University of Palermo. This was when De Sarlo's first pupils—who sent him his congratulations[71]—were themselves looking for jobs in the university or teaching. Gentile attacked them to the point that in 1911 the candidates Giovanni Calò and Guido della Valle, who had specialized in psychology in Florence and transferred to pedagogy, both objected to him being on an *concorso* committee in Catania and denounced the timing of his attacks and the "resentful and spiteful" manner with which he had reviewed their books in Croce's journal.[72] Gentile's reaction was worse than resentful: "rejections shower down. [...] that disgusting reptile Della Valle has submitted another one against me."[73] A year later and still in Sicily a fellow philosopher preferred to resign from a *concorso* committee where Gentile was a member, rather than have "anything to do with him."[74]

Gentile's pieces on "Philosophy in Italy after 1850" published between 1903 and 1914 had caused much public protest and an appeal that went unheard: "in the struggle for ideas free to all, leave aside once and for all the sinister and aggressive provocations that seem to renew religious hatred in philosophy."[75] This is clear in the private correspondence: for Croce and Gentile their philosophical opponents were enemies to be destroyed, not interlocutors with whom to carry on discussions.

As a former student of the *Istituto di Studi Superiori*, Gentile disliked the entire Florentine group. He had publicly criticized Villari as much as he had Tocco, with whom he had graduated, and yet later he let it be known that he would have liked to take the latter's chair when the neo-Kantian philosopher died, in 1911 (*La Cultura Filosofica* dedicated an issue to him). Gentile was advised informally that in Florence he was neither welcome nor worthy to become the maestro's successor. He claimed privately that the fault was De Sarlo's, while admitting that he had no proof.[76] He took it to heart and had both the time and the opportunity for retaliation against De Sarlo and his pupils. In the words of one capable young scholar who went from one *concorso* to another with punitive results[77]: "I am desperate [...] but why do I always find these people against me?" Over the years Professor De Sarlo had found himself on the same *concorso* committee with Croce. So he had to "enter the lion's den," Limentani made fun of him good naturedly and encouraged him: his presence at the *concorso* was a guarantee; it would have been a "good thing for those valid scholars" who were certainly present among the candidates.[78]

In 1920 De Sarlo was elected president of the SIP, after Colucci's lethargic nine-year presidency. The latter had not even managed to organize the national congress in Naples, which was announced but repeatedly postponed; the SIP languished and Italian psychologists had many questions to tackle. The ideas of the new president were not a secret; it was well known that he did not shirk problems. His allies recognized his broad experience, his ability to promote initiatives and to attract young and brilliant scholars; his rivals simply felt threatened.

When he arrived, the SIP had been in existence for a decade and had met in congress only twice, in 1911 in Turin and in 1913 in Rome. The idea to found it

had come during the Sixth International Congress in Geneva in 1909—among the Italians, Friedrich Kiesow and Cesare Colucci were absent—and it was inaugurated on March 31, 1910, in Florence at the *Biblioteca Filosofica*, where De Sarlo and others were on home ground.[79] The first president was De Sanctis, and Kiesow as secretary had the honor of organizing and chairing the first congress in 1911, which "turned out to be rather modest in terms of attendance and actual work done."[80] The new president was selected during this congress, so after just a year De Sanctis was replaced by the third chair of experimental psychology, Colucci from Naples from 1911 to 1920.

In the meantime Europe had gone to war. Even the international congresses of psychology had long been suspended: from 1909 in Geneva to 1923 in Oxford, because the American delegation that was to organize the Seventh Congress in 1913 withdrew, as William James had already done in 1905. It was not the war but "personal rivalries" that seem to have prevented North American psychologists from hosting an international congress, finally held in 1929 at Yale University, after the Eighth Congress in Groningen in 1926.[81] In other words, the Great War did not explain all the problems that occurred in this period in the activities of psychologists, and not only them. Nevertheless, it still influenced events in various ways. Data on the *Psychological Index* should be taken with a pinch of salt; the number of works registered is lower than the actual number published and to a different extent depending on the language examined. Apart from the English-language group, which included American titles, German publications dropped from 526 in 1916 to 88 in 1917, the French touched the lowest level in 1918 with just 67 titles, and Italian works fell from 125 in 1915 to 83 in 1916, but later beat the other two, rising to 117 in 1917 and 157 in the last year of the war, which ended in November 1918 for Italy.[82]

On the one hand, the war stimulated the development of psychology in some applications, particularly in selecting members of the armed forces. On the other hand, it meant an impoverishment of human and financial resources in teaching and research in all Italian universities. In Florence De Sarlo was temporarily without his laboratory assistant, Enzo Bonaventura, and without the help of able collaborators then serving at the front. He also witnessed the departure of the "grand old men." In 1915 Franz Brentano, who was a constant point of reference for him and for some of his pupils, left Florence where he had lived since 1896 for Zurich, where he died two years later. In 1917 Florentine psychology lost its greatest and most effective supporter with the death of Pasquale Villari. On March 31, 1918, De Sarlo was no longer able to run *La Cultura Filosofica*. After a decade he was forced to interrupt the quarterly publication, but hoped to start up a second series "as soon as the extraordinary conditions of the time come to an end."[83]

La Critica instead went ahead to be written exclusively by Croce and Gentile. A few other names only began to appear when the political distance between the two neo-idealists increased, which ranged from different positions on the war to contrasting stances on the regime.[84] In 1920 Giovanni Gentile announced the foundation of the *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, directed by himself and with a Sicilian publisher. Its aim was to "promote studies on Italian philosophy"

because after the great tragedy of the war the philosophical spirit in Italy and elsewhere was "half asleep," and the director wanted to restore it with "an historical or current idealism" that identified philosophy with its history. The first issue made its debut with an article on aesthetics by Croce and ended with various reviews including an attack on De Sarlo's latest publications, one of which was already four years old.[85]

In the agitated political situation that followed the elections of November 1919, there were six ministers of education in a single year, until Benedetto Croce, who took office on June 16, 1920. He was no friend of psychology. Some hoped for a truce in the hostilities, like Saffiotti in the article examined earlier,[86] and some simply trusted that this minister, like the previous ones, would not last long. And so it was. Indeed, the fifth Giolitti government fell on July 4, 1921, but not without lasting consequences for Italian psychology. Apropos the rise Friar Agostino Gemelli, no longer in the role of Kiesow's pupil, imposed himself as provost of the Università Cattolica in Milan, which was established thanks to a decree signed by Croce himself.

In the early 1920s there were many signs of the radicalization of the conflict, and in the so-called battle of ideas, idealism won, mainly due to the personal success of Giovanni Gentile, who played a key role in the cultural policy of the regime, becoming minister of education, member of the Fascist parliament, senator, and the Italian intellectual holding the greatest number of institutional positions.[87]

Journals, Gemelli, and the Church

Against great odds Giulio Cesare Ferrari had managed to publish the *Rivista di psicologia* (founded by him in 1905) uninterruptedly, even in the World War I. However it had "become insufficient," argued Agostino Gemelli, and thus in 1920 he announced that it would be flanked by a second journal, the *Archivio italiano di psicologia*.[88]

In fact we need to take another step backward. There had already been a second specialist journal in Italy: *Psiche. Rivista di studi psicologici* first published in Florence in 1912, and interrupted due to "the terrible war that is now staining Europe with blood," yet with the promise to revive it later, when the young collaborators would return from the front.[89] Its editors were very well-known names, the psychiatrist philosopher Morselli, the psychologist philosopher Guido Villa, and the psychologist psychiatrist De Sanctis; but in four years the three of them only managed to publish five articles.

The real work was done by others, starting with Roberto Assagioli, its 24-year-old founder who had moved to Florence from Venice with his parents in order to study medicine at the ISS where he then had a job at the Museum of Psychology. His wealthy adoptive father helped him by financing *Psyche*. Its perspective, the themes dealt with, the intense collaboration with the Florentines all suggest that behind the scenes the young chief editor had the support of De Sarlo who, among other things, had wanted him in his *Circolo di studi psicologici*.[90]

Assagioli had made a name for himself for having defended his thesis on psychoanalysis, the first one in Italy. It is generally reported that his choice of the argument was much hindered, but this does not seem to have been the case. His supervisor was Prof. Eugenio Tanzi, who was on excellent terms with De Sarlo and with psychology; he had personally reviewed, and got others to review, several of Freud's original works since 1896 in his *Rivista di patologia nervosa e mentale*. He had encouraged his pupil Assagioli with that thesis and persuaded him to visit Burghölzli and Jung, who had then recommended him to Freud:

> A very pleasant and perhaps valuable acquaintance, our first Italian, a Dr. Assagioli from the psychiatric clinic in Florence. Prof. Tanzi assigned him our work for a dissertation. The young man is very intelligent, seems to be extremely knowledgeable and is an enthusiastic follower, who is entering the new territory with the proper *brio*. He wants to visit you next spring.[91]

The Italian had immediately written him a letter, "in perfect German," remarked Freud. Assagioli spoke English and French even better, and had a smattering of Russian from university companions.[92] In Zurich he had become part of the small Swiss group of *International Psychoanalytical Association* (there were also two Germans and the American Trigant Burrow of the John Hopkins Hospital). In Florence he was on the board of De Sarlo's *Circolo* and frequented the literary avant-garde of Giovanni Papini and Giuseppe Prezzolini, besides writing in their journals—*La Voce*, *Leonardo*—which opened the way to American and European culture alongside irrationalist tendencies.[93]

Was Florence a city with two faces, divided between philosophical-literary culture on the one hand and a scientific culture on the other?[94] It is an evocative image perhaps but, constructed a posteriori, does not explain why young scholars of different interests attended the same circles and collaborated in the same initiatives. The project launched by *Psiche* was to indeed cooperate, or at least coexist, with different trends and orientations. The challenge was to avoid the sterile antithesis reported by William Mackenzie, the Anglo-Italian biologist and parapsychologist.[95] The interest in scientific psychology not reduced to naturalistic experimentalism was actually incompatible with the presumed schism between the two cultures, a split that was imposed by others afterward, and that later was taken as obvious and inevitable.

Psiche published monographic issues, with notes and comments, discussions and reliable "psychological bibliographies" on psychoanalysis and psychopathology, animal psychology and legal psychology, psychology of religion, and sexual psychology. It spread the ideas of Adler and Jung along with those of Freud (also in *La Voce*), and it is remarkable that its interest in the unconscious took in much else: Silas Weir Mitchell's clinical cases, Eugène Azam's personality changes, or the multiple personalities described by Morton Prince.[96] There was also a frequent focus on childhood, and in 1914 an entire issue was dedicated to it. A woman pupil of the Herbartian pedagogist Luigi Credaro (himself a pupil of Cantoni and minister of education) wrote a review essay on international child psychology from Stanley Hall to Binet and Claparède.[97] A pupil of De Sarlo dealt with the

emotional life in childhood, rejecting the commonplace of an "age of innocence"; Giuseppe Fanciulli also used letters on the Messina earthquake (1908) that young readers had written to the *Giornalino della Domenica*, published by Bemporad of Florence. A psychologist who had worked in the *Educatorio di Tripoli*, in the Italian colony, examined the drawings of 150 Arab boys aged 8–15 years.[98]

The journal intended to overcome the experimental exclusivism by presenting other approaches and methods. Some examine the most frequent errors among psychologists and scientists in general; De Sarlo stepped in with articles on introspection, experimentation, and historical methods. His assistant Enzo Bonaventura reported how to use introspection scientifically, after he had spent months in the laboratory investigating the matter.[99] It is not by chance that *Psiche* chose, with Freud's permission, to translate "The Psychoanalytic Method." Discussing methods, Bonaventura cited the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, and Enrico Morselli examined free association.[100] Freudian ideas were considered alongside those of Jung and Adler as being part of general psychology and not a separate system to adopt or oppose. If anything, it was an additional analytical approach.

Assagioli had attended the Congress of Psychoanalysis in Nurnberg, March 30–31, 1910, while still a student. As usual he had come away with 35 pages of his handwritten notes, and in the *Rivista di psicologia* he had announced the birth of the *Internationale psychoanalitische Vereinigung*.[101] To call attention to psychoanalysis the *Rivista di psicologia* of Bologna and the *Rivista sperimentale di freniatria* of Reggio Emilia had been the first, thanks to two nonacademic psychiatrists and psychologists.[102] Then came the group of *Psiche* and the *Associazione di studi psicologici* (ASP, formerly *Circolo*), which also discussed dreams and the unconscious. Florence became a key center for the dissemination of psychoanalytic discourse in scientific and university circles, with Tanzi and De Sarlo who had begun to discuss *Modern Theories on the Psychology of Suggestion* with Tocco back in 1893.[103]

This still needs to be investigated, since the main focus has been on the literary milieu, and hence Trieste, the Haspsburg and subsequently Italian city where psychoanalysis circulated precisely among the literati, who were however particularly attracted by Florence.[104] In this sense the SIP member Edoardo Weiss as a physician at the Trieste psychiatric hospital and a psychoanalyst was an exception. In 1931 he left his city, where he had too few patients, and in 1939 left Italy altogether. The *Società di psicoanalisi italiana* (SPI) was only set up in June 1925 in Teramo, a Southern city, by another asylum psychiatrist, Marco Levi-Bianchini, and for its publications he used his existing *Archivio generale di psichiatria e neurologia* (*e di psicoanalisi*, from 1926 on). In order to maintain his "impartial position, of independent and sympathetic observer," De Sanctis declined the invitation to take on the presidency of the SPI that was entrusted to the safer hands of Edoardo Weiss, Freud's sole direct disciple as of 1913.[105] Freud thanked Morselli for having published two volumes on Freudian work in 1926; and Weiss slated him with the approval of the same master Viennese: "Your criticism of Morselli is exactly what we wished. Where it appears harsh, Morselli deserved this harshness."[106] The 800 pages were indeed very debatable, but given

the fame of the Italian author they recalled attention to psychoanalysis, much more and a long time before Weiss's conferences.

Twelve years later it was Enzo Bonaventura, an expert in instrumentation at the laboratory directed by De Sarlo, who published the first reliable book on psychoanalysis. This ran to many editions, reprinted by a renowned publisher, authorized internationally by Weiss himself, and was an initiation to Freud for many psychiatrists and psychologists.[107] This may appear as a surprise; but thumbing through the Florentine university *Annuari* we find that Bonaventura had been dealing with psychoanalysis in his courses long before this. Students absorbed his lessons, even those who would go on to take a completely different direction. One of these was the anarchist Camillo Berneri, a young friend and close follower of Salvemini, and author of the Freudian analyses *Mussolini: gran actor* and *Le Juif anti-Semite*. He sent a personal copy to Freud and another to his mentor De Sarlo.[108]

This is not the place to discuss the history of Italian psychoanalysis per se, but only insofar as it lends weight to our arguments. It is enough to note that rather than completing the mosaic these new elements actually displaced some of its original pieces.

In its first four years *Psiche* had proved to be innovative, curious, and open-minded. After the war, when the chief editor and its main collaborators returned from the front, it was not restarted. Perhaps it was a question of money and energy. Perhaps priorities of another type or even personal needs prevailed. After having done his medical military service, Assagioli married, divorced, and remarried in 1922, became a father and moved to Rome dedicating himself to his *Psychosynthesis. A New Method of Healing*, which was very successful in the United States.[109] Bonaventura, who had been wounded and decorated, became a convinced Zionist. He had himself circumcised, was an active member of the Florentine Jewish community, became engaged to Matilde Passigli, who lived in Madrid, and married her in September 1921.[110] The chance that others might take over *Psiche* was evidently not taken seriously. Even before the war ended, Gemelli and the Roman school with De Sanctis, and the Turin school with Kiesow and Ferrari from Bologna were all talking of setting up a new journal and this may have been the final obstacle to relaunching the Florentine journal, which had nevertheless been very productive in its short life.

In 1919 Giulio Cesare Ferrari announced a new series of the *Rivista di psicologia* and the forthcoming publication of Agostino Gemelli's *Archivio italiano di psicologia*. The two journals would be brought out by the same publisher in Bologna, the one complementing the other: *Archivio* would have a technical profile, with illustrations, tables, and protocols, whereas the *Rivista* focused on applied psychology.[111]

That plan failed, and caused an uproar. Ferrari's retraction appeared in a short paragraph: the *Archivio* would no longer be published "in mutual agreement with this journal" by Zanichelli but by "a well-known publisher of Catholic propaganda in Milan." A professor publically withdrew his name from the cover of *Archivio* since he held that the necessary scientific independence would not be guaranteed with the new publisher. This was Umberto Saffiotti, who in the

same issue of the *Rivista* confided in the harmonious unity among Italian psychologists yet protested against Father Gemelli. One of "Gemelli's secretaries" cautioned Ferrari to edit the news that the publisher would be Hoepli, and not the feared clerical publisher. Or rather, it would be the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology directed by Kiesow; and he became its codirector. The *Archivio* is still remembered as Kiesow's journal, and for just two years that of his former assistant as well, without any hint at the controversy.

Yet this behind-the-scenes and forgotten activity is interesting. Ferrari was certainly aware that Gemelli was the architect of the operation and that Kiesow was only a cover. The friar had been very clear: "I well understand that *Archivio*, as an expression of the Italian universities, must be something which is neither my creature nor that has my personal hallmark." But he did not give in: freedom of action and economic ownership had to be exclusively his. In a long letter to Ferrari, he stipulated:

> As a condition of your support you want the journal to be published by Zanichelli. I have nothing against it, as I have already said so several times, but I do demand what follows as what is due to me. I am in that case, to use your formula: the person in charge of editorship, rather an unpleasant formula, [one] that I accept for the sake of harmony. No more questions about large or small lettering and the like. As editor of the journal I really want to be its editor [. . .] Until now I have taken on entirely the cost of *Archivio* [. . .] I intend that the ownership of *Archivio* remain entirely in my hands.[112]

But how could the onerous financing of a journal be borne by a person who should be "poor personally due to his being a friar"? Ferrari put the question publically: it was not a personal matter; many people were worried about the efforts "being made by confessional organizations to mortgage all fields of activity." Gemelli was already engaged to "work for the Catholic Church to defend it, to show our love [for it], to make it known and [to get people] to follow it" with another cultural journal, *Vita e Pensiero* (Life and Thought), founded in 1914 with Monsignor Olgiati and Ludovico Necchi, and in which he invoked "Catholic medievalism" to counter the modern culture that then caused so much alarm.[113]

The Italian expression "It's a sin to be suspicious, but one's often right" applies to Ferrari, who invited readers of his *Rivista di psicologia* to remove the label stuck to the back cover of the first issue of *Archivio*, hot off the press. This "modestly conceals, like an honest fig leaf, only the name of Gemelli and an unassuming but perfectly visible 'With ecclesiastic license.'" The new journal had been realized with the Church's safe-conduct pass and not with the freedom of science; "in this way Gemelli wanted to demonstrate with *Archivio* [. . .] that Italian psychology needed priests' money for its own journal [. . .] and this ploy succeeded as long as the protest by the collaborators remains, as it is now, platonic or private." Ferrari hoped that "the acquiescence, albeit passive, of leaders of Italian psychology" would end and that they would withdraw their names from *Archivio*.[114]

Who were they? The list is from the circular letter signed by Gemelli on February 21, 1920, requesting confirmation of participation before printing their

names on the cover of *Archivio italiano di psicologia*, published by Prof. Agostino Gemelli "with the collaboration of Profs. V. Benussi, L. Botti, C. Colucci, S. De Sanctis, C. Doniselli, G.C. Ferrari, F. Kiesow, E. Morselli, M. Ponzo."[115] They were nearly all university professors of psychology, not only chair-holders since not even Friar Gemelli had a chair and the philosopher Luigi Botti was only Kiesow's unpaid assistant. The latter appeared not as codirector, but as a collaborator, and on the same level as the others, all under Gemelli. Further adjustments followed.

Ferrari made demands (the addition of "experimental" in the title), and reservations that Gemelli defined as "petty details such as [his own] name [appearing] in too large lettering" on the title page. Yet it was De Sanctis who had instructed Ferrari to express such reservations, as we see from their private correspondence. Gemelli presented an ultimatum: "Have the good grace to say it explicitly and leave to me that degree of editorial freedom that [...] is given me by all the other co-directors and that is instead denied by you two."[116] If they distrusted him, fearing "what would cause an inopportune suspicion in the inhabitant of the distant Americas!," it was better to leave it at that. He would continue on his own. Faced with the ultimatum the agnostic De Sanctis left Ferrari free to continue the polemic alone and no longer appear on the cover of *Archivio*.[117]

The outcome was that the name of De Sanctis (ostentatiously added in the circular) did appear on the first issue published in July 1920 and would remain there even when he left the chair of psychology. Neither Ferrari nor Casimiro Doniselli appeared. The latter taught a course of experimental psychology in Milan, had replaced Treves for nearly a decade, but was virtually ignored by his colleagues. The two of them had evidently withdrawn their own backing, after Saffiotti, who did not even appear in Gemelli's first list. One more name was missing, and it was no small fry being the name of the then president of the SIP. Did he refuse or had Gemelli not asked him? In any case Professor De Sarlo, who also had a brother priest, was not in tune with either Gemelli or Kiesow and had too much regard for scientific freedom to take the risks reported by Ferrari.

The new journal informed readers that it had "an agreement, easily reached" on the division of tasks with what it considered Ferrari's "now insufficient" journal: the *Rivista* had to "illustrate the applications of scientific psychology and at the same time [...] popularize the results of our investigations among scholars in related fields. *Archivio* instead intends to collect the scientific works of psychology's supporters."[118] It was not exactly the agreement that Ferrari had announced at first. Moreover, the presumed scientific superiority of the new journal had yet to be seen and some articles on folk psychology published early on did not help. Already in its second year *Archivio* became the sole expression of Kiesow's school, he remained its sole director, no collaborators on the cover and not a word of explanation to readers.

Gemelli was no longer interested, being taken up by more important matters: on December 7, 1921, in Milan he celebrated mass with the archbishop, who three months later, as Pope Pio XI, inaugurated the Università Cattolica with himself as provost, and 68 students enrolled in philosophical sciences and social sciences. On June 20, 1920, Croce, as neo-minister of education of only four days'

standing, had signed the decree to approve the *Istituto di Studi Superiori Giuseppe Toniolo,* the promoter of the *Università Cattolica*, which on the ecclesiastical level was backed by Pope Benedetto XV on February 9, 1921. From the next minister Gentile the provost-friar obtained the end of the state monopoly, the consequent legal recognition of the *Cattolica*, and a promise of his own nomination without a *concorso* as professor of psychology.[119]

Was there any perplexity regarding, for example, the compatibility between ecclesiastical approval and freedom of research? Between neo-scholastics and scientific psychology? Some were concerned, others thought a forced solution was necessary. It comes as no surprise that the scholar who squared the circle was a particularly ambitious young man, while the indignant (some not for long) were psychologists and philosophers from another era. In his article in the *Rivista di psicologia* of 1924, Cesare Musatti of Padua claimed that psychology as an independent science could reconcile itself with any philosophy, and even with (Catholic) religion. On a personal level he would have profitable relations with Gemelli in the coming decades.

Closing Ranks

While the *Archivio italiano* was only published irregularly and was soon reduced to an organ of Turin psychophysiology, the *Rivista di psicologia* reorganized itself. In 1922 its title page boasted the "collaboration of professors of psychology from the universities of Padua (Benussi), Rome (De Sanctis), Florence (De Sarlo), Naples (Colucci), Turin (Kiesow) and Prof. G. Tarozzi for the arguments of pedagogy and philosophy." All chair-holders, including Benussi. This time it was Gemelli who was left out, and not De Sarlo whom Ferrari had respectfully approached and who signed the first article of the year.[120] Giuseppe Tarozzi, well-known professor of theoretical philosophy in Bologna, editor of an Italian edition of William James's *Principles*, became codirector of the organ of the SIP in 1921. His arrival sent a meaningful message regarding the discipline with which closer relations were sought and on its orientation: the "direction of the *Rivista* for the part that involves me will be strongly opposed to [. . .] Croce's ideas on relations between the special sciences and philosophy." Tarozzi was a representative figure—who soon became director of the *Rivista di filosofia*, the organ of the SFI—and he believed that "psychology as one of the special sciences [. . .] is one of the main sources of philosophical thought and of pedagogy in particular."

The unbridgeable gap with the idealists regarded not only the new discipline, but "the idea that they have of philosophy and culture; alluding particularly to Benedetto Croce, Giovanni Gentile, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice."[121] Tarozzi recognized some of qualities of the first (nothing less than an involuntary positivism), and above all admitted that all of them expressed a legitimate and shared need: that of freeing themselves from materialism. But the antideterminists in whose name he spoke were already freed; and for this reason too they rejected the new idealistic dogmatism, particularly the one being spread in the "violent pages of Giovanni Gentile" to which he devoted an entire article

in the *Rivista di Psicologia*. Tarozzi deplored that the youngest followers of such masters described non-idealistic Italian philosophy as consisting of "cadavers." There were "men and doctrines whose value did not acquire fame through the usual idealistic instrument of destructive polemics, that is by forging ahead with hand grenades. And therefore you ignore them or you disregard them."[122] Relevant ideas and scholars—he gave a long list (Aliotta, Baratono, De Sarlo, Levi, Limentani, Martinetti, Masci, and others mentioned here)—were as cancelled as neo-idealism imposed itself.

In the meanwhile the *Rivista di psicologia* continued its battle and this time it was Tarozzi who took the risk, more than the colleague and friend with whom he was on close terms even during the dark years of Fascism. In his role as its president De Sarlo instead devoted himself to relaunching the SIP. Early in 1920 Ferrari offered "to put at the disposal of the *Associazione di studi psicologici* (ASP), for the publication of its *Bollettino*, a certain number of pages of *Rivista di psicologia*."[123] De Sarlo convened the board of the ASP that he chaired and this made the secretary Bonaventura responsible for bringing the agreement to a satisfactory conclusion and thus uniting forces: Ferrari's periodical took on a task that had first been carried out by *Psiche* to "favour all the serious expressions of the life of Italian psychology"; at the same time the ASP with its many members could contribute to the new series of the *Rivista* to which De Sarlo expressed a "full and great fellow feeling." He did not care about academic hierarchy, who had a chair, and who did not like Ferrari: "No one more than me is more able to appreciate the nobility of your efforts and the seriousness of your sacrifices for studies in Psychology of which you are truly commendable: I consider it right and proper to make my contribution, as far as I can"; a contribution had in fact been very limited in the preceding 12 years.[124]

The ASP was born in February 1914 from the *Circolo di studi psicologici* set up by De Sarlo on February 9, 1913, at the very popular *Biblioteca Filosofica* in Florence. He was surrounded by brilliant young scholars from various fields. The board included his pupils Fanciulli and Calò who already had a chair, Assagioli and Mario Calderoni from Modena, a *libero docente* in moral philosophy with a degree in law who was introducing the pragmatism of Charles Sanders Pierce in Italy. Since the *Circolo* started out with more subscribers than the SIP, was it in competition with the SIP? Was it, in De Santis's words, a "separatist' initiative"?

It did not seem to be. The Florentines took part however in the SIP; in the Second Congress in Rome in March 1913, where De Sanctis had summarized his already published work on psyche and the nervous system, De Sarlo had presented a paper on the morphological and functional criterion of classification, and Assagioli had reproposed the question of the scientific relevance of psychotherapy already discussed by the members in Florence.[125] We can say the *Circolo* seemed more active and lively than the *Società*. Its success had pushed it to become the ASP: monthly meetings, international exchanges with corresponding foreign members, an intense program of activity, and its *Bollettino* hosted quarterly by *Psiche*. All just to "show how psychology deserves a special place between philosophy on the one hand and physiology and psychiatry on the other."[126] In the ASP's promoting board the oldest were De Sarlo from Florence and Guido Villa from Pavia; all the

others less one came from the ISS of Florence, even if some worked elsewhere: the already mentioned Aliotta, Assagioli, Calderoni (who died prematurely in 1914 as the other pragmatist Giovanni Vailati who died in 1909),[127] Calò, Fanciulli, with Guido Ferrando, Ettore Patini, Antonio Renda, and Gualtiero Sarfatti.

In the session of March 29, 1914, the nine members of the executive council had been elected: De Sarlo had 27 votes out of 28, followed by his pupils Calò and Guido Della Valle. The ASP was national and its Statute stipulated that the annual conferences were not to be held in Florence, but the chairs of Italian psychology did not take part: Colucci, De Sanctis, and Kiesow were not included on its board, even if the Roman professor De Sanctis was invited to give a lecture then published in *Psiche*.[128] At the revival, in 1920, the elections for the new executive saw De Sarlo once more as president, assisted by Assagioli, with Bonaventura as secretary, Ferrari, Patini, Alberto Salomon, lecturer of neuropathology in Florence, and Gerardo Schaffner. In the first two meetings the Italian and foreign members discussed the science of sexuality, together with optic-geometric illusions.[129]

One of the ever present issues was how to become a psychologist. In the first year *Psiche* had pointed the finger at the "strange, shameful shortage of official teaching," which had in effect come to a halt.[130] The board of the ASP had made Bonaventura responsible for carrying out a survey on "the teaching of psychology abroad" and in this he had been assisted in particular by Henri Piéron, Vittorio Benussi, and Giorgio Stepanow for data on various European countries.

The greatest focus of attention, however, was on the United States. This was partly due to the interest for Anglo-American culture already facilitated by the presence of a sizeable cultured and cosmopolitan foreign community in the city and Tuscan countryside. In November 1917 the British Institute of Florence, which was the first outside Britain, had opened the doors of its library on the Lungarno to the public. In August 1922 Enrico Bemporad—the publisher of the Faculty of *Lettere*—organized the International Book Fair, where De Sarlo acquired the original editions of William James "together with various other English works" for his Institute. At the university Bonaventura devoted lessons and laboratory sessions to the theories of American psychologists even in the period of Fascist autarchy.[131] In North America the "maximum development of the organization of psychological studies" had taken place

> by virtue of many qualities: first of all the great financial means that have enabled the setting up of many laboratories, some of them extremely rich; then the almost popular spread of interest in psychology, that if it has in some cases damaged the seriousness of the studies by too much accommodation to the practical attitude of the Americans, on the other hand it has influenced the decision-makers, inducing them to favor the development of teaching.[132]

This was also thanks to private initiatives. Bonaventura had collected precise documentation on 38 universities in the United States that ran psychology courses, in which departments, with or without laboratories, since when, with which lecturers, and with what budget. The European record, however, was not homogeneous. For example, there was the originality of the French in comparison to the

German tradition. In terms of laboratories and journals the United States now ranked alongside Germany, explained one Florentine psychologist in an article aimed at a broader public.[133]

After the war there was a need to recommence from this point, from the cross-fertilization of research and teaching. With *La Cultura Filosofica* De Sarlo had edited a periodical collection of *Studi e ricerche* by his collaborators; in 1920 he wanted to relaunch the Institute of Psychology in Florence, and the faculty backed the project under his and in consultation with his assistant.[134] Obviously psychology had to expand; other universities were interested in having courses. At the end of the war in Padua, the Faculty of Philosophy, which was the center of positivism par excellence (from Ardigò to his more critical and antideterminist pupils Marchesini, Tarozzi, and Limentani), had the opportunity to get hold of an excellent scholar returning to Italy from Austria.

Born in Trieste and an Austro-Hungarian citizen until 1918, Vittorio Benussi studied philosophy in Graz and had worked for many years in the Hapsburg Empire's first laboratory of psychology, set up in 1894. In December 1918 Alexius Meinong, founder of the Graz school and linked to Brentano, recommended "his best pupil" to the University of Padua. The psychologist George Elias Muller and the philosopher-psychologist Carl Stumpf followed suit.[135] The "Faculty of Graz whilst having limitless esteem for his merits" regretted that they could not "propose [him] to the Minister" in order not to "endanger the national German integrity of the university"' with an Italian.[136]

The candidate Benussi was internationally known for studies on the perception of form and time, geometric illusions, lies and witnessing (a precursor of the lie-detector). He disagreed with Gestalt but was an interlocutor of Koffka, and the experimentalism that he had learned together with hypnosuggestive techniques offered an alternative to a pure Wundtian model.[137] Indeed, Kiesow did not recommend him. This was done by two Italian chair-holders in May 1919. De Sanctis claimed primarily to boost the teaching of experimental psychology in Italy, even if at that precise time he was getting ready to leave it in order to take the chair of psychiatry with no scruples about undermining the already weak discipline, as Ferrari reproached him in private while publically spreading the news of his impending departure, which didn't occur.[138]

De Sarlo also sent a letter supporting Benussi, who was consequently awarded the position in Padua the same month. His status was recognized by the minister of education Agostino Berenini, a positivist jurist and socialist whom the Fascists would force to resign as chancellor in 1925. In September 1919 De Sanctis sent yet another letter, to Gentile this time, to get the High Council to concede the "deserved full professorship" to the newly appointed lecturer Benussi "would honor our science and philosophy in general."[139] But Gentile was evidently not convinced, and after all he was no longer part of the High Council from June 30th.

In the meantime Benussi was developing an increasingly strong interest in the psyche, from the objective to subjective aspects of experience. He studied suggestion thoroughly and examined it and hypnosis as research instruments of "real psychic analysis." Considering psychoanalysis primarily "as a method of psychological research," he studied it in depth together with a long practice of

the autoanalysis of dreams, and publicized his findings. At first in Padua "a small box containing some colored chalks [...] was his entire laboratory." He had to make do by recouping old instruments obtained from Ardigò or built some of them himself or with his students.[140]

From then over three years went by and another eight ministers of education, before he was appointed on the basis of his reputation alone (*per chiara fama*) to the chair in the Faculty of Philosophy on the seventh centenary of the University of Padua. This was a victory. It had been obtained thanks to teamwork among already established psychologists and with a decree issued by a minister who had both esteem and friendship with the president of the SIP De Sarlo, dating back to their days together as students of medicine in Naples.[141] Antonino Anile signed the decree for Benussi on October 16, 1922. A few days before the second Facta government resigned, and the king had enlisted Mussolini who nominated his ministers, with Giovanni Gentile in education. "*And suddenly it was regime*."[142]

Early October 1922 the Second International Congress of Psychotechnics in Milan was chaired by Giulio Cesare Ferrari. On November 23 the Third Congress of Psychology was held in Naples. This was a fiasco caused by the former president Cesare Colucci as regards both attendance and organization, but at least it expressed the incontestable accusation that after 15 years "the existing chairs of experimental psychology" were still too few and without resources. De Sanctis, Gemelli, and Saffiotti proposed that all the Faculties of Philosophy should have a chair in the discipline since it was already compulsory in the university regulations, and that the Faculties of Medicine offered a compulsory course of psychology as a preliminary to psychiatry.[143]

The reform of the neo-minister and senator Gentile, who took office on October 30, 1922, was putting on the pressure with a series of regulatory acts on the school and university system. These came into force in May 1923. The National Federation of Middle-School Teachers mobilized and in April their Florence-based journal had already published a series of critical front-page articles, starting with Francesco De Sarlo who then went on to express his own ideas on the university system as well.[144] As president of the *Società di Psicologia* he had announced that the Fourth SIP Congress would be held in Florence in October 1923, less than a year after the Third held in Naples, which he had not attended.

With his group and Enzo Bonaventura as secretary, he set out to prepare it. There were to be four papers followed by discussion and a great many interventions—25 are recorded in the proceedings—to give young scholars from all over Italy the opportunity to present their own research. It was the first time for two women neo-graduates in psychology, Silvia De Marchi from Padua and Renata Calabresi from Florence, and it was also the first national scientific congress that discussed psychoanalysis thanks to the communication of Dr. Weiss from Trieste with whom Prof. Tanzi conversed throughout the congress.[145]

This was not all. The SFI also held its own Fifth Congress in Florence, in the days running up to the SIP congress, one after the other. It was agreed that both were entrusted to De Sarlo, president of the organizing committee, with Paolo Lamanna as secretary and his colleagues of the Florentine ISS, from Limentani to Calò, Bonaventura, Assagioli, and others.[146] The tight sequence of events was

not only organizational; favoring the participation of scholars in both reaffirmed the linkages between philosophy and psychology that they practiced and that the neo-idealists opposed. The large public, the quality of the contributions from young scholars, the presence of various authorities, and the hospitality received in *Palazzo Vecchio* in the prestigious *Salone dei Duecento* and the *Aula Magna* of *Piazza San Marco*, all give an idea of the success of the two events. They had been planned with "breadth of criteria, immune from any exclusivism or sectarianism" as De Sarlo was keen to specify, especially for the philosophical congress.[147]

However, he had not missed the opportunity to make choices: to speak on philosophy and religion he invited the modernist priest Ernesto Buonaiuti and did not invite the scholastic friar Agostino Gemelli; De Sarlo decided to give one paper on teaching philosophy at the SFI congress, and another paper on teaching psychology at the SPI congress; he invited the gentilian Giuseppe Lombardo Radice to speak on the school reform, but he did not attend.

Despite his polemic with the anti-idealistic majority of the SFI, in 1920 the minister of education Croce had attended its Fourth Congress. At the Fifth Congress in 1923 the new minister Gentile, president of the committee of honor, failed to attend. Yet he was certainly kept informed of who said what and what the reactions were. He did not like the fact that De Sarlo had blamed the attack against the sciences and against psychology in particular, nor the unanimous vote of the assembly that asked for new compulsory chairs of psychology. Even the mayor of Florence Antonio Garbasso, the well-known professor of physics and card-carrying Fascist, had criticized "the current opinion, according to which the idealists would be the majority also among pure philosophers."[148] It was false. They were not in fact the majority among the 174 present at the SFI Congress, nor among those of the crowded SIP congress.

Both were a personal success for De Sarlo whose authority, prestige, and large following once again emerged clearly.

3

Fascistization, Discrimination, and Persecution

Choice or Imposition?

Prof. Francesco De Sarlo had directed the laboratory and the institute of psychology in Florence for 20 years, but in academic year 1923/24 he suddenly stopped teaching psychology. He did not retire: he had another 15 years to go before his pension. Yet from 1924 on he only kept the course of theoretical philosophy. For all the rest he left the post, so to speak, to his trustworthy 32-year-old laboratory assistant, Enzo Bonaventura, whose teaching and scientific merits had "played an important part" in the Fourth National Congress of the SIP.[1] A few days after it had ended, his mentor passed the baton to his pupil, who could be relied on to continue his work. At least this is the story that is generally told when it comes to Florentine psychology.

Yet there is something about it that is not entirely convincing.

De Sarlo was not naive and had no intention of giving in to the Gentile reform. Quite the reverse. In the year when the reform was literally ditching the teaching of psychology, the substitution of the full professorship with a *libero docente* and temporary lecturer (*incaricato*) was not a wise move. It was not replacement; Bonaventura was not given a tenured university post. Without even the prospect of a future *concorso* for a chair, the *Istituto di Studi Superiori* (ISS) could only offer him an annual position, with the risk that at some point it might not be renewed. According to the ministerial regulations, without a full professor the university could not have a voice in the *concorsi* or careers in national psychology, nor award the title of *libero docente* to young scholars in the discipline, who therefore would be better off graduating elsewhere or leaving as soon as possible. All those below the level of full professor could not even take part in faculty meetings. Who then would defend the fate of psychology in the ISS?

In order to benefit from state financing under the 1921 Corbino Law, the ISS was being transformed into a university, although this would inevitably lead to less academic autonomy than in the past. It was in a delicate position, not to mention the fact that Italy as a whole after Mussolini obtained full powers on November 16, 1922.

When De Sarlo left, among the unfinished projects was the new Institute of Psychology. It had been approved in November 1920. The professor had countersigned the engineers' plans on November 29, 1922, with a further expansion of February 8, 1923: new premises, four times the size of the one opened in 1904. It would include a library, laboratory, dark room, offices for the director and his assistant, which communicated with the lecture rooms in Piazza San Marco, new instruments and furniture on the way, and it had finally obtained permanent staff.[2] There is ample documentation to show how the ISS went back to investing in research and teaching psychology. The faculty had put this before other needs and expenses. In the assembly of June 27, 1923, in the name of all scholars in the discipline Ludovico Limentani had urged the dean to finish the works in time for the forthcoming SIP congress, so that the participants from all over Italy could visit the prestigious Florentine institute with its outstanding scientific reputation.

Yet that year there was a setback: the funding promised by the Municipality and the Province was late in arriving, and there was not even a *lira* from the ministry. The dean apologized and renewed his promises. Then everything was postponed until never never day. Nothing more was said, at least not in the minutes of the faculty assemblies.[3] In the same academic year 1923/24, the *Museo Psicologico* set up by Paolo Mantegazza in 1889, and attached to De Sarlo's institute, disappeared from the university yearbooks.[4] Nothing more was known even about Dr. Calabresi's monograph: on December 7, 1923, De Sarlo had presented it to the faculty council, which had decided to publish it in the faculty series. Yet despite reminders and backing, her publication was blocked for seven years.[5]

These were not just unfortunate coincidences. Once the authoritative De Sarlo had stood down, plans for the discipline that would have boosted the standing of his institute were literally stranded. Why then had he decided to leave psychology on the rather fragile shoulders of his untenured assistant? Perhaps it was not really his choice. We can reconstruct what actually took place with a cross-analysis of the archival papers, between silences, omissions, and half-truths. And it is a very different story from the one usually told.[6]

The faculty assembly to discuss the assignment to Bonaventura was convened very soon after the previous one. On October 26th the dean communicated that all *corsi liberi* requested by the faculty (including experimental psychology) had been approved by the ministry. On November 6th the faculty decided that, instead of his noncompulsory unpaid course, Bonaventura would be given a temporary lecturership in the same discipline. What caused this unexpected change? Nothing is cited in the minutes. Not even De Sarlo's withdrawal, which would have justified this sudden variation. Yet if we step back approximately nine months, we come across an animated dispute between the minister and the faculty over the teaching program.[7] The ministry had rejected renewal of a temporary post to a *comandato* (adjunct lecturer on loan) on financial grounds, and had decided that he should be replaced by two professors in teaching and seminars, respectively.

They had known each other for years. The minister of education was Giovanni Gentile, professor of philosophy in Pisa, in eternal rivalry with Florence. The

professors whom he ordered to take on teaching commitments that differed from their own were De Sarlo and Limentani. The unfortunate comandato was Giuseppe Melli "the mild," as his students remembered him, De Sarlo's former study companion in Naples, a renowned antidealist and anti-Fascist like both his colleagues. Melli was unable to defend himself in the faculty council; with his temporary position he was not entitled to attend.

De Sarlo and Calò intervened in his favor: the orders from Rome arrived too late; all the courses had started months earlier; suspending two of them now so that the respective professors would continue those of a lecturer to be eliminated would create a serious disturbance for students and academic staff alike. The faculty firmly agreed that the current year had to be completed. For the next there would have to be "a stable arrangement for the chair of the history of philosophy [whose] fundamental importance for the studies" was beyond doubt. They already had a strategy in mind. Paolo Lamanna, professor of philosophy at Messina, in Sicily, De Sarlo's pupil and son-in-law since 1918, could not wait to return to Florence with his wife Edwige and three-year-old Gioietta. They all hoped that the vacant chair would be his.

In the past the minister had set his eye on that chair, which had been held by Felice Tocco until his death in 1911; but precisely that year Gentile had launched one of his famous attacks against him in Croce's *La Critica*, and the Florentines did not appreciate it. Gentile was convinced that it was De Sarlo who had blocked his candidacy, and took it badly.[8] Academics have long memories when it comes to wrongs suffered, real or presumed, and the temptation to retaliate when the occasion arises can be very strong. In 1923, as Mussolini's minister, Professor Gentile promptly took the opportunity to throw out the person that the faculty had chosen instead of him. Not only did he settle accounts, but he anticipated new ones.

Yet it was not just a personal detail, because the history of philosophy was dear to the neo-idealistic philosopher, as much as he despised psychology. After all, it was psychology that disappeared as a consequence of his intervention. The attack was not so much on the harmless Melli, as on the dreaded De Sarlo. Two birds with one stone: with the excuse of economizing on the cost of a temporary lecturer by making the full professor teach two compulsory courses in philosophy, the latter would have to leave his course of psychology which, according to the minister, was not compulsory. De Sarlo declared that "rather than accept such an imposition he would turn down payment for the second course to his own detriment and at no small personal cost. But he had no doubt that he could keep on teaching experimental psychology," which he had always held "precisely because he considered it essential for the training of philosophy students."[9] Gentile thought the opposite, and both had been saying as much for 20 years.

Giovanni Calò had been undersecretary in the Ministry of Education until August, and recalled that the autonomy of the ISS was recognized by the state with a convention; the faculty regulations stipulated that the teaching of experimental psychology was compulsory as were the seminars in the laboratory "which, as is clear would have no reason to exist if the teaching was not given."[10] Indeed. Keeping Professor De Sarlo's second teaching course meant that "we cannot

avoid confirming Prof. Melli's role."[11] The reasoning straightened out the relations that the minister had overturned. As a pedagogist, Calò added that the idea of separating teaching from practice of the discipline was a didactic mistake. Evidently this served other ends. It was clear which ones.

The minister's move had been unmasked, and the faculty unanimously rejected what appeared to be interference from above. It produced a four-page-long document in which it announced a pending move to resolve the history of philosophy and defended experimental psychology. It probably helped that some faculty members were absent from the assembly, the dean Marinelli and Prof. Paolo Emilio Pavolini, whose son Alessandro boasted of having taken part in the March on Rome. But in general the sense of identification with this prestigious faculty, proud of its autonomy, still reunited all the academics, from the Fascist priest Pistelli to the socialist Salvemini.

The minister took note, showed no reaction, and put into action a spiteful vendetta of his own. In a notice of March 15, 1923, to the Marquis superintendent of the ISS he allowed the renewal of Melli's temporary assignment, but denied payment for his seminar work. Not even De Sarlo and Limentani would be paid if they insisted on holding their second course.[12] This was clearly unjust, since all colleagues in *Lettere* held two courses that were regularly paid. However, what was more important was to continue lessons for students. Both professors put all their usual bravura and passion into it; that year perhaps more than usual. In view of the national congress organized by De Sarlo, at the end of June the faculty again confirmed its support for psychology studies "that honour the Istituto and Italian Science."[13]

All this makes it even harder to explain why, a few months later, the challenging De Sarlo left teaching and the laboratories of psychology to Bonaventura, who had not been mentioned in the clash with the minister. The faculty minutes do not say more on this. But if we look at the papers of the Superintendence, a ministerial notice of October 22, 1923 explains everything.

The faculty had deluded itself months earlier. They had won a battle, but how could they believe they had won the war? During the same year an inquiry carried out among Italian writers revealed that almost all, "although of different age, profession and party, consider the fascist phenomenon and its experiment in power temporary and transitory."[14] *Il Duce* continued to repeat that his revolution had irreversibly swept away men, methods and doctrines and that "we will last thirty years at the least." At the time few anti-Fascists took him seriously; Gobetti, Anna Kuliscioff, and Salvemini all forecast a rapid end of the regime that was effectively rocked by internal crises. The history professor of Florence therefore called for intransigence; "Mussolini will ruin himself because he is a clown and because he is surrounded by young hoodlums," Salvemini claimed confidently on May 26, 1923. "No forecast [...] was ever more mistaken," he would admit later.[15] Three days earlier Gentile too had sided with the young hoodlums, declaring his convinced support for national-Fascism.

As regards the controversy with Florence, the minister was only waiting for the right moment to attack again: "Profs. De Sarlo and Limentani [...] ought to have been assigned instead—respectively—the teaching of History of

philosophy and its corresponding exercises," he wrote to the superintendent. The faculty could not, he stressed, offer courses that were not compulsory "if the chairs for compulsory disciplines were not guaranteed first."[16] It was the same argument used eight months earlier; already contested because experimental psychology in Florence was compulsory, both in the ISS regulation and in the royal decree of January 4, 1923. In the recent legislative *potpourri*, examining the many rules cited in the ministerial notice we find inconsistencies and gaps, but not the illegality of which Gentile accused the faculty and the ISS.[17] In theory the faculty could have responded this time too. On October 27, 1923, the superintendent informed the dean. The latter did not seem to have informed his colleagues, but convened them in an extraordinary assembly that assigned the compulsory course in psychology to the *libero docente* Bonaventura without explaining the motivation.[18] If there was a discussion, it was not recorded as was increasingly the case.

Nobody wanted any more trouble. Only "if they come to find me, I can't simply let them overpower me," Salvemini noted.[19] He would later recall his behavior at the time: "closing myself in my corner, teaching, preparing as well as I could in my sphere pupils best suited to their calling and civil duties." In that precise period he was absent from the faculty. In early August he left to teach at King's College, London, and then Cambridge, but without a passport. Despite the requested intercession by Lombardo Radice and promised by Gentile, Mussolini in person had blocked his application to prevent him from slandering Italy abroad. It was said that they were looking for a way to dismiss him sooner or later, when he came back; but perhaps they decided to "let sleeping dogs lie." He returned to Florence on December 6, 1923. His colleague De Sarlo had been dismissed from psychology just one month before.

The faculty had first opposed this imposition, then it surrendered. Albeit with dignity, because the passage to temporary lecturer took place in the spirit of continuity with the maestro. Gentile disliked even this. He wanted to trounce him. On August 3, 1923, he wrote to the superintendent of Florence and declared the proposal to recall Lamanna "premature." If De Sarlo's son-in-law wanted the chair of history of philosophy he would have to wait;[20] and De Sarlo would have to keep calm if he was to avoid damaging his special pupil. As regards his assistant, Bonaventura had to wait too. The High Council named by the minister refused the *libero docente* the temporary position that the faculty had deliberated on November 6. In the meeting of December 7, 1923, the dean of *Lettere* did not explain why, but it was even clearer that Gentile intended not to "sort out" the history of philosophy in Florence, but to destroy psychology. The "Faculty, to avoid interrupting the continuity of this important teaching, asks the Executive Council [of the ISS] that the chair in experimental psychology be given to Prof. Enzo Bonaventura in the form of an internal assignment and with the corresponding salary."[21] The ISS itself would finance the course and the lecturer not wanted by the minister. Evidently this was the most it could do.

De Sarlo had thus been pushed out, exactly while he was closing the ranks of psychology. At the SIP national congress in Florence on October 22, 1923, in his

address on "Teaching Psychology at University," he had denounced that the sciences and psychology were under attack, "especially from above." It was time to react. The congress returned a unanimous vote on his motion to ask the ministry for a compulsory chair of psychology with its own laboratory for all Italian universities with a Faculty of *Lettere and Filosofia* or, where it was missing, a Faculty of Sciences.[22]

Giovanni Gentile was invited but did not attend. He had other fish to fry. On the same day he had to draft the note to the superintendent of the *Istituto di Studi Superiori* on the niggling matter of psychology in Florence. Things had gone too far. De Sarlo simply had to be stopped.

Gentile and Croce Revisited

The news arrived when the Congress was over, thus avoiding any possible dissent. We do not know how much it circulated. Apparently not a great deal. We have seen how the faculty reacted. No response from the SIP; not even a hint in its *Rivista*. In public not a word was said and there is no mention of it, as far as we know, in the private correspondence among psychologists. As if it had all been cancelled, forgotten without leaving a trace.

Yet they could not been totally unaware. They must have asked themselves why the founder of a school, codirector of the *Rivista di psicologia*, and last president of the SIP had left. There were the theoretical differences with the physiologist Kiesow, who replaced him in the presidency; De Sanctis's academic envy, the dislike that De Sarlo aroused in some (but sympathy, esteem and trust in others). Is this enough to explain the silence surrounding this serious event in the little community of academic psychologists? If we try to uncover the events and behavior of which someone was a victim, we find a great deal about the environment in which the violence took place in the presence of others. We see that what happened was not inevitable. The behaviors of those who simply stood by differed from one person to another, depending on the specific situation.

Between late 1922 and early 1923 the climate had changed a great deal. In the country the *fasci* had multiplied; in Florence and its province these had risen from 39 to 133 in the space of a month in May 1922.[23] Practically every day the Fascists proclaimed that opponents of any sort could either "submit or resign," like the title of one of their many local papers in March 1923. The "fascist State does not tolerate enemies; it fights them and destroys them. This is the principal characteristic of Fascism."[24] The minister claimed fascistically the exercise of power against who would otherwise have stood up to him in the battle of ideas. Only in this way could Gentile beat De Sarlo; once the autonomy of research and teaching had been ditched, culture subordinated to ideology and politics, he could make scientific psychology to languish as the neo-idealists had desired for years.

It was because the attack was not just on him that De Sarlo suffered the indifference and obedience of those who should have defended at least the world of

studies, that he never perceived as a world on its own, isolated from society and without civil commitment. From his youth onward he had looked to socialism as a "particular conception of life and the world": a philosophical conception.[25] He was not active in a political group, at least as far as we know given the lack of specific sources. He was hostile to the fascistization of the university as a "cultural militant," with his studies and teaching. He did not give in; with great personal torment he attempted to behave in a way that was coherent and clearly in dissent.

He did not write a single sentence more for the *Rivista* of the SIP whose founder Ferrari exalted Mussolini, recommended the "Psychology of the fascist revolution," made peace with Gemelli, got rid of the anti-idealist codirector Tarozzi, and presented himself obsequiously to Gentile.[26] In the faculty De Sarlo no longer attended assemblies; his name does not even appear in the minutes among those absent; the professors had to justify their absences, and he most certainly did not. De Sarlo felt "mortified and offended," according to a colleague who was "more fascist than Gentile" and against a permanent chair of psychology, but who nevertheless regretted not having seen or heard more of him.[27]

De Sarlo was living a very withdrawn life, but he was not in hiding. When "invited, I expound my ideas without worrying about the outcome."[28] Teachers invited him to criticize the Gentile reform, intellectuals and politicians to communicate the strength of his ideas with courage and detachment: "it is necessary to distance as far as possible whatever personal illusion [...], when on the one hand it is question of things of the greatest importance for the culture and civil life of a Nation, and on the other things themselves have *per se* a very significant language."[29] He recommended that Italians reread the speech given 30 years earlier by the Marxist Antonio Labriola, "University and the Freedom of Science" and explained its current relevance in his article for Luigi Credaro's *Rivista Pedagogica*, the most anti-idealist among the recent ministers of education, and the founder of the *liceo moderno* that Gentile had immediately suppressed in 1923.[30]

Even a political newspaper with a wide readership asked De Sarlo to publish his piece; *Il Mondo* published a brief version of it on March 1, 1924. De Sarlo knew its director Giovanni Amendola, beaten up by *squadristi* two months earlier in Rome, when the latter had been the director of the *Biblioteca Filosofica* in Florence. De Sarlo continued to finance it, provided the director always guaranteed that "all voices must be heard but none must impose themselves by force."[31] The year before they had invited, among others, Piero Gobetti, who had made his aversion to Fascism explicit in November 1922 and immediately abandoned Gentilian doctrines in a conference on Croce and Gentile. De Sarlo too was reflecting on the general lack of freedom and on neo-idealism in Italy, and he probably went to hear Gobetti speak. Limentani knew Gobetti in the same way he knew Salvemini, who was sitting in the front row at the *Biblioteca Filosofica*.[32]

Summer 1924 witnessed the overlapping of many tragic events, and De Sarlo decided to dedicate himself to these themes. In August he left for his home town in the South, together with his son Luino, only 10 years old when his mother

had died in 1921. He spent ever longer in the house in the country, in a sort of retreat. Calò and Lamanna reproached him affectionately.[33] He studied, saw his brother the archpriest, wrote and received letters.

> 10 August 1924.
>
> Dear Madam, let us talk of philosophy since this is your wish. The question that you ask me, if, that is, "Italian philosophy" exists and what—given that it exists—is its spirit, its basic characteristic, is embarrassing.[34]

He wrote 25 philosophical letters addressing a certain *Signora* M.M., dated from August 10 to October 24, 1924, an epistolary book on *Gentile e Croce*, of over 300 pages. It was a critical analysis of Italian neo-idealism, a "strictly national" trend that by that time influenced the culture and "broad contexts of our political and social life" as no other existing philosophical trend. This required a comparison. The author recognized a defeat. He did not pretend to persuade the idealists, but neither did he abandon this attempt completely; "Who knows, *Signora*, [...] in some not too distant future we may resume our talk?"[35]

In 1989 a former student of De Sarlo defined it thus: "a melancholy book," but the reactions had been quite different in 1925, when the volume was published and Italian intellectuals sided with one or other of the two neo-idealists. In that year the 16-year-old Eugenio Garin had just enrolled in the faculty of Florence where he was impressed by this professor, but had no opportunity to attend his courses of psychology; he gladly left this to his future wife, who enjoyed Bonaventura's lectures. He did not even know, it seems, that De Sarlo's courses had been removed *d'imperio*; yet he sensed his "very severe tone" toward Gentile—that he would begin to frequent—and his more malleable tone to Croce.[36]

It was not a personal matter. If anything, De Sarlo had understood in advance the differences that led neo-idealism to split into two. In the past his harshest clashes had been with Croce, since 1907 on the question of Hegel and science. His actual softer attitude to Croce did not depend on a speculative change. For example, he did not stop contesting him on the identification of philosophy with the history of philosophy. But the debate on ideas had been overwhelmed by the political scenario. In Bologna from March 29 to 31, 1925, the cultural institutions of the regime were called on by Gentile to approve his "Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals," which appeared in the press on April 21st. On May 1st, "A Reply by Italian Writers, Professors and Journalists," written by Croce at the request of Giovanni Amendola in *Il Mondo*, had a great many signatories.[37]

In the war of the two manifestos, the reactions to the volume on *Gentile e Croce* just published by Le Monnier came from both fronts and showed how much they were heterogeneous, and how affiliations were changing. De Sarlo and the greater part of his colleagues in the faculty had stuck to the *Risposta*, also published in *La Critica*. In private someone complained:

> Pity that you have softened your attitude to Croce whose return to the cycle of the Patria for reasons [which are] certainly not philosophical, cultural, or literary, has

> been greeted by many as something new and miraculous: Croce is now old, his philosophy is old, his literature is very old. In short, with no other flag to fly, let's wave this one; but please let's not say that Croce is a MAESTRO.[38]

This was the point of view of a young and subsequently eminent scholar who had already declared his break with the "cold" Croce. As Giuseppe De Robertis, who had come from the same Southern city of Lamanna to study at the faculty in Florence, reminded De Sarlo:

> Once I read in *La Critica*, I think, a judgement by Gentile on your prose, where he talked of a muddy style [...] I immediately thought: Look who's talking! Today I would have a thousand sound reasons to show the strength, the effectiveness, the vivid rapidity and the warmth of your discourse which has nothing either of mud or of other similar pulp. If anything it has a sense of live humus, of earth that is strong and full of nourishment, plain in appearance as is the writing of those who follow the arguments—and what arguments!—and no prattling. Let me tell you again—and this is a good sign of your battle won—that your book is selling, and that it has also crossed the Atlantic. Several days ago Paoletti [from the publisher Le Monnier] informed me that they were asking for it in New York: and then again, repeatedly, in Bari, the bastion of idealism.[39]

Instead the pedagogist and philosopher Francesco Orestano, future president of the SFI, was angry with Gentile, with his idealism and with him personally. He had not signed the *Manifesto*, but because he aspired to devise a Fascist doctrine of his own. De Sarlo, nevertheless, sent him a copy of his own book that he enjoyed. There was an error on the front page:

> Where it says "letters of a *Superato*" [one who is outdated] it should evidently read of a *Superatore* [one who outdates]. You dominated the opponents, with the highest understanding of the problems, with the most aware historical and scientific information, with the energy of the argumentation that at the very end of their philosophizing nothing remains, and one wants to substitute to pair of the title with the equation. That is 0=0. Yet you have given us all an essay on academic education, in Italy it has been a long time since anyone discussed with so much civility, so much elegance.[40]

De Sarlo's friend Limentani had brought the book to Dolo, where he used to pass the summer near the house of the socialist deputy Elia Musatti, father of the psychologist Cesare: "You resemble one of the public who gets up from the audience and gets onto the stage to unmask the conjurer's tricks to the eyes of simpletons!." He congratulated De Sarlo and wished him less indigestible and more nourishing reading of those neo-idealistic that he had swallowed.[41] The director of the *Biblioteca Filosofica* informed the author that various members were asking for his volume. Lamanna reported back the reactions of Buonaiuti, Tarozzi, and the others, all of them positive. The negative reactions of staunch Gentilians, awaiting the reaction of their chief, were also taken for granted.

What was less predictable was the whole-hearted agreement with De Sarlo of a scholar who came from

> an approach whose degenerated forms you justly criticized. Perhaps, having so closely experienced that approach and known those involved close up, from the best to the worst, and as luckily I never gave up thinking with my own head, I was able to realize the seriousness of the danger we were going into [...] In what has occurred I blush at my trade. To see these first fruits of a work for which, for my modest part I had dedicated years and years, makes me indignant and is humiliating. Croce whose merits and responsibilities are greater is even more exasperated.[42]

In this anguished letter the professor of the history of philosophy Guido De Ruggiero confided that he felt betrayed by his *maestri*. Therefore in April 1925 he had broken with Gentile whose pupil he had been: "with your program of the fascistization of culture and the school you were ready to sacrifice us without regret." The rapprochement with Croce obviously did not cancel the differences, but was based on the priority of opposing Fascism, often with greater intransigence than Croce. Faced with this "daily philosophical prostitution" De Ruggero wanted to avoid any collaboration with fascistized culture. At the same time he did not want to lose his university teaching and took the notorious oath of loyalty to the regime, a Gentile's idea and obligatory for all professors in 1931. But when he was asked to make certain changes to his *History of European Liberalism* first published in 1925, and translated into English and German, he refused and was forcedly retired by Minister Bottai as a result.[43]

For De Sarlo too the retaliations did not end with his expulsion from psychology. But how did psychologists react to his book *Gentile e Croce*? None of them bothered to let De Sarlo know their own opinions in private. To judge by the letters that he received that summer, among them only Bonaventura wrote to him. He regularly forwarded his post from Florence, brought him news of the laboratory; but not a word on the *Philosophical Letters of an Outdated*.[44] Perhaps De Sarlo expected it. The ironic epithet that he had given himself in that imaginary discussion, and even with a woman, sounded insulting in the lexicon of the Fascist revolution.

In late 1922 the organ of the SIP trumpeted that the March on Rome had "brought to the government of the State the best youth of the country causing the immediate collapse of an entire world of survivors." The director Giulio Cesare Ferrari, professor of psychology without a chair in Bologna, spoke the praises of "the expression of the will of an undoubtedly superior human with his innate character of aspiring to the best, to perfection."[45] The pure propaganda became habitual. In 1925 the *Rivista di psicologia* published an article that summed up teaching after the Gentile reform: more freedom than before in the universities! The author claiming the impossible was Gemelli, who had just obtained an assurance from Gentile that he would be awarded a chair of psychology at the *Università Cattolica* without a *concorso*.[46] Gemelli stated publically that it would now be easy to obtain any chair. It no longer depended on ministerial authority but on the academic authorities of single universities. What he did not say was

that provosts and deans were now nominated by the king on the recommendation of the minister, who also nominated the High Council (of which Gemelli was at once made a member). On the contrary the "outdated" De Sarlo indicated that of the much vaunted

> autonomy nothing but a mere word is left. Is a body of superior culture autonomous when the professors do not take part directly or indirectly in its government? Professors can no longer elect their own provost, no longer elect their own dean, no longer elect the members of the High Council.[47]

But complaining was outdated. To keep up with the times it was necessary to proclaim that Fascism was auspicious for culture and the university: a refrain rich in silences, empty or sweetened words, false news. This too was the fascistization of culture.

Political and Cultural Activism: Salvemini and De Sarlo

The book *Gentile e Croce* had been published soon after the sensational break between the two idealists in spring 1925. De Sarlo had written it beforehand, and more than a year had passed between the idea of the book and its publication; a year full of events that certainly had an impact on his intellectual work. We are used to reconstructing events and situations separately, whereas in the lives of men and women these were connected through personal relations or frequenting certain places where they sometimes leap out at us unexpectedly. I would like to try at least to point them out and to understand where links in life and memory were broken, and how their cancellation has given rise to more reassuring yet not understandable narratives.

The summer of 1924 had been ferocious. "In a regime [where] the press is gagged, the real editorialist is the reader: he must read between the lines."[48] This was the motto of Gobetti in his *Rivoluzione liberale*, which dedicated an entire issue to Giacomo Matteotti. On June 10th he was attacked and kidnapped because he had denounced the violence and irregularities in the elections of April 6th. On June 27th opposition groups abstained from parliamentary work until a new government should have reestablished respect for the law. On July 10th the law applying harsh limitations on press freedom, already approved the previous year, came into effect. On August 16th the body of the socialist deputy was found on the outskirts of Rome. On December 27th Amendola led the protest of Italian parliamentarians known as the "Aventine Secession." *Il Mondo* published a memorial by Cesare Rossi, former chief press officer in the prime minister's office, on the crimes of the regime. Not even that assassination convinced Gentile to abandon Fascism, as his collaborator Giuseppe Lombardo Radice had invited him to do.

Another group of young people, in Florence, asked to join the *Partito socialista unitario* (PSU) founded by Matteotti, Filippo Turati, and Claudio Treves. Together with history professors Salvemini and Gino Luzzatto from

Venice, Dr. Carlo Rosselli, Piero Jahier the "railwayman writer," and some students from *Lettere* and Medicine, 14 signed a long document conserved with Salvemini's papers:

> Convinced that the assassination of Giacomo Matteotti, added to all the other unpunished crimes demonstrates that the perpetuation of the fascist dictatorship threatens the country with complete moral and political collapse, recognizing that in these conditions it is no longer permissible for citizens who have sense of responsibility to remain isolated and inert due to excessive loyalty to theoretical refinements or for diffidence regarding old situations that are now changing rapidly under the pressure of new and pressing needs.[49]

It was time to take action. After this crime, Salvemini felt it his duty. Carrying on in the "inertia of an infamous regime, as I had done in recent times" would have meant being its accomplice.[50] PSU members included Limentani and Alessandro Levi, Treves's brother-in-law; the manifesto of the *Unione Nazionale delle forze liberali e democratiche*, in *Il Mondo* of November 18th, 1924, with which Amendola was trying to consolidate opposition to Fascism was supported by many Florentine intellectuals: Nello Rosselli and Piero Calamandrei, Arrigo Levasti from the *Biblioteca Filosofica*, the professors of *Lettere* Giorgio Pasquali and Guido Ferrando, just to name those who De Sarlo knew well, together with his pupil Guido Della Valle and other students and their parents, including Ettore Calabresi. Some of the same Florentines had also promoted

> the setting up of a *Circolo di Cultura* with around 150 members, mostly young people, excluding fascists, freemasons, those active in politics. The aim of the *Circolo* is to have a reading room with Italian and foreign newspapers and journals, promote debate and lectures on current problems.[51]

The Fascists called it "Circolo Salvemini," but the merit was of the young people. Salvemini did not play any special role, and when approached he was rather skeptical: "I promised to join"—he noticed in his diary—"I gave the names of possible members. But in Florence will they find 150 people able to take part in a cultural circle without electoral concerns? Will the Fascists let this organization function free of their control?"[52]

Carlo Rosselli, Ernesto Rossi, and the others began to mobilize. They found members, premises, and many competent speakers, not only university professors. Sticking to those already mentioned, the list was long enough: Calamandrei and Pasquali, Gina Lombroso, Alessandro Levi, and Guglielmo Ferrero; Giuseppe Tarozzi and Ludovico Limentani; and the psychologists Giulio Cesare Ferrari and Enzo Bonaventura. To "achieve the objective, still legitimate and firmly respected by all, to help bring about a clarification of ideas," they listened to different points of view: four speakers spoke on the Gentile reform; Corrado Gini and Gaetano Pieraccini discussed eugenics; Federico Cammeo, the dean of the new Faculty of Law already aligned with the regime, was invited as an expert in the subject. In the executive committee Ludovico Limentani and Enrico Finzi

sat with another ten members and Arrigo Serpieri, the scholar who, in 1938, as provost would expel them from university for being Jews.[53]

Throughout 1924 the *Circolo* was open every day from 16.00 until 23.00. It had a small library and on Saturday evenings the lectures were always full. But unfortunately Salvemini was right; "it could not please Fascism, for its well-known and understandable aversion to any form of culture not subservient to the regime." On New Year's Eve the premises near Ponte Vecchio were completely wrecked. A professor who was passing in the neighborhood saw a bright glow:

> I was imprudent enough to go up to the rooms which I knew, while the fascists calmly and methodically carried out their work, evidently under orders: luckily no one recognized me; otherwise they would have thrown me out of the window, along with the chairs and the journals which went to fuel the bonfire in Piazza Santa Trinità.[54]

Some days earlier the *Nuovo Giornale* and the studios of several anti-Fascist lawyers had been ransacked. The *Circolo* had always been open to all and attended by a great many people. After the "justified protests of the dominant party," on January 5, 1925, the Prefect of Florence decreed its closure on the grounds of public order, since it had "become the center of fierce anti-national propaganda hostile to the present Government [...] on the pretext of discussing cultural topics."[55] The group of promoters printed and distributed a pamphlet, "which gave a full account of the shadowy conspiracy of Borgo Santissimi Apostoli and of what the competent authorities did." The tone was typically sarcastic. The *illustrissimo Signor Prefetto* had not realized that the subversive members circulated among the respectable bourgeoisie with the most dangerous explosive hidden "under their hats," that is, inside their skulls. If he had wanted to clean up the city, "which unfortunately has pernicious cultural traditions that are not yet rooted out, there are other centers of infection to which the competent authorities were advised to direct their loving care at the next occasion."[56] They suggested at least the National Library, the Marucelliana Library, the Institute of Social Sciences Cesare Alfieri, and the University in Piazza San Marco.

At the end of 1924 the University of Florence had just emerged from the suppressed *Istituto di Studi Superiori*, with 4 faculties, around 1,250 students, 53 chaired professors, 34 *libero docenti*, among whom 13 with an internal appointment. On January 25, 1925, it was inaugurated by the new minister of education Pietro Fedele. At the ceremony the authorities flaunted their satisfaction and gratitude for what Mussolini had done for Florence, now the "intellectual capital of the world"! There were speeches and the official press was triumphant. Yet a small paper printed in Florence, from that month coming "out when it wanted and [...] when it could," wrote that the event had been "to the tune of cudgels."[57] Anti-Fascist students, the usual names from *Lettere* and *Medicina*, had received a sound beating for not having applauded.

They certainly contributed to the combative *Bollettino di informazioni durante il regime fascista*, which broadcast "news that cannot be published in opposition newspapers" even on what took place in the university. Nello Rosselli had come

up with the title *Non mollare!*, because "perseverance is the true virtue." Under the heading was written "whoever receives the *Bollettino* is morally responsible for circulating it," and it circulated a great deal. Among those who distributed it underground were the young women of the group.

Whether he knew it or not, or whether he pretended not to know it, De Sarlo too knew some of them. They were his former pupils, and Miss Marion Cave, who taught English in *Lettere* in 1924/1925, and Lucilla Rochat, another student of *Lettere* and the daughter of his doctor, who was one of the promoters of the anti-Fascist *Italia Libera* set up in Florence in 1924 with Carlo Rosselli and Ernesto Rossi.

At the university even a ceremony in honor of late lamented Pasquale Villari, the ISS's benefactor, was banned. It should have been held the morning of March 15, 1925, with a speech that the Faculty of *Lettere* had unanimously entrusted to his successor in the chair, Salvemini. The week before during his regular lesson, Fascists shouting outside the lecture room tried to knock down the door, and the students inside propped it up. When the hour came to an end, "the door opened and Salvemini came out impassive, with his round hat on his head, between two wings of pupils." A very young Professor Calamandrei had rushed in to try to reestablish order; he recognized the ringleader as the son of a colleague in *Lettere* and a former *liceo* companion of Rosselli, the 22-year-old Alessandro Pavolini, law student and fierce thug (who would make a career in the Fascist party). Other professors nearby hid instead of intervening, and one of them was Mayor Garbasso. "What? While the students of your party are attacking one of your colleagues who is teaching, you were lurking here, without saying a word to stop such an outrage?"[58] Several professors protested to the provost; but these were Fascist professors who did not want Salvemini to speak. On the morning of the ceremony for Villari the doors of the University in Piazza San Marco were closed. Everyone remained outside. Silently they arranged to meet the next day at the usual time for the history class.

> The room was full. It was moving to see old professors and young pupils sitting on the same benches in an act of solidarity and affection with the *maestro* and colleague unworthily offended [...] When Salvemini finished the lesson [...] the room resounded to very warm applause that lasted long also after the professor, very pale and visibly moved, had left [...] Accepting without protest [...] means declaring oneself willing to suffer any fascist, communist, hoodlum oppression, whatever you want to call it. It is not a question of fascism or antifascism: it is a question of university freedom and human dignity.[59]

Once again this came from an anonymous journalist of *Non mollare!* and in terms similar to those used by De Sarlo in *Il Mondo* exactly a year before. In the meantime the Florentine Faculty of *Lettere* provided the greatest support for Croce's *Risposta* against the *Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti*. Salvemini and Calò, Momigliano and De Sarlo, Limentani, Lamanna, and even Melli who had had to return to teaching in the *liceo* in 1923, and not because he was "overburdened with work" as was recounted later.[60] Bonaventura instead does not seem to have joined in.

On June 8, 1925, while in Rome for a university commission, Salvemini was arrested for the underground *Non mollare!*[61] In the minutes of the Faculty Council of Florence his absence was not explained, and De Sarlo's as usual was not even recorded. There is, however, the notice issued by the *Gruppo Universitario Fascista* (GUF) that just that day was read out by the dean: the "political demonstrations not in line with government policy and above all for the anniversary of the dead deputy Matteotti should be prevented."[62]

How could his memory be honored "without an uproar that would be slated? [...] let us go and lay a flower on the monument to Garibaldi; homage to the soldier of freedom has the meaning of [paying] homage to one who was its most recent martyr."[63] This passed by word of mouth. On June 10th, Carlo Rosselli (Nello was in Germany studying) went on the Lungarno with his cousin Levi, the philosopher of law. When they arrived, others had already left flowers underneath the statue. But they were seized, handcuffed, and ended up at the *Murate*, the city prison, with Gaetano Pieraccini, the hospital doctor (and future mayor of Florence); and the usual students known to both Fascists and police. There were also ladies—Levi did not specify who—his wife Sarina Nathan, Vittoria Sestini Pieraccini, Marion Cave, and the Calabresi sisters. After a brief questioning the women were released.[64]

On July 13th the long anticipated *Non mollare!* trial took place in Florence. Ernesto Rossi had already fled to France. Salvemini had been in prison for three months without even being interrogated. Even the *Corriere della Sera* had protested in favor of an "eminent university professor [...] who highly honors Italian culture."[65] Given his popularity, "loathed by fascists and much loved by students, colleagues, [and] a considerable part of the Florentine public," the courtroom was full, and people had come from all over Italy. He was in a cage, and in good humor said that he had been fine in prison. The harangues of his lawyers were convincing, and the testimony of the printer-turned-informer who was also on trial was inadmissible; the judge postponed the trial and released the accused on bail.

There was a violent racket on the way out. Salvemini was saved thanks to a young *carabinieri* officer: "he stopped me going out...he shut me in a room under the stairs with four *carabinieri* guarding me, and after a few hours when everything was calm outside, he put me in a truck and had me taken back to the *Murate*."[66]

Levi recounted what happened with his usual irony, despite coming out of it rather battered, beaten up twice by a dozen Fascists in a cellar into which they had kicked him.[67] Gina Lombroso Ferrero, the eldest daughter of the famous Cesare, who had gone to attend the trial with her undergraduate son Leo, instead recounted that it had been a terrible experience: the blackshirts had surrounded the courthouse, shouting threats, and beat up whoever came out.[68] The lawyers were soundly beaten up; Nino Levi returned to Milan with one hand permanently maimed. The correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* had his camera smashed when he had tried to take photographs. Professor Pistelli from *Lettere*, a signatory of Gentile's Manifesto, in the weekly *Voce del fascismo fiorentino* praised the "good thrashing."[69] Among the first to be hit was Giovanni Calò, who had approached the cage to shake Salvemini's hand, in front of the entire

courtroom and who also testified his esteem in a letter to *La Rivoluzione Liberale*, published on July 5th. The gesture cost him dearly, but was an important clarification with Salvemini who noted it in his account of that long day.

He left for Naples at dawn on July 14th, after a night spent in the house in via Giusti that Amelia Pincherle Rosselli had always opened to her friends and those of her sons (not there at the time). The gardener was the spy and the day after a gang of around 17 *squadristi* ransacked all the rooms "being particularly vicious with the library." On July 20th in Tuscany Giovanni Amendola was physically attacked for the last time; he would die of the consequences on April 7, 1926, in Cannes. In August 1925 Salvemini took refuge in France too.

Early that month De Sarlo retired to his hometown of San Chirico with Luino. As normal he wrote and received letters. They have been forgotten in a drawer of the country house and give us some idea of what he did and what concerned him. In addition to *Gentile e Croce*, they dealt with the facts, people, and events just mentioned on which he wanted to be informed. Lamanna kept him up to date, although they did not think along the same lines. For example,

> After Calò's very inopportune letter to the press following the incidents at Salvemini's trial, Florentine fascism keeps up its attacks on him. And Calò unfortunately does everything to make himself hated by fascists and antifascists. He even had the nerve to write a letter to one of his chief elector in Lecce, suggesting that he promoted a trend of sympathy for him among his fellow citizens (in opposition to the declaration of solidarity with fascism in Florence in his stand against Calò made by the mayor of Francavilla).[70]

That letter had ended up in *Battaglie fasciste*, who knows how, with "abuse and threats addressed to its author." Calò's wife was scared. Perhaps she exaggerated, but her husband "certainly didn't make a good impression," commented Lamanna. Unlike Lamanna, however, De Sarlo's devoted pupil would remain anti-Fascist. The maestro could not fail to approve the fact that Calò had expressed himself in public according to "what conscience, more than friendship, dictates regarding a colleague worthy of respect and esteem," who had been persecuted and forced to flee the country. He and Salvemini were not really friends; he had

> often deeply and times violently dissented in political matters, but had always highly valued his moral honesty, disinterestedness, courage of opinion, love of *patria*, quite apart from his talent and his very important work of historian, for which he held such a high position in Italian culture and the Italian school. Neither could I be silent with my long experience as his colleague in the same university faculty, G.S. could never be blamed for any attempt at sectarian propaganda or political proselytism through his school and his actions as a *maestro*.[71]

The fact is that respect and esteem of differences of opinion no longer counted enough or no longer counted at all, not even among colleagues who had worked together for many years. De Sarlo had experienced this personally. The Fascist Pistelli attacked the liberal Calò; the blackshirts Pavolini and his son were in the *Banda dello Sgombero*, which threatened Salvemini. Marion Cave warned him on

October 10, 1925: "The fascists are out to get you, Limentani and Calò, and swear that none of the three of you will ever teach in Florence again."[72]

Non mollare! came out for the last time on October 5th. San Bartholomew's Night fell on October 3rd, and remains a tragic memory for the city: Florence was at the mercy of Fascist gangs. They killed a former socialist deputy and a lawyer, and spread terror in homes and on the streets. The reaction from Rome was that the press should be silent or play down events. Meetings of over five people were banned to avoid any anti-Fascist reaction. For fear of negative repercussions for the national cause, Mussolini put Italo Balbo in charge of reorganizing the Florentine *fascio*. On October 24th the most extremist elements were dispatched elsewhere, their leader Tullio Tamburini was posted to Libya on December 17th among the protests of his faithful followers, 51 of whom were expelled. Then a process of normalization imposed from above began, with replacements from the city's black aristocracy.[73]

For the entire month of October 1925, perhaps longer, De Sarlo did not return to Florence and remained at San Chirico with Luino longer than usual, as we see from the correspondence. In November the news was not good. Gobetti, who had already been warned, had to put an end to his editorial activity; the *Partito socialista unitario* had been dissolved, and *Unità* and *Avanti* had been closed down. Salvemini had left the country and was in France or England. In the faculty it was only in November that an official reason was given for his absence: he had resigned. The dean communicated that the news had arrived from the provost and read "the warm words" with which the professor of history had taken his leave "of colleagues and students."

He explained to Calamandrei from London that after a "very painful thinking" he had given up his chair because there was no alternative. He did not want to return to get himself killed and mentioned that for some time when leaving "the house to go and lecture, I have not been sure of coming home with my skull intact." Furthermore, he did not want to accept leave for research abroad. The minister had made it known to him that he only had to apply. But the offer made him indignant:

> If I had accepted I would have broken all solidarity with the antifascists, I would have had to forbid myself any criticism of the regime that had done me a favor, and while my friends risked life and liberty in resisting Fascism, I would have enjoyed studying abroad at the expense of the fascist government.[74]

His letter to the provost with his reasons for resigning caused much discussion, in the athenaeum, in the press, and in Parliament. On November 25th the Academic Senate of Florence rejected the "slanderous affirmations" of Salvemini regarding the presumed pressure and limited freedom in the university. It also deplored the fact that he had given his letter to a foreign newspaper. The following day *Il popolo d'Italia* published an editorial on the "ignoble defamer of the *Patria*" who had retroactively been "dismissed for abandoning his post from 16 October 1925."[75] Five days later, from Paris, Salvemini refuted point by point this accusation in a long letter that Calamandrei would then publish.[76]

The case of an academic who emigrated due to persecution caused a great uproar. First of all, because he had decided not to remain silent, but also for his political fame, for the support of politically active friends who testified and remembered the same episodes repeated time and time again. There are many more cases where discriminatory measures passed without comment, out of fear or for personal dignity, in isolation. These are difficult to rediscover. Sometimes they are hidden under the misleading definitions preferred by the regime.

Words are important, and Salvemini was careful and distrusted all labels: he was dismissed not "for abandoning his post" as the minister declared, but as a result of Fascist persecution. He was not an exile as in the anti-Fascist cliché, "the dormant exile in the dark night [...] irritated me utterly." Instead he felt like a "wandering Jew of anti-fascism," as he joked with Carlo Rosselli, who actually was Jewish but almost not aware of it for a long time.[77]

Incompatibility and the Oath

With the law of December 24, 1925, the government had the power to:

> exempt from service [...] civil servants, employees and officers of any administration of the State [...] who for their experiences in their place of work or outside it do not give a full guarantee of carrying out of their duties faithfully or place themselves in a condition of incompatibility with the general political directives of the government.[78]

The ultra-Fascist trap—no dissent or you lose your job—affected not only university professors. Academics who chose to give up their chair in the name of didactic freedom, and to leave Italy—like Salvemini and Silvio Trentin who emigrated to France in February 1926—were very few and quite well known in comparison to the group of anti-Fascist intellectuals who emigrated from November 1926 onward, after the failed and perhaps simulated attempt to kill Mussolini in Bologna.[79] Another barely visible and more numerous category were the "dispensed" or exempted (*dispensati*)—another insubstantial and misleading term—who lost their jobs because evidently they did dissent. They were fired or exempted from service for a certain period, until they behaved better. Many were threatened or blackmailed with the loss of their jobs. As far back as 1925 it seems that the public school had dismissed over 500 teachers; and the first punitive measures took place under Gentile's ministry.[80]

The "dispensed for incompatibility" law was the last bad news of the year. De Sarlo was certainly sorry that his colleague would not return, sorry for the university, for the students, and for their mutual friendships shared. They would all be more alone. Some disagreed with this choice: "abandoning this poor country to the faction that we were sure would destroy it" was an error of judgment and against the duty of an anti-Fascist.[81] At the end of 1925 Salvemini had publically justified his action as a moral imperative: "in our country the fascist dictatorship has now completely suppressed those conditions of freedom without which the university teaching of history [...] loses all dignity."[82]

The same could be said for philosophy or psychology: any teaching and culture requires freedom. We cannot fail to link these declarations to the events focusing on the professor of history and to the issue to which De Sarlo devoted himself in the same period. His diary with its dry style, much like that of Salvemini's, contains a precise piece of information: "Friday 1 January 1926–Monday 4. Thinking about the topic 'Freedom and high culture.' I intend to deal with it in a conference to be held at the *Biblioteca Filosofica* in Florence [...] Spoke to Lamanna who, it goes without saying, finds it dangerous."[83]

In 1925/1926 the atmosphere in the faculty was bad. Students had lost their professor of modern history who had resigned. Would he return? In his place they found a Russian medievalist, Nikolaj Petrovic Ottokar, with a temporary teaching contract. The professor of theoretical philosophy and experimental psychology did not hold his second course; soon afterward his first would also be suspended. Until when? Here too, Gentile was involved, and the new Fascist law was applied.

Even if he could no longer teach psychology, in 1925 De Sarlo had managed to get a Florentine printer to produce the proceedings of the Fourth National Congress of the SIP of two years earlier, which had so annoyed Gentile. The volume was witness to the congress as an important event for the *Società*. And the next congress? According to the statute it should have been held every two years, and thus in 1925. But Kiesow, who had succeeded as president, had not convened it and, it is not clear how, a decision was taken to insert it into the national congress planned by the SFI for 1926 in Milan.

A difficult task lay ahead, also because the split between those who had publically backed either Gentile's manifesto or that of Croce was still recent. Piero Martinetti, professor of theoretical philosophy at the State University of Milan, had not signed either and was considered suitable to coordinate the congress, within which a section of the SIP was also programmed as he was himself a scholar of psychology. His intention was to work with "the best and most impartial will." In response to the pressures that he immediately received, he clarified that he would not accept a "meeting of imposters." This is why, in short, he refused to give Gemelli the space he demanded and that others had promised.[84]

The speakers invited came from various orientations: Croce, De Sarlo, the modernist Father Ernesto Buonaiuti, and the positivist philosopher-psychologist Adelchi Baratono. Croce accepted in October 1925, albeit unwillingly:

> The sense of oppression that I feel for the situation in Italy makes me reluctant to move, to appear in public, to speak...But then I thought that we need to make an effort and continue life as if we were living in a civil country.[85]

Gentile would certainly not have attended. Even before the congress began, disturbing events occurred. On January 25, 1926, Professor Buonaiuti, who taught the history of Christianity at the University of Rome—a priest with a clear religious and cultural aversion to Fascism, and a contributor to *Il Mondo*—was excommunicated *vitando*: if he entered a church, for example, it would have to be reconsecrated. Immediately afterward friar Gemelli, who Pio XI had already

sent to convince Buonaiuti to stand down from teaching, approached Gentile and the minister in person to ask them to dismiss Buonaiuti altogether from the university.[86] Professor Martinetti was instead accused, in an anonymous letter to his provost, of having insulted the sacrament of the Eucharist during a lesson. He rejected the slander, and went on the attack: until then he had been convinced that he was "teaching in a cultural State, that recognizes the principle of the independence of thought in its university professors." If that was no longer the case, then he would be the first to recognize the incompatibility of his teaching either with state directives (evidently he knew the new law) or with his conscience. There was an inquiry; the case came to the minister and to Mussolini. It seems that Gentile advised him against taking any rash steps.[87] Let them have their national congress and good luck!

Gemelli announced that the Catholic philosophers would not attend. Martinetti stuck to his guns and confirmed the invitation to Buonaiuti, who seemed the predestined target. In comparison Croce, unpopular with the Gentilians, gave less trouble. On March 29th he spoke of Italian philosophy from Campanella to Vico. "Interesting," commented Gentile in *Il popolo d'Italia*, "but of rather weak scientific importance."[88] Buonaiuti was scheduled for January 30th in the afternoon, but the uproar broke out the morning when De Sarlo spoke. After his speech, to "avoid possible incidents," the provost and mayor of Milan refused to give access to the premises and the Prefect ordered that the congress be closed. Minister Fedele, also a philosopher, was delighted.

What exactly had happened? This is what De Sarlo noted in his 1926 notebook: he had accepted Martinetti's invitation to present a paper in Milan, and had suggested two themes, either "Freedom and the high culture," or "The theory of relations." Martinetti could choose. On January 5th he began to dictate to Luino the text for a conference on the first theme that he presented on February 28th at the *Biblioteca Filosofica* in Florence: "greeted with intense applause. Everyone likes it a great deal: it was considered courageous." He then decided that he would rework and deepen it for the Milan congress. He worked on it for the entire month of March; at the end he noted, "I am pleased with myself and this is important. After all I dealt with the topic of the metaphysical conception of the State." On March 28th he left for Milan with his daughter Edwige, Lamanna, and Limentani; "a cheerful trip," he commented, but it rained.

> The inaugural session…goes splendidly. Martinetti's speech is excellent. Better to remain silent about Varisco's [SFI president] hot air. He's a weakling…Croce's speech very interesting. Tomorrow's my big day? What will happen?
>
> Tuesday 30 March. A huge success. My lecture is interrupted repeatedly by applause and ovations. Martinetti tells me "You are our Maestro."[89]

His great success is confirmed by witnesses on the other side. First of all by a follower first of Croce then of Gentile (thanks to whom he had obtained the chair at Pisa without a *concorso*). Armando Carlini reported to the latter that during De Sarlo's "dribbling flood" there was "resounding applause and shouts of joy long

emphasized the high points [...] an indecent racket." Instead they had not let *him* speak, and here too accounts agree: Carlini had leapt onto the speaker's table and had read a declaration of loyalty to Fascism with a Roman salute. Protests and scuffles broke out. "Silence! Enough of this rambling prattle!." President Martinetti struggled to get the session restarted. "'I have to interrupt you!' he shouted. Unfortunately it was he who was interrupted."[90] After lunch, in the afternoon they found *carabinieri* posted outside and the hall closed.

The press was full of comments of the type: "First of all one should say that a congress of philosophers is a totally cretinous idea," and therefore it was a good job that such a cove of "tittle-tattlers" had been suppressed. The journalists crippled the names of the "anti-Italian" scholars when evidently they did not know, nor gave any information about their "abstrusities," claimed that in the "*de-Matteottization*" of the nation the "spineless and incurable" intellectuals of "democratic *Italietta*" should be thrown out of the universities.[91] The episode was in the headlines for over two weeks. Then it was silenced, to avoid feeding any sense of solidarity with the anti-Fascists.

The incidents at the Milan congress in 1926 are known, but they are also ignored. In the reconstruction and memory of the event there is a significant disparity regarding the protagonists in the respective academic and disciplinary circles, between Florence and Milan-Turin, and between psychologists and philosophers. The reasons have depended on the courage or indifference and conspiracy of silence, on the fact that some who might have testified were no longer alive, whilst others did not have the nerve or the strength to face the past. It seems that from then on Martinetti enjoyed a special following, not only among students but among a heterogeneous audience: "enthusiastic and at times enamoured women, men sincerely hungry for moral and religious reform, employees and shopkeepers who went to work after having attended his lessons," at eight in the morning. But there was also his isolation. In postwar memories there was an idealized halo around his personage; he was one of the twelve in the entire country who refused to take Mussolini's oath in 1931, and therefore lost his chair. For his part the events of the 1926 congress have been very rapidly reconstructed by philosophers, Norberto Bobbio included, in their journals and in the press.[92]

The same did not occur for De Sarlo, despite the fact that at the Milan congress the Fascist and Gentilian attack was directed particularly against him. On *Il popolo d'Italia* Gentile marked the difference: "Martinetti is not De Sarlo"; excusing the responsibility of the first who had organized the congress, and attributing the fault to the latter who had given it a "particular physiognomy" with his paper:

> The most misused, the most worn-out commonplaces, that some say sent the listeners into raptures, in praise of the goddess Science, the goddess Freedom, of the immortal Principles, of the sacred Rights of the individual, freedom of thought and other similar nonsense that by now not only the fascists, but all (and I mean all) educated men consider as such.[93]

But then whoever did De Sarlo represent? Whoever liked him?

> Elementary teachers, men and women at the mercy of the old pedantic pedagogy, now pensioned off somewhere. The free thinkers banished from their lodges who have seen the sun set for ever on an era of spiritual tyranny that bore the name of freedom and was comfortable and for some time even profitable. Professors unfit to recover their culture and embittered by spite to see youth rushing forward with enthusiasm and fervor . . . That is, the lost, who in the words of this resentful orator, after months and years of cowardly silence, re-discover the expression of ideas left nesting and hidden in a corner of their lazy brains, and feelings long brooded over in the secret of their trembling hearts [. . .] to the imbeciles of philosophy, politics, journalism, education.[94]

Scornful as ever, Gentile referred to various categories of intellectuals, but not to psychologists, even though the accused was linked to them more than to others. Perhaps he judged their little community now irrelevant? Or he believed that psychologists no longer supported the disgraced Professor De Sarlo and had dropped him.

At the Milan congress De Sanctis, Bonaventura, Giulio Cesare Ferrari, Kiesow, and Ponzo were certainly among the SIP speakers, and the public included SIP members, scholars, and university students.[95] We cannot expect Gemelli to have shown any solidarity for De Sarlo, who was guilty among other things of having invited not him but Buonaiuti to the earlier congress of philosophy. But the others? They behaved as if the attack on their colleague was none of their business. Yet it had an impact on the SIP, to the point that it had to be reorganized. Its secretary Enzo Bonaventura stated in public that this task was to be assigned to Giulio Cesare Ferrari, one of the most "compatible" with Fascism.

In his paper on the past and future of the SIP, at the Sixth National Congress in Bologna in 1927, Bonaventura had to say something about the previous year, but got away with writing that the sudden closure of the congress of philosophy "also interrupted the congress of psychologists." In 1926 Ferrari, the director of the *Rivista di psicologia*, gave rather different news: the task of reinstating the Society fell to Bonaventura; in Milan the psychologists had declared themselves "dissidents of the Congress, and had opted not to pay the registration fee." Why? To emphasize their independence from the philosophers and "because it was well known that Gemelli, a full professor of psychology in Milan, could not have taken part in the Congress [. . .] on the acknowledged and just grounds of his incompatibility with Prof. Buonaiuti." Therefore on De Sarlo's proposal the psychologists had pointed out "the illogical nature of such a meeting." With responsibility bouncing back and forth, it actually seemed that the offended party deserving support was Gemelli, and the first to show such solidarity was the person who had in fact been attacked.[96]

The successive accounts are rare, more fleeting, and even full of errors. The Fifth meeting of the SIP was "not much attended and aroused so much ill-feeling that a decision was taken to dissolve the society" and to entrust it to Bonaventura (1965). The Fifth Congress was "a total failure" (1981). It was "planned but not carried out" (2013). Why is not clear.[97] Between the proceedings of the Fourth Congress in 1923

and those of the Sixth in 1927, there was a vacuum. As regards De Sarlo's censured speech, this appeared 20 years later in an elegant little volume financed by the Faculty of Florence thanks to Giovanni Calò, then its dean. No one really knows when all the copies disappeared from the Institute of Psychology, the Faculty of *Lettere*, the Library of the University of Florence, just as along with certain "subversive" essays by the anti-Fascist Limentani, "unwelcome" writings by the Jew Bonaventura, or, later on, embarrassing publications by the Fascist Lamanna.[98]

De Sarlo had finished his 1926 speech thus:

> I am persuaded that one has a duty to express one's own mind even when doing so may seem vain and useless. It is a form of responsibility which it is not legitimate to avoid. The outcome will be what it will, but what remains is the satisfaction of one's own conscience in having spoken, especially when many are silent. Whoever believes in certain truths has the duty to show it, irrespective of the outcome. After all, the words that may appear in vain in one moment and in some conditions may instead be the seed that remains under the snow during the winter, but that awaits the spring in order to germinate.[99]

In the days following the forced closure of the congress, he simply waited:

> All the conformists naturally deplore my conduct. Some find it inexplicable, some find it inopportune, some find it imprudent…I DON'T CARE.
>
> Congratulations, displays of sympathy, admiration etc. arrived from various parts. But there are some who are careful not to come and see me, but who should. I don't care. I DON'T CARE.[100]

The "bombshell" came on April 8th: the minister informed De Sarlo that he had placed himself in a position of "incompatibility with the Government's general political directives." His response was immediate: "I know no directive other than that of the science that I profess." The government indeed intended to apply the new law, just as the furious Gentile had claimed, and it had the power to "relieve him of his duties." The decision against De Sarlo was not reserved information; on the contrary a

> ministerial statement […] announced *urbi et orbi* the measure that will be taken, the press—the *paid* press—naturally gets applause and takes up the tune. I repeat I DON'T CARE
>
> […] Letters arrive, notes, displays of satisfaction for the action taken in Milan. I am working with energy, above all I am reading. I receive many visits: from pupils, friends. However, there are a lot of cowards, who keep out of sight, because they fear, who knows, to compromise themselves.[101]

On April 11th "with a bureaucratic letter" the provost of Florence placed him on leave for a month. This in itself was not much. There had been an about-turn on his case and that of Martinetti. In the ministerial papers this compulsory leave was "until new orders," awaiting to discuss the proposal of a dispensation. Then a scribbled "No" and a correction: thirty days' leave.[102]

Not just the president and the speaker of the SIP were hit. It is difficult to reconstruct a picture of the "dispensed" when they are not well-known or institutionally visible. As a consequence of the events in Milan and again on April 8, 1926, a *libero docente* in the history of philosophy in Genoa was barred from teaching. He was accused of having promoted the agenda of the Congress against its closure by the prefect. Santino Caramella, 24 years of age, very close to Gobetti, did not deny his "responsibility as an antifascist," but he had not been the only one to protest. Lombardo Radice, who had put him on the road to Gentilian pedagogy in the past (later siding with the Crocian *manifesto*), wrote confidently to his mentor in his defense. Not only did Gentile ignore the young man's request for the situation to be corrected, but as soon as he found him in a *concorso* as a candidate he excluded him.

How close Caramella was to De Sarlo needs to be verified. He used to come to Florence often, and frequented the Rossellis, attending Carlo and Marion's wedding party on 25 July 1925.[103] There was no end to the retortions against him. In 1928 he spent three months in prison; in 1929 he was transferred to Sicily. His dispensation in 1926 is not well known, but what is known is that he was relieved of his duties and that his qualification as *libero docente* was revoked for incompatibility in 1929, when Croce intervened to salvage it. In the meantime the devoted Carlini had become provost of Pisa, then deputy, an *Accademico d'Italia*, and author of *Philosophy and Religion in Mussolini's Thought*.[104]

What happened to others who had protested in Milan? For example, Prof. Giuseppe Rensi, who faced with Gentile's "enormous material superiority, albeit not moral," reminded him publically that he had refused to collaborate even in the *Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani* directed by the all-powerful philosopher.[105] We know that Rensi was suspended from his chair, temporarily in 1927, and definitively in 1934. Yet with decree of August 28, 1931, Rensi too had taken the oath, like all the other 1,200 professors except 12, "to be faithful to the King to his Royal successors and to the Fascist Regime."[106] We need to know more precisely the hardships experienced before and after the ill-fated oath, by those who took it as a formality in order not to lose a chair, that some ended up losing in any case for their own choices. Beyond the injustices, the precise mapping of the measures, their duration, and reiteration can indicate not only a substantial dissent underlying a formal declaration of loyalty, but also it would reveal how extensive and pervasive was the damage caused by Fascism to "high culture without freedom."

For Professor De Sarlo even a month's dispensation from service was too much. He planned to use it to work more, but away from the university and his students he became dispirited: "Now life is monotonous. The days are all the same." He was clearly restless. "I often have the sensation of wasting time [...] I am bored." When an old senator and colleague let him know "that the government had decided *to do nothing*," he was disoriented: "I don't know whether to feel pleasure or spite." The days passed: "I don't know what to do. I plan to ask the ministry for one more month's leave. Then there are the holidays, and then we will see what happens." Dr. Luigi Rochat, who was close to Salvemini and to *Non mollare!* was happy to do him the favor: on official notepaper and with an

authenticated signature he certified that De Sarlo required a month's absolute rest on the grounds of ill health. In fact, he was biding his time, "uncertain what decision to take."[107] He did not want a shadow on his dignity.

A phrase pronounced by Minister Fedele gave him a jolt: "He says that whoever dissents from the government must feel duty bound to voluntarily resign his chair. Following this I decide to remain," De Sarlo wrote in his diary on May 15, 1926. He went back to his position, to his students, but not because he had surrendered. He threw himself back into teaching and research. He would devote himself to the issues of political philosophy mentioned in the Milan paper for a new book, *Man in Social Life*, which would come out with the same publisher as Croce and took him five years' work while at the same time he also published his *Examination of Conscience*.[108]

In June 1926, before the summer holidays, he began again to attend exams, and on November 19th he began to teach his course again. Everyone knew his absence had been in some way imposed, but there was nothing official. The dispensation for incompatibility with the regime was not recorded in his personal folder. His "state of service," which documents the entire career of a public employee, contained no mention of the "leave" ordered by the ministry. There is only the leave requested by him and "granted for health reasons": one month for "nervous depression." The minutes of the faculty meetings continued to ignore his existence: neither present nor absent.[109]

These years were never ending. From 1926 Limentani was warned "to refrain from any political demonstration" and remained "conveniently under surveillance" by the police, as his friend Alessandro Levi and other colleagues. This was a lasting effect of the exceptional or *fascistissima* law, attested to by an official report of January 1933 to the General Direction of Public Security: in "March 1926 to apply Law 2300/24.12.1925, on the dispensation from service of state functionaries the local police went on to examine the situation of the personnel under the Ministry of Education and to clarify against whom they should apply the provisions of the cited law."[110]

The register of so-called subversives was drawn up on the basis of cross-comparisons among several police offices, and involving several ministries and provosts and aimed at the world of the school and university. The prefectures admitted that they did not always find serious evidence such as, for example, "relations with the well-known Prof. Salvemini" now in exile, shared by more or less all his Florentine colleagues. In 1937 information was still requested on a certain teacher because "he had been one of the signatories of the well-known Manifesto Croce," 12 years before. It was enough to prepare a weekly report to the Ministry of the Interior on movements and meetings of subversives, for example, from Rome to Strada in Chianti at the home of the well-known anti-Fascist historian Guglielmo Ferrero, the son-in-law of Cesare Lombroso.

Even completely unknown people ended up under surveillance. Without thinking that the professor's post might be opened and at times confiscated (e.g., copies of *Giustizia e Libertà*), a teacher from Isola d'Elba fell afoul of the regime by writing to Limentani that not only did he not have a party card, but that he had refused it "to avoid being an assassins' accomplice."[111] He was immediately

forbidden to leave Italy for his studies, and was left waiting to be suspended from his salary and position while an inquiry was held.

Frequently and after much bureaucracy, a passport application was rejected on the grounds of "the damage that would be caused to Country and Regime were [a person] with his aversion to Fascism to make propaganda abroad." The measures for the "incompatibles" varied from "prevent expatriation" to "supervise and record" even for brief and motivated stays that had been granted outside Italy.[112] Mussolini himself took a decision regarding a full professor who in 1938 was not yet a member of the *Partito Nazional Fascista*, and his provost had to inform Alessandro Levi that it was not opportune for him to accept a nomination from the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. Who knows how he could explain his forced refusal to his American colleagues without speaking badly of a State that prevented its own professors from having international scientific contacts.[113]

In 1933 both Levi and Limentani were "removed" (*radiati*). Despite the term, this actually improved their position: they were deleted from the list of subversives thanks to their "rehabilitation or ceased political activity." After seven years of weekly controls the prefect declared that Levi "is not considered able to carry out political activity against the Regime."[114] He was in fact wrong and later changed idea. In the 1930s however there was the additional aggravating circumstance of being "a Jew," together with a physiognomic description (aquiline nose, etc.). For Limentani being part of a committee to help Jewish refugees from Germany was a factor against him, as was having once been a member of the now dissolved PSU "on the invitation of his friend, the well-known Prof. Salvemini."[115] A folder in his name had been opened in 1903 in the Central Political Records Office (CPC), which dated to the era of Crispi and grew conspicuously under Mussolini.

There is no political folder on Benedetto Croce, despite the fact that having signed his *Manifesto* in 1925 was a charge leveled against some of those under surveillance. There is no folder on Martinetti although he had been "relieved of his duties" for incompatibility with Fascism and had ended up in prison. It is not clear why some names among the younger people mentioned here for their actions of dissent with the regime are missing and others are recorded in the CPC. This may be because the folders originated in the local offices and were only partly passed to the CPC office in Rome where they can be consulted. Also, it often appears that the authorities preferred to avoid direct politicization for the most well-known anti-Fascist intellectuals who did not belong to a party, and tried to defuse the risks of their incompatibility. This was done by setting up a sort of vague truce when possible, or simply in order to harass and isolate them.

In 1931 the general acceptance of the oath to the regime marks a distressing point in the process of the consolidation of Fascism based "not so much on the power of an arrogant minority, as on the acquiescence—or indeed cowardice—of the enormous majority of the country."[116] As we know, Salvemini brooked no justification for those who took the oath while claiming to be professed anti-Fascists. It did not matter if they had spoken to Croce, or listened to Togliatti or the Pope. It is often said that those who remained in their chairs did so for their

students, in order to not leave them "in the hands of barbarians." This choice was not always, or not only, opportunism especially when accompanied by long years of constantly resistant conduct, albeit passive. In his essay on the *Resistance in Florence*, which won a prize in a commission chaired by Piero Calamandrei in 1954, Carlo Francovich, a former student of the Faculty of *Lettere* when Salvemini was abroad, who was arrested for anti-Fascist activity in January 1942, recalled the following about those darkest years.

> In the worst moments, also in the period 1928–1935, with the growing affirmation of the dictatorship, there were *maestri* who although not professing their political thought openly (which would have meant immediate dismissal) used their chair to give young people a training in human dignity and civic virtue. They never spoke a word that could sound like praise or give the impression of a conformist attitude in the face of the political authorities.[117]

Among his professors he had three in mind: Francesco De Sarlo, Ludovico Limentani, and Enzo Bonaventura. All three differed in terms of age, origin, religious ideas, and much else, but as members of the same faculty where they had taken the oath and the same community of psychologists. All three persecuted by Fascism, but in different ways.

The Marginalization of Italian Psychology

Returning to psychology, was the emargination inflicted on De Sarlo a case apart in the national context? Was it mainly due to his bad personal relations with Gentile? Had it not been for this, might we conclude that the new discipline did not suffer particularly under Fascism? It cannot be taken for granted that Fascism damaged science and psychology in particular. If we look at German psychology in the same period, considering that some of its important exponents were persecuted and even non-Jews emigrated, it has been widely believed that Nazism was opposed to psychology and hence blocked its development. Yet Geuter's research overturned this judgment; during the Third Reich psychology was transformed from "a marginal academic discipline into a profession recognized by the State." Moreover, since the professional qualification required a certain level of education, university teaching benefitted as well, and the number of professors of psychology actually increased.[118]

This was not the case in Italy and the mix of national neo-idealism and Fascism was fairly fatal; even the psychologists basically loyal to Fascism recognized this. There was no professionalization, and the teaching of the subject that had existed in the public schools was abolished by the ministerial reform. In the universities the paltry number of official chairs remained the same from 1905 to 1922, and in five years it fell from four to two. There was no obligation to maintain "budget chairs" after the holder retired, as in German universities. Twenty-five years went by before there was a public *concorso* for a single post in Italy in 1930. Then there were no more until the collapse of Fascism. *Libero docenti* who obstinately continued to devote themselves to the discipline got old

waiting for a position, and hoping that this would be renewed and then in the illusion that it would have become a chair. Even the annual positions were very few, only four or five.[119]

Saying that "*only* two psychologists: Bonaventura and Musatti" were excluded in 1938 because they were Jews means more than it seems. With absolute numbers so low, the percentages are high. But the criteria used are too narrow, and our knowledge is worse than limited. Musatti was not expelled for racial reasons, contrary to the general belief. So just one victim, and in Florence? The Florentine case deserves special attention also in this respect, but discrimination and racial persecution had already weakened psychology before the 1938 law and this had a broader and longer-lasting impact if we look beyond the very few university positions that only account for a small part of the psychological domain. Nine or ten speakers at the national congress of the SIP in 1936 in Rome had to abandon their legitimate hopes as scholars in 1938, because of being Jewish. Their exclusion helps explain why the SIP could only meet in congress 15 years later, rather than the normal 2. And it is never a question of just numbers, which must themselves be explained in context.

Whoever had always preferred that psychology, as in Germany and elsewhere, placed under the Faculty of Philosophy among the human sciences, rather than under physiology and then psychiatry in the Faculty of Medicine, in 1923 had to realize that the Italian scenario was neo-idealistically changed:

> As the *philosophical sciences* are placed in a faculty where literary subjects are dominant, the purely scientific needs of teaching Psychology cannot be easily recognized and understood by scholars [who are] mentally oriented in an entirely different sense; the other danger is that, since some followers of Philosophy consider any sort of empirical knowledge with scorn, once admitted to the Faculty of Philosophy, Psychology may encounter a hostile reaction on the part of the philosophical disciplines and be obliged to *either resign itself or to get by as a barely tolerated intruder* until it dies of exhaustion, or loses its autonomy as a Science whose object is the elaboration of a special form of experience.[120]

De Sarlo's judgment had been far-sighted for the negative fate of the young science. Yet according to him this was not inevitable, and this too must always be borne in mind. Let us try to draw a map, even if each case should be explored more deeply or reexamined.

As regards Milan sights are always set on the *Università Cattolica* and its chair created in 1926, without mentioning the remarkable presence of the discipline in the "free university that Father Gemelli and the *Università Cattolica* with its Sacred Heart are suffocating," as denounced Martinetti.[121] In the *Accademia scientifico letteraria* founded in eighteenth century, the chair of experimental psychology had existed since 1907 under the *Magistero* (Faculty of Education), with *docenti* with a degree in medicine. Thanks to a convention with the Municipality, it had close ties with the *Istituto civico di pedagogia sperimentale* that achieved international fame with Zaccaria Treves and his team working on vocational guidance, intelligence tests, and the treatment of disabled children.

The situation deteriorated with the advent of Fascism and the transformation of the *Accademia* into a state university, like the ISS. In 1924 the *Istituto civico*, the degree course, and the chair of psychology were suppressed. Its holder Prof. Casimiro Doniselli managed to keep the teaching of psychology going with annual contracts; at the Faculty of Medicine until 1928 and in the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia* from 1936 to 1945 when he had to leave on the grounds of age. The instruments, the archive of the tests made for 30 years in the public schools of Milan, were destroyed in 1943 by the bombing of Acquarius, where the institute of experimental psychology had ended up.[122] In the postwar period the chair was set up again for Musatti and with Gemelli's help.

The private letters contain unpublished information. From Kiesow's letter of January 1923 we learn that Gemelli had aspired to the chair of experimental psychology in the *Accademia*. His rather startling career as a university professor of psychology had actually begun with a failure at the State University of Milan, whereas at the Cattolica, which he had set up, he would certainly be safe. What he really wanted was that not only the Church, but also the state should recognize this. Gentile guaranteed him this, and also promised that he would become professor of psychology by simple nomination. In December 1924 it turned out instead that a *concorso* would be inevitable.[123]

The position was advertised on October 3, 1925, and Gemelli demanded that Kiesow's best pupil would not apply. On March 18, 1926, he was the winner as the sole candidate, thanks to the commission of three chair-holders of experimental psychology (all except Benussi), and Guido Villa and Ambrogio Ballini, a Sanskrit expert who was concurrently both an examiner of the candidate and his employee, as lecturer at the Cattolica. Gemelli immediately became a member of the High Council of Education and after the normal three-year period was promoted to full professor in the chair of psychology which he himself as provost had established. It was in 1929, the year of the *Concordato* between the Church and the state, that it also stipulated that the nominations of professors at the Università Cattolica were "subordinated to a *nulla osta* of the *Santa Sede* so that there can be no objections from a moral and religious standpoint."[124]

In Padua the chair of psychology remained unexpectedly vacant in 1927. Benussi had committed suicide on November 24th, and just four days later Gemelli contacted the president of the SIP:

> I am writing to you in haste because we need to act, if we do not want the chair to escape to psychology [...] In accordance with the existing provisions, within twenty days the faculty must decide how it intends to arrange the permanent position, that is, whether to give it to experimental psychology again or to other disciplines [...] if we were to lose this post now, it would mean losing all the others the day (I hope and pray distant) when the respective tenured professors retire or go to Paradise of heaven.[125]

President De Sanctis could not deny it: not replacing Benussi would have been a dangerous precedent also for the succession of the other three veterans who have held the chair from 1906 and sooner or later, him included, would have

had to leave. He telegraphed Gemelli: "Situation Padua desperate spoke six hours obtained adjournment," and received instructions to move "carefully." He crossed his fingers and set to work. Presumably De Sanctis also met Benussi's pupils. They must all have been shocked and suffering. It was Cesare Musatti and Silvia De Marchi who had found the body. In 1987 Musatti narrated:

> We had concealed the suicide, getting rid of the evidence and letting people believe the accepted version of the doctor who had issued a certificate for natural death by cardiac arrest. But we knew the real situation and we knew that the suicide was due to an acute period of depression in a person suffering from serious psychic problems.[126]

After this he took over both his maestro's "throne" and his woman: a "full-scale Oedipus," this was his own interpretation much later on in life. Musatti had to wait much longer for the chair than for Silvia De Marchi, who became his second wife in 1930. He kept the terrible secret of the suicide for another half century in order to avoid damaging psychology, according to him. But they were not the only ones who knew; Benussi had repeatedly confided his grave psychic suffering to De Sanctis and had asked him for help in a desperate letter, his last. Thus before drinking the fatal tea with cyanide.

> I am desperate. Always, always, always. I don't know until what point I must mortify myself to do the only thing which would really make sense [...] I am down here, with anxiety and fear which do not let me sleep and make me weep for hours and hours [...] I am sorry De Sanctis. Be patient. Do you have nothing to say to me?...I can only see Sad things. And I have many, away, far away. Ah De Sanctis, how can I go on. Just because my mother and my sister will need me if my father dies? Just for this? How can I live just for this, De Sanctis. Write me a line.[127]

The Roman professor preferred not to speak about it—an open secret—; he probably felt guilty and duty-bound to at least not let Benussi's school die out. Gemelli had no such scruples. His list of possible successors did not include Musatti, but Ponzo, Bonaventura, Ferrari, and his assistant Alessandro Gatti. He immediately informed the three chair-holders in Turin, Rome, and Naples of it, and also contacted the no longer young director of the *Rivista di psicologia* in Bologna.[128] He did not even ask the opinion of De Sarlo, now sidelined, and this meant that Bonaventura was weaker than the other candidates. The strongest was Kiesow's pupil because, whatever his scientific merits, he had to be compensated: Gemelli should put his hand on his heart and find a position for Ponzo, who had sacrificed himself by renouncing the opportunity to apply for the position at the *Cattolica*. Kiesow insisted on this point until Gemelli became irritated. On April 7, 1928, he specified that:

1. Legally speaking the fact that Ponzo did not take part in the Milan *concorso* has no value. It is enough to say that the *concorso* ended two years ago; thus is not legally applicable to Padua.

2. In short, I don't know if Ponzo would have benefitted from a comparison with me; I think not… However, it is difficult to reason with "if"…
3. In Padua it is thought and judged that no one is worthy of taking Benussi's place; no one…and just to be precise, not even Prof. Kiesow is evaluated as worthy of succeeding Benussi.[129]

Gemelli added other interesting considerations. For example, as regards the identity of academic psychologists it was of no help whatsoever for those who had trained in physiopsychology the well-known fact that in Germany the teaching of psychology went to chair-holders in philosophy (in Italy this had only happened to De Sarlo). Ponzo's candidature was anything but incontestable; yet Gemelli claimed to have supported him. But something more was at stake. Rather than focus on the present, we need to

> look the future in the face. When you Prof. Kiesow, when Colucci both retire it is certain (and it is easy to be prophets) that your two chairs will not remain as permanent posts. It's best to realize this now. Perhaps De Sanctis' chair will be spared.[130]

It was not a question of pessimism but, he stressed, of "recognizing facts" about which he was well informed. Yet in the *Rivista di Psicologia* he had expressed great optimism, in the cited article of 1925, and argued that thanks to the reform it would be incredibly easy to create new chairs. Indeed only one was advertised, in Sardinia, taking advantage of the fact that Gentile had just left the ministry. This was a chair of "psychology and pedagogy" and in fact meant for scientific pedagogists; indeed, as both the winner and the two eligible candidates linked to the former minister Credaro were pedagogists.[131] There was nothing for the psychologists, either in Cagliari in 1924 despite De Sanctis being on the commission, or afterward (except the very special chair for Gemelli). Not even the replacement of existing chairs was guaranteed. In Padua in 1927 neither Ponzo nor others had Benussi's chair, which was lost. The teaching of experimental psychology was suspended and only reinstated in 1929 as an annual position for Cesare Musatti, a *libero docente* already teaching at that university, just like Bonaventura in Florence.

The loss of De Sarlo's chair had been the real precedent. Back in 1923/1924, no one had moved a finger to prevent what subsequently occurred in Padua in 1927/1928, and was repeated in Turin in 1933 and in Naples in 1937, when Kiesow and then Colucci retired. The Neapolitan professor was more involved in hospital psychiatry than in academic psychology and left no recognized heritage; little is known about his assistant Luca Galdo. On the other hand, Kiesow had effectively created his own school although it was not considered particularly modern. The faculty of Turin replaced him with two annual positions: in 1936 the direction of the laboratory of experimental psychology went to the full professor of theoretical philosophy, Annibale Valentino Pastore, who at least supported the need for specific experimental training for psychologists. In 1934 the teaching was assigned to Alessandro Gatti, Gemelli's assistant who returned to Turin to obtain his *libero docenza* in 1930 and who also directed the *Archivio*.

In 1939 everything changed rapidly once again. The elderly Pastore retired and his laboratory assignment went to his successor in the chair of philosophy, Augusto Guzzo, who had always avoided applying for psychology, declaring to Gentile, "I know nothing about" it.[132] Gatti had died prematurely in 1938 (Kiesow in 1940) and was replaced by the last assistant left. This was a woman, Angela Costa Massucco, an anti-Fascist, and philosophy graduate in 1934, interested in development and social psychology, who would only obtain a post of professor in Cagliari in 1957. In Turin, which had been the most Wundtian institute in Italy, the chair of psychology went empty for another 30 years, until 1964 when it was reinstated for Angela Costa herself, then newly elected deputy for the Italian communist party.

As Gemelli had anticipated, the only chair that survived the death of its holder was in Rome, and this became vacant early, just two years after Padua. In 1929 De Sanctis left the post to take up the chair of neuropsychiatry in the same Faculty of Medicine, which is what he had always wanted, at the expense of psychology. In 1919 he had contemplated replacing the famous psychiatrist Augusto Tamburini "*per chiara fama*" and without a *concorso* but things had gone badly. Then he had devised another strategy. In 1921 Gentile had promised to speak to "C" again (presumably Croce, then minister of education) and they agreed on "abolishing the chair of experimental psychology and to replace it with psychiatry." But this could not be done due to some bureaucratic impediment.[133] In 1924 De Sanctis was even "persuaded that experimental psychology must disappear from the list of courses in the medical faculty"; and he was by now resigned to pass to *Lettere*.[134] Then there was another opportunity in 1929 on the death of the professor whose chair had been renamed clinic of nervous and mental illness, with psychiatry subordinated to neurology in a reductionist, naturalistic, and organicist perspective that the neo-idealists preferred in order to avoid any interference in their philosophy of the spirit. De Sanctis took the place of Giovanni Mingazzini and asked at the same time that his chair of experimental psychology be reassigned by *concorso*, 25 years after the first one in 1905.

The result was not automatic: it took a couple of years, and a great deal of pressure and maneuvering. The eligible candidates were Ponzo, the first on the waiting list, who was swift to contact De Sanctis in 1929, followed by the two temporary lecturers in Florence and Padua both of whom, if judged qualified, could be appointed as professors by the respective faculties in the chairs that were vacant. De Sanctis was obviously pulling the strings, and the SIP was also mobilized according to the strategy of the one who would always prove the most active in the pre-*concorso* negotiations: "colleague Musatti, in agreement with Ponzo, suggested that I prepare a short Memoirs, on behalf of the SIP, to send to the members of the High Council of Education so that the request to set up a *concorso* for the chair of psychology is treated favorably."[135]

This very suggestion was written to Professor De Sanctis by Bonaventura, who mentioned Professor Limentani (not De Sarlo) as one of his Florentine supporters. The problem was whom to nominate on the examining commission. Musatti wrote clearly to Ponzo: "If you leave things to me in this sense, I guarantee you unanimity in the commission for [your] first place"; anything as long as they came to an agreement with the inexorable Gemelli and would

make both him and his Florentine colleague qualified, rather than just one of them, nobody knew who.

> By the next year, Bonaventura and I should be on a list of three for Florence and Padua, and Gemelli could advertise another *concorso* for Galli given that the *concorsi* at the Cattolica do not involve the complications of the High Council. If instead Bonaventura and I are left out, in twenty years' time we will no longer have a chance to enter a *concorso*.[136]

This was the exact perception. Apart from personal careers, it was even worse for the discipline itself. The *concorso* ended the way they wanted; in October 1931, at the age of 49, Ponzo won the post in Rome, Bonaventura at the age of 40, and Musatti at 34 were declared qualified for all three. Any university in Italy wanting to invest in psychology could hire them. Bologna, for example, had always run courses until the eternally temporary lecturer Giulio Cesare Ferrari died at the age of 65 in October 1932. Turin and Naples would soon be without chairholders. But neither of them was called; the Faculties preferred to keep them with annual positions. In his old age Musatti practically complained that as the third qualified contender he could not be appointed before the second one. He had been damaged, he argued, by Bonaventura or rather by the evident antipathy for the Florentine colleague.[137]

Things were slightly more complicated. On one hand Musatti himself was unwelcome. Before the *concorso* he had already clashed with a strong opposition in the Faculty of Padua (this emerges from his letters to Ponzo), which would become very severe in the following years. If we think of what was to happen in 1938, a summons to a position would not have served Bonaventura much. On the other hand the Florentine faculty minutes reveal that things went rather differently from what is usually recounted. The request "regarding Bonaventura, who had taught for many years and is the second winner of a recent *concorso*" was presented indeed and immediately.

First, it was in competition with other applications for disciplines judged to be more important, and was postponed (12 votes to 6). Calò represented the case 6 months later, and again requested that his proposal be put to the vote the following year, on May 26, 1933, in the very same assembly in which De Sarlo had announced his early retirement by letter to the faculty. Perhaps that coincidence influenced it: 12 out of 15 votes were in favor of awarding Bonaventura the chair of experimental psychology that his mentor had been forced to abandon ten years earlier.[138]

A year and a half earlier De Sarlo had taken the oath to the Fascism in order to keep his university teaching. Now he did not want to go any further. When the oath became obligatory for the *Accademia dei Lincei* as well, he refused and preferred to be "invalidated" (*decaduto*) after 31 years. Outside the university he never stopped studying or writing, and for his last important work he would return to psychology.[139] Pupils from all over Italy came to greet him:

> Disciples and colleagues of Prof. De Sarlo will gather together with the *Maestro* on Friday 23 June at 17.00, in a lecture room of the University of Florence

> (Piazza San Marco 2) to show their admiration and their devoted and grateful affection at the time that he is leaving the school after forty years' teaching.[140]

They presented him with a parchment with 55 signatures, including 13 women, at the meeting organized by a special committee with Calò and Bonaventura.

However, the latter was not appointed to a chair. The decision of approval remained a dead letter, and the minutes do not tell us why. It was simply forgotten. At the University of Florence the chair of psychology was restored in 1955; it was not at the Faculty of *Lettere*, where the first university institute of psychology in Italy had been much wanted, or at Medicine or Science, as the SIP had at a certain point proposed. It was offered at *Magistero*, the Faculty of Education set up in 1936, initially just for women.[141] Alberto Marzi had held the annual post in the discipline as a temporary lecturer replacing Bonaventura for over ten years, but for the chair in 1949 he had to go to Bari, because in Florence the philosophers did not want to have anything more to do with psychologists, either Marzi or anyone else.

Personal cases aside, the discipline was not generally held in high regard, and with the shortage of resources it ended up coming last. Academic psychology barely managed to survive, or surrendered its autonomy. De Sarlo had predicted this in his speech to the national congress of the SIP in 1923. It was common knowledge, even among those psychologists who spoke triumphantly in the manner of a true Fascist.

In private Gemelli had expressed his concern to Gentile on the reform that denied space even to "elementary notions of psychology [that] have no place either in philosophy, or biological science. Is it really *an absolutely negligible science*?"[142] The comparison with abroad, particularly with Germany was striking. From the University of Turin, the German Kiesow appealed to Rome. In vain he "recall[ed] the benevolent attention [...] to the actual grandiose development that psychological studies are taking in other countries and to the need for progress in this science as for the honour of our Country to be encouraged more here."[143] Italian psychology had been increasingly sidelined in the European scenario.

In September 1926 Italian was excluded from the official languages of the International Congress of Psychology in Groningen. Kiesow protested, but apart from him (who obviously spoke German), from Italy only three attended, his assistant Ponzo from Turin and Galli and Rignano from Milan. Permissions to attend congresses were almost systematically denied to those suspected of "defeatism," to real and presumed "incompatibles" and to "subversives." Each time the prospective conference-goer had to submit a reasoned application and submit it to various ministries (the CPC is full of these papers). Yet apart from those who were limited in their movements by police surveillance, all scholars experienced increasing closure together with an increasing lack of resources. This was an effect of the "Cinderella [treatment] that the Italian Universities mete out on psychology," noted Ponzo, the only one to attend from Italy in the Ninth International Congress of Psychology held at Yale in 1929.[144]

In the decade 1926–1935 "the number of articles of psychological interest published" in Italian fell by 81.4 percent with the lowest absolute ranking of all the

languages. Among those considered in the regular survey made by the *American Journal of Psychology* no other country declined as much. Articles in Russian had dropped by half, those in German fell, but taken together the scientific publications in psychology increased above all thanks to works in English, which peaked in 1933, exactly when the Germans drop to a minimum. In fact the preeminence was now American, and from 1936 on "total English" was divided on the basis of the country where the author lived, and if the war almost destroyed the scientific output of some, Italy "starts at a much lower level than the average of the previous ten years. After 1940 the number of Italian titles is trifling and dwindles to almost nothing by 1944," that is, from 121 to just 2.[145]

Despite the questionable accuracy of such numbers, the image of Italian psychology on the international scene had certainly deteriorated. Among other things this made it difficult for those wanting to work abroad. And this is a very significant point to bear in mind.

Triumphalism and Loss

The increasing marginalization of psychology under Fascism affected psychology not only in schools and universities, but also in research and the profession in general. The regime made little or no use of psychologists, in spite of the declared willingness of some and the implicit readiness of many to place their skills at the service of the Fascist state.

The case of the *Centro Nazionale delle Ricerche* (CNR), which emerged at the start of the Fascist period, is very significant. It was here that some psychologists who would reach a university position in the postwar period obtained their experience. In comparison with other fields of research, how much later was psychology included, and on what conditions? The CNR was set up in 1923, derived from a project started in 1918–1919 by Vito Volterra to whom Mussolini had initially entrusted the presidency, inevitably short-lived, until 1927. "Mr Italian Science" was anti-Fascist, had signed Croce's *manifesto*, was an "incompatible," and had been "relieved of his duties" when he refused the oath. He was also Jewish. The first committees set up were for mathematical sciences and natural sciences. In May 1925 the eminent president mathematician invited a group of biology scientists from the *Accademia dei Lincei* to join.[146] The 55 members of the committee included physiologists with an interest in psychology, and there was the ever-present Gemelli, who was trying to convince the regime that psychotechnics could benefit "the vital needs of the nation."

He was not the only one to try. In 1929 Mussolini inaugurated the *Accademia d'Italia* in Rome as a counterweight to the prestigious but not very compatible *Accademia dei Lincei*. In Turin Kiesow launched the Seventh Congress of the SIP (with De Sarlo absent). He thanked the *Duce*, the prefect, the minister of corporations, and offered the state the practical services of psychotechnics to which the congress was dedicated, for the first and only time.[147] The sought-after support did not materialize, despite the efforts with De Sanctis's speech and the joint editorship of the proceedings by Enzo Bonaventura and Mario Canella whose paths

would later divide (when the former was expelled, the latter was working mainly on racial psychology).[148] Seven years later, in 1936 at the next national appointment in Rome the president Mario Ponzo (De Sanctis had died a year earlier) renewed the offer: to the benefit of Fascism "we psychotechnicians emphasize how the discipline and strength of the spirit can play a great role for victory in the battle for autarchy alongside the great inventive and creative strengths of our race."[149]

In 1939 what remained of psychology finally managed to enter the CNR, but on particular conditions, that is, assuming an exclusively applicational profile in "harmony with the words of *Il Duce*" and only in the sectors of interest to Fascism, much like a "body for consultancy and action at the CNR at the behest of a great leader of armies, Pietro Badoglio."[150] On January 18th the Permanent Commission for the Applications of Psychology was established. It met for the first time on April 24th and set to work up the winds of war. Its president Gemelli organized it into four sections for schools, transport, production, and above all the armed forces. This functioned alongside a Center of Applied Experimental Psychology, which was also set up in March 1940, with Gemelli always at the helm and Ferruccio Banissoni, De Sanctis's pupil and temporary lecturer of psychology in the Faculty of *Lettere* in Rome, as secretary.[151]

The *Archivio di psicologia, neurologia psichiatria e psicoterapia* (in 1945 the last term was eliminated) was put at the disposal of the Commission; it was the former *Archivio generale di neurologia psichiatria e psicoanalisi* that from 1926 had been used as the organ of the newborn *Società Psicoanalitica Italiana*. This had been expropriated from its founder Marco Levi Bianchini, who obviously also lost under the racial laws the directorship of the mental hospital. In true Fascist style Gemelli had taken the journal and transformed both its title and its aims: another example of the typical way of doing things through manipulation and by taking over the work of others, irrespective of the damage. After all, the Permanent Commission was created when the already scarce resources in psychology had lost its Jewish scholars.

What experts would work in the various centers for applied psychology? Without going into detail, the problem of resources was immediately raised: "given that the number of followers of psychology are too few and its applications too scant [...] we made a rapid preparation for urgent executive tasks, with the greatest possible number of young undergraduates and graduates." He did not specify in what discipline. They called "around thirty young men [...] who were rapidly trained."[152] On June 9, 1940, "specialized psychologists, technical and auxiliary personnel" were summoned to Rome. According to the triumphal account of the first year of activity, in 1922, 22 would-be psychologists came from different backgrounds. In the most important section of the armed forces there were military and representatives of the minister of war who evaluated the psychological personality in relation to the "makings" of a soldier. In a circular of December 22, 1939, the Ministry of Education invited all teachers in Italy to collaborate with Section I on schools. Few replied. It appears that 13 centers were opened, based on preexisting laboratories in order to economize on resources.

These were much along the lines of the Commission for Professional Guidance set up in 1935 by the minister of education with a 16-member committee, only

3 of them psychologists: Gemelli, Ponzo, and Banissoni. In the first meeting the president made it clear that spending on "museums of instruments" for carrying out aptitude tests on pupils would have been futile. There was no trained personnel to use them, and physicians and teachers knew nothing about the subject. Hence they had to "use what there is in the schools [...] with some suitable and inexpensive adaptation" and, while waiting for institutes, offices, centers of orientation to be set up, the "*intuitive advice given*" by teachers to pupils and their parents was more than enough. He recommended that this approach be extended as much as possible.[153]

The idea that it did not take much to be a psychologist gained ground and was reinforced when, in November 1935, a decree stipulated what were the basic and compulsory curricula for all Italian universities, and what were not. Psychology was only added as a supplementary subject in law, medicine, *lettere* and philosophy (a degree in philosophy), and education (a degree in pedagogy). In this way it could reenter the faculties where it had first existed in the early 1900s, but nevertheless it only did so with posts in secondary teaching "for practical use" and even without an appropriate and specific scientific qualification. The emphasis on the applicational functions of the discipline, in order to win it greater room in Fascist culture, had this drawback, which was underestimated by Gemelli and others supporters of minister De Vecchi's decree.[154]

Fascism exalted technique over science, and the meeting between politics and modern middle-class professions. Legally it recognized many professional categories via enrolment on a professional register, with an institutional training, and a trade union organization: engineers and architects in 1923; chemists in 1928; surveyors, industrial inspectors and agrarians, accountants in 1929. It also intervened on the traditional professions already regulated in the liberal era, legal in 1933, and health in 1934.[155] It did nothing of the sort for the "psychotechnics"; yet they too already had a professional tradition that had started in the late 1800s in the contexts of education, healthcare, law, and work. The development of Italian psychotechnics according to the directives of the *Littorio*, often with local government recognition, certainly did not reinforce Italian psychologists, who did not even have strength to convene a congress from 1936 until 1951.

In Italy the opportunity to graduate in psychology would only be realized for the first time in 1971 in Padua and Rome. The very belated professional legal recognition by the professional register (*albo*) came in 1989, thanks to a law long contested and presented for the first time in 1973 by Senator Adriano Ossicini, who had begun to work as a psychologist in 1939 in the Roman CNR, along with Musatti and Ferruccio Banissoni.[156]

Alongside Gemelli, Banissoni from Rome was the most determined in the fascistization of psychology, and in persuading the regime that psychologists could be useful, as they had been for Nazism in Germany. In June 1941 with the Commission of the CNR they organized a meeting with German colleagues, including eight components of psychological military services of the Reich. This took place in Rome and Milan stopping off in Florence where guests were welcomed by Alberto Marzi, who now held Bonaventura's post.[157] Unlike Nazism that rewarded its psychologists with the law on professionalization in 1941,

Fascism did not gratify its own, not even the most loyal of them. The Ministry of National Education did not concede a single chair of psychology to the Fascist Banissoni, who taught it practically everywhere, at the *Magistero* in Rome, the *Accademia Fascista*, the *Istituto Biotipologico Ortogenetico* founded by the racist Nicola Pende, the *Istituto Superiore di Studi Corporativi*, the *Scuole di perfezionamento* in occupational medicine, and respectively criminal law.

Given his involvement with the regime, after the collapse of Fascism Banissoni, like Gemelli, had to undergo a process of epuration for his conduct. He asked the anti-Fascist Ossicini to make "a declaration" to clear him, which Ossicini did "very willingly" on the basis of a personal friendship, as was often the case.[158] Not even his career suffered. Quite the opposite; in 1948 Banissoni became full professor in Trieste, thanks to the first post-Fascist *concorso* in the discipline. In the committee—once again with Gemelli—everything went ahead as planned and with no particular changes in academic habits.

After the end of the war it was easy to verify the fallacy of Fascist propaganda regarding progress in Italian science. Paradoxically it was triggered most when science and culture were tragically damaged by the racial laws. The seven volumes published in 1939 by the *Società italiana per il progresso delle scienze* also had a place for psychology, last after zoology, anatomy, botany, and physiology. In the introduction Gemelli protested both against this reductionist placement, and against the neo-idealistic philosophers who denied psychology "the right to exist." Psychology still faced the contempt "of the world of educated men," that is, the world of the humanities couched in neo-idealism.[159] The protest was too late and too absent-minded. It had been the neo-idealists Croce and Gentile who had wanted to place psychology among the natural sciences, as far back as the international congress in 1905.

In that 1939 volume, Banissoni focused on the various Italian psychological schools to highlight the wealth of a century of studies. Even if he dedicated more space to the *Cattolica*, and only eight lines to the Università statale in Milan, he recuperated the school of Florence with De Sarlo. Not only that, he also gave ample space to Bonaventura (just a couple of sentences on Marzi who had replaced him) and to Renata Calabresi, without mentioning that they had both left Italy as G. M. Hirsch, whom Banissoni referred to among the pupils of the Roman school of the deceased De Sanctis. Among the past glories he recognized Cesare Lombroso for having had an international impact on applied psychology in criminology, without citing that he was nevertheless among Fascism's "undesirable authors" and that his books were banned.

The scenario was thus unintentionally crowded with the dead and émigrés, the incompatible, the dispensed (*dispensati*), the invalidated (*decaduti*), and the undesirable (*sgraditi*), to use Fascist terminology. Alongside them, perhaps to balance the picture in line with the ideology of the race, the author added Nicola Pende and Alfredo Niceforo, "not officially psychologists, but held in great esteem." The Jewish psychologists expelled in defense of the race were included in a volume of 1940 coauthored by Gemelli and Banissoni with Guido Landra, first director of the Office for Racial Studies (*Ufficio studi sulla razza*) set up by Mussolini, exactly as if nothing had happened. In the *Monographical*

Italian Encyclopedia of Sciences in the Twentieth Century Gemelli, Banissoni, and Landra championed the anti-Fascist De Sarlo among "Schools and Authors of Psychology in the Fascist Era," neglecting the fact that from 1923 he had been outlawed from teaching it.[160]

In this paradoxical process of fascistization, Banissoni parades a progress of the discipline in six phases: in the last one (1922–1939) "it is preparing to carry out the tasks that the regime increasingly assigns to us." The turning point came in 1939. This was thanks to Gemelli and the Commission for the application of psychology that put its "followers [. . .] in contact with exponents of the PNF life." Looking to the future:

> Will a new happier period really begin in 1939? We believe so.
>
> Could the unfortunate university position change? Will greater teaching activity be allowed to meet national ends, might attract and train young people [. . .], can we, as is necessary, give an ever greater extent, men, environmental and technical training to Italy?
>
> This question and the internal and external needs derived from it make Italian psychologists look towards the future with increased combative spirit, with the desire and hope for ever new achievements nationally and internationally.[161]

In the meantime the general census of Jews using the "family form" was organized on August 5, 1938, and put into practice on August 22nd. The authorities insisted on "absolute reserve" and speed, but there was a delay of months. The ministerial circular calling for the census of Jewish personnel in universities, schools, and libraries was dated August 9th, when students and professors were on holiday and the universities were empty. Yet the procedure took place extraordinarily swiftly. In fact the operation had begun earlier: between January and February 1938 with increasing anti-Semitic measures, now documented, that were kept undisclosed, counting on the fact that provosts and headmasters would not make objections.[162]

The "defence of the race in the fascist school" started from the weaker and less united category of young foreigners of various origins and languages, who had already escaped persecution in their own countries. Before striking out at Italians, it sounded out how the academic community would react. There was no defense, and there were no limitations. Reality was blurred by indifference and underestimation on the one hand, and pained astonishment on the other.

Some news did leak out, even in the foreign press. *The Times* published an article by a Rome correspondent on February 7th, on "Italian Measures against Jews. An Intensified Campaign," about the bans on books and works of Jewish authors. Two days later the *New York Times* reported that these measures were limited to Jews not qua Jews, but as anti-Fascists because "looked at as an international group [they] are hostile to Fascism."[163] In early September, immediately after the "measures for the defence of the race in the fascist school," the lists of Jewish academics began to appear first in Turin's *La Stampa* and Rome's *Il Tevere* according to which from 1919 to 1938 Jews in Italy's 25 universities, including the polytechnics, had doubled.[164]

By the end of the month nearly all university staff had filled in the form. On September 27th the official *Vita Universitaria. Quindicinale delle Università d'Italia* asked provosts to submit their lists and took responsibility for publishing "only what is authenticated." This then appeared on October 13th. Various additions continued to appear in *Il Giornale della Scuola Media*, another official organ of education on December 31, 1938, and May 20, 1939.[165] The names of Jewish academics, now all expelled, ended up on the front pages of the press. Jews were removed from their places of work, study, and civil life. But first they were pointed out and exposed in public.

As soon as a person was found to be Jewish, people simply had to forget him or her as individual, neighbor, friend, or colleague, for what he or she had done before, and for what would happen next. The census, which was in itself discriminatory, was the prelude to persecution, which continued apace. It began with books. After a first circular on August 12 several lists were drafted of publications by Jewish authors, both Italian and foreign, which were then banned and confiscated.[166] On September 5th decree 1390 ruled that pupils of "Jewish race" could not enroll in school, and teachers "of Jewish race" in schools, universities, and academies were suspended. Minister Bottai declared Jewish deans of faculty "invalidated" (*decaduti*) and called on provosts to recommend replacements. On October 14th he produced a list of the Jewish professors, lecturers, and assistants who had to leave their post within two days, and ordered that they be replaced rapidly. On December 27 he stipulated that emeritus professors "of Jewish race" who could not be expelled because they had already retired, would be prevented from taking any part in university life. And the deceased? Bottai had not considered the issue, but a "Provost of a University of the Kingdom" had raised it. In a reserved circular of July 4, 1939, the minister not only stated that emeritus professors and honorary Jews should no longer be mentioned in the university yearbooks, but that from then on "in the case of death of professors of Jewish race who had been academics at the University, no obituary should be published in the *Annuario*."[167]

There had already been some important cases. In March 1939 Federico Cammeo, the dean and founder of the Florence Law Faculty, had died. Cammeo was a very famous and powerful professor, who in the space of a few months had simply fallen into disgrace. Farinacci threatened that if the *Rivista di diritto processuale civile* were to write an obituary, it would be suppressed. In his diary Piero Calamandrei noted that "there were no university banners or academic dignitaries; following his funeral cortege, official science had to ignore not only that [...] he was dead, but that had ever been alive." He felt dismay for the loss, for the silence that surrounded it, and for the tragedy that had destroyed the Cammeo family like many others: his son Cesare, also expelled from the faculty, committed suicide; his son-in-law fled to England, his wife and his daughter Maria were deported to Auschwitz with their aunt Lina Levi. Bice Cammeo alone survived and was grateful to Calamandrei that her brother Federico was publically commemorated ten years later.[168] But back then, in March 1939, not a single word was said, not a line was written.

This had been the case for years also for anti-Fascist professors. At De Sarlo's funeral on January 15, 1937, the authorities only allowed close relatives to enter the church; his pupils and colleagues had to stay outside, and yet many were "present [...] out of spontaneous homage to the dear memory, the noble mind, the unblemished conscience" of the *Maestro*, and in whose honor Giovanni Calò delivered a moving speech on the steps of the church.[169]

Who was the zealous provost who had urged Bottai to discriminate against colleagues, even when they were dead? A copy of a "reserved" letter to the minister is in the archival papers at the University of Florence. It is dated June 21, 1939, and signed by Provost Arrigo Serpieri, an agrarian economist from Bologna, who had joined the Fascist party on July 1, 1923, at the age of 51 and immediately afterward had become full professor and deputy. He distinguished himself in true Fascist style in anti-Jewish operations to the point of being nominated Senator on the proposal of the Prefect of Florence on April 8, 1939.[170]

The double operation of the exposure and removal of Jewish academics succeeded beyond the duration of Fascism. There have been no reparations, and not only because the numbers of those reentering were less than the numbers of those who had left in the meantime.

4

The Zionist Network and Enzo Bonaventura: From Florence to Jerusalem

Staying Put or Leaving

One specific characteristic of Italian Jewry has been its integration. They were traditionally patriotic and devoted to the monarchy. In 1848 the king of Sardinia had recognized their equality, subsequently extended to other regions until Italian unification. They generally had an excellent modern education, played an important role in the country's social and intellectual life, in the state administration, and, a fact that is perhaps unique in Europe, were even welcome in the highest ranks of the army and navy. The history of the Jews in any Italian city, explained Arnaldo Momigliano in 1933, reviewing a book by the English historian Cecil Roth, could not be understood if one did not see that "just as the Piedmontese or Neapolitans became Italian, at the same time [...] Jews living in Italy also became Italians."[1] Many were Jews who did "not attend the synagogue on the Sabbath, [could] not speak Hebrew, nor observe any of the creed's practices," as Nello Rosselli explained about himself in his famous speech to the Fourth Jewish Youth Meeting in Livorno in November 1924.

Despite this, in 1938 Italian schools and universities closed the door in the face of their Jewish pupils, teachers, and professors. Their surnames and names were listed in the press. They were "dispensed" from service, their qualifications "invalidated," and expelled. Did they return after the end of Fascism? What happened between the racial laws of 1938 and the laws for their legal reintegration in 1944? If we look at the specific academic environment we can see that the forced removals, dismissals, and (possible) reentries did not even coincide with the dates of the legal provisions.

On August 24, 1938, the prefect of Florence telegraphed the *podestà* (i.e., the Fascist equivalent of an unelected major): the outcome of the general census of Jews was "not to be made public for any reason." Yet on August 9th the administrative director of the University of Florence had already communicated the number of permanent Jewish professors "from checks made" to Milan's *Corriere*

della Sera. Checks made when? Evidently before the order to register them arrived from Minister Bottai, also dated August 9th.[2] On October 14, 1938, the ministry pinpointed the Jews teaching in universities; they would have to leave their positions within two days and then be replaced as soon as possible. On October 6th the dean of *Lettere* in Florence, the art historian Mario Salmi, had already read out a farewell greeting to Jewish full professors. On October 7th he had replaced them.[3] It seems that everything occurred before the official measures were announced from Rome.

In *Lettere* three professors were removed, and two of them were part of the Italian community of psychologists. Let us begin with those holding a chair. The *libero docente* Eugenio Garin was immediately available to replace his professor, the philosopher-psychologist Ludovico Limentani. At the time Garin was 29 years old, a high school teacher and "a regular member of the National Fascist Party [PNF], *Fascio di combattimento* in Florence uninterruptedly from 1 May 1931"; he had joined the PNF at the age of 21, and before it became compulsory.[4]

The replacement of the great Italianist Attilio Momigliano did not go as smoothly: the dyed-in-the-wool Fascist Massimo Bontempelli refused it, as did Luigi Russo "out of disgust," even if he did not advertise the fact. Giuseppe De Robertis, who accepted, had a promotion to full professor by Minister Bottai without the usual *concorso*—the only one among those who replaced Jewish professors—by virtue of his reputation (*per chiara fama*).[5]

Limentani was an esteemed full professor of moral philosophy, a recognized anti-idealist, and figured in the 1932 *Psychological Register*.[6] In 1938 he left the places where he had lived since 1921: the faculty, Florence and Tuscany. But he did not go far. Aged 57, with no children, and sufficient means to live with his wife in her country house in the province of Venice, the couple retreated there. They were aware that going abroad was an option; in 1939 they gave a farewell to their niece, who embarked from Naples on the "Rex bound for New York to join her husband," and in 1940 another niece left from Le Havre for New York.[7] Professor Limentani spoke French and English, in addition to German and often traveled for work, with the necessary authorization from his university that the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of the Interior, all controlled by the police and archived in the Central Political Records Office (CPC). He had good contacts internationally, particularly at the Warburg Institute, which had moved from Hamburg to London in 1933 in order to avoid the persecutions. He knew the organizations that helped displaced scholars, Jews and others, and had helped students and colleagues fleeing Nazism. The police had records of all this and kept him under surveillance for years on account of his ideas and his anti-Fascist friendships.[8]

In early 1939 he turned to the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) in London, which replied: "We shall not overlook your application should we see any possible opening for you or way of helping you to become re-established. It is only fair however for us to say that we have found philosophy a particularly difficult subject to place."[9] Perhaps this realistic consideration discouraged him from persevering. Perhaps it was more because his wife and he did not feel like beginning all over again. From their private correspondence during that period

it seems they wanted to convince themselves that it was only a question of "painful circumstances" and not persecution.[10] Humiliated and suffering, but bore it with dignity. Perhaps it was that effort that led them to underestimate the tragedy and also the chances of leaving. The gratitude that Limentani expressed for even a minimum courtesy received is touching, particularly when we know that it was ill-founded. To the "discouraged spirit, but supported by a good conscience, the signs of sympathy and concern that I have received are a gentle comfort."[11] This is what Limentani wrote in an oft-cited and variously interpreted letter to the university provost, and even thanking him because with his expulsion he had sent him a short greeting—the same sent to all full professors, and hierarchically only to them.

Like other expelled academics, Limentani presented an application for an "exemption" (*discriminazione*) provided for under the 1938 law. The so-called discriminatory measures allowed some exceptions to the racial discrimination of the anti-Jewish laws. It was not much, but many applied for it hoping it would help in some way. The Provost Serpieri let it be understood that he had supported such requests from former colleagues, and this is believed to have been the case.[12] Yet in February 1940 the Office of Demography and Race (*Demorazza*) was still waiting for the ministerial opinion on Limentani's application on the basis of scientific merit. On July 24th it pressed for a reply. Too late. He had died on July 7th.

In September his application was rejected. "Limentani's scientific and didactic merits are considerable, nevertheless the Ministry does not consider them as exceptional." Minister Bottai corrected the first part of the sentence by hand, removing the positive comment; "for the concession of the assistance invoked" what counted most was "that the aforementioned academic was never a member of the PNF and had signed Croce's manifesto," as well as being a Jew.[13] We do not know if such a reply was sent to the widow. For two years Adelina Jachia, with no work but much dignity, tried to obtain the small amount of money that the university had owed her husband since 1939. The exhausting correspondence with the university administration came to an abrupt halt in July 1943, with the fall of Mussolini.

Attilio Momigliano, the great chair-holder of Italian literature of the period, 55 years of age in 1938, seems to have abandoned an opportunity to settle in England because of his wife's ill health. From the archives of the Public Library of New York we discover that he had also considered moving to America. Despite his brilliant curriculum, in the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars (ECADFS) records his name is listed among hundreds of "non-grantees." From 1933 onward he had financially helped the "Committee for German Jews" in Florence for years.[14] Like Limentani, he did not hold a PNF card, the only two not to do so in the entire faculty. After expulsion he worked for the press, naturally under a false name, and hid first in Bologna, then in Città di Castello, and finally in Borgo San Sepolcro, where he spent eight months hidden in a hospital thanks to its director, with his wife Haydee who was seriously ill. In 1945 he described how he had managed to resist in his Preface to *Gerusalemme liberata* devoted to his students:

> I owe the two or three hours' absence that fate allows me nearly every day to Tasso and Dante. In the afternoon, while my wife fell asleep after the unrelenting terrors

> of the day and night, I forgot that at any minute a sudden kick could burst open my door, and I gradually sank into the distant world of poetry. I must say that, it is this that kept me alive, I survived only thanks to this.[15]

Of the three professors expelled from *Lettere e Filosofia* in Florence, he was the only one to return, and not thanks to his university.[16]

In 1938 the situation of Enzo Bonaventura, professor of psychology, was rather different. He was younger and less well paid than the full professors, with an annual lecturing position that had been renewed for 15 years. He had never embarked on a career despite having won a public *concorso* for a chair in 1930. He had a wife, three children, and profound religious convictions. He had applied for an exemption, and unlike his colleagues he obtained it for his war merits.[17] He appealed to his superiors and wrote to the provost:

> The recent measures preventing Jews from teaching in any school [...] ruin [the undersigned] completely, taking away all that work that has allowed him to maintain the family, decorated with the Military Cross for Valor, two crosses for bravery, a three-star commemorative war medal, wounded in the head in the Altopiano di Asiago (November 1917), member of the PNF, the undersigned asks that his very particular position be considered fairly.[18]

Dean Salmi informed the faculty that he had "recommended Prof. Bonaventura very warmly to the provost to provide a solution."[19] What sort of solution is not clear. Instead of the short letter of thanks sent to the full professors, on October 13th the provost wrote to his temporary lecture: "With reference to my letter of current month protocol n. 3902/2B, I would be grateful if you would return the material which is the property of the Institute of Psychology, until now directed by you, to the Bursar of this University by October 15th."[20]

In the space of two days, after 23 years of work, Bonaventura had to leave the laboratory of psychology in which he had carried out research as a student, as De Sarlo's assistant, and then with his own students. He had to return the books and instruments bought abroad, even those that he had designed himself.[21] The official communication of "end of service" arrived more than a month later, not at the institute, but at his home. It was dated November 22, 1938, that is, five days after the Fascist decree: "On the basis of R.D.L. November 17, 1938 XVII, n. 1728 published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* n. 264 on page 9744, I communicate to you that as per Arts. 13 and 20 of the same decree you are exonerated from service at this University as of December 1, 1938 XVII."[22]

He already knew. They had already replaced him. On October 27th, the dean had anticipated to the faculty the outcome of the not-yet-emanated decree. In other words, Bonaventura had been "removed from teaching for general measures of a *political nature*." He sent him warm greetings "in the name of the faculty"; informed them that three applications had already arrived for the job in psychology, also from outside Florence. He recommended the Florentine Alberto Marzi, 31 years of age, a member of the PNF from the age of 19 in June 1928, and Bonaventura's unpaid assistant (who had become a PNF member on October 29, 1932), *libero docente* in Bologna from 1936. He was assigned a

temporary lectureship around a month before Bonaventura was legally obliged to leave it.[23]

They had not lost any time, but neither had he. He immediately thought of leaving Italy, and he knew where he was headed. This is revealed by letters and papers tracked down far from Florence, in Jerusalem, London, and New York. Bonaventura's calls for help intertwined chronologically, nearly always slightly ahead of the measures cited earlier. Here are some dates: on October 7, 1938, he wrote a letter in French to the provost of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; on November 8th a letter in English to the president of the World Zionist Organization in London; on November 15th a letter to the SPSL in London; and in early December he returned the questionnaire received on December 12th. Through the SPSL his case was recorded by the American Psychological Association (APA) Committee on Displaced Scholars set up in September 1938. This sent it, in a list of over a hundred names, to the ECADFS of New York. The ECADFS opened a file in his name from 1939 until 1944 also with the help of the American Friends of the Hebrew University (AFHU), set up in 1925 by the American businessman Felix M. Warburg, with headquarters in New York City.[24]

These were the main organizations that worked to census displaced scholars and collected data, references, and put them in contact with institutions that could employ them and offer short-term grants. This was from 1933 when the Nazi regime began to fire university professors. In 1938 scholars from Italy and other countries were added to the German refugees. In 12 years of activity, the British organization registered around 2,000 names, and the American Committee around 6,000, alongside other smaller organizations that selected candidates by nationality or discipline. Some names were registered in more than one organization. Only a few hundred of them would be financed: 335 grants were awarded by the New York office in the various countries of emigration.[25] In 1938–1939 naturally the numbers were not yet known. Yet it was already clear that, passing the time, placing academics had become objectively more difficult, especially for non-Germans.

Bonaventura made a decision and embarked for Palestine in March 1939 leaving his parents, wife, and three children behind. This was less than three months after the official date when he had been stripped of his title of *libero docente*, at the age of 48. As soon as he was settled, Matilde with David (14), Emmanuel (11), and Daniel (3) would join him. Meanwhile, in his alma mater someone had spread the rumor that he had left everything in order to pursue his religious beliefs.

He had no job and no house, yet he trusted he would succeed. He had not left unprepared; he had good contacts in Palestine. For someone who had to start his life again from scratch, the most important and concrete thing was to go where one had acquaintances that could help in some way. This was true for all the displaced scholars. Those who already had direct or indirect contacts, academic or family, political or religious contacts, who had already traveled for work or other reasons, and spoke other languages and knew other universities had a slightly better chance.

From Florence some had already emigrated to Palestine. Bonaventura knew that in Jerusalem he would find first of all Alfonso Pacifici, who had lived there

since 1935. They had shared a significant experience together in the footsteps of rabbi Samuel Hirsch Margulies, who had revived Italian Judaism. Both had been members of the Council of the *Università Israelitica fiorentina*, as the Florentine community was then called. Bonaventura together with Pacifici had already been to Palestine in 1924 with his wife Matilde, before the birth of their first child David, in a journey that was explorative rather than touristic, the first organized by the Italian Zionist Federation, with articles and photos published in the weekly *Israel*. In later years the stays became longer, the groups increased; above all, young people could enjoy the kibbutz experience.[26] In retrospect, it was all a sort of preparation for making the definitive choice or for escape.

Fascism and Zionism

They had set sail from Trieste in summer 1924. The group consisted of the Florentine lawyer Pacifici, a foreign novelist resident in Italy, a traveler from Trieste, and four Tuscans including Bonaventura.

> The young and eminent Florentine professor once again a young man in his *mise en touriste*, his eyes hidden behind a pair of remarkable glasses which made him unrecognizable to his own friends, and with him, the sole representative of womanhood, his wife, nonchalant as if the hardships of the long voyage were simply a good habit in her life.[27]

They were all set to seize "the vision of life" taking place in Palestine, and "the benefit that Italy can draw from this country," through the creation of mutual "spiritual bonds."

The journey had not gone unobserved. On their return Bonaventura was invited to speak at the *Circolo di Cultura* in Florence, directed by a committee made up of Piero Calamandrei and Ludovico Limentani, Carlo Rosselli and Ernesto Rossi, Gaetano Salvemini but also Arrigo Serpieri, where they discussed science, culture, and current events. The previous year the lawyer Pacifici had spoken of Zionism; and the professor spoke of "social experiences in Palestine." Various Jewish intellectuals also took part in the discussion that evening: Limentani, Nello and Carlo Rosselli, the Zionists Alfonso Pacifici, Ciro Glass, and Isacco Sciacky, the young philosopher, the secular Renata Calabresi, the psychologist who carried out laboratory research with Bonaventura. They had been urged to return to talk about the Arab problem, in view of the great interest he had stimulated.

But on the night of December 31st the premises near Ponte Vecchio were ransacked by *squadristi*. The last lecture hosted by the *Circolo di Cultura* had been the first held by Bonaventura, on December 20, 1924, his second was announced for January 3rd but never took place.[28] A mere coincidence?

As we know, on January 5, 1925, the *Circolo* was closed on the prefect's orders. Two weeks later there was an attack on anti-Fascist students during the inaugural ceremony at the University of Florence. The identity of the three young men targeted by the squadristi was known; two of them were Jewish. In academic year 1924/1925 there were more disturbing events. Professor Bonaventura, who had

held the course of psychology for two years, had to leave the classroom because a group of Fascists prevented him from teaching. The testimony is from a 19-year-old foreign student, Jacob Tsur, future Zionist leader and Israeli diplomat, who had come from Palestine to study in Florence:

> Entering the lecture hall one day, I realized at once that the atmosphere was electric. The amphitheatre was full and lining the walls were a lot of young men I had never seen before. The professor had hardly begun his lecture when he was interrupted by cat-calls from every corner of the hall followed by howls and farmyard noises. I did not know the meaning of all the invectives being hurled at him, but I suddenly recognized with a shock a word that was being shouted on all sides: *Ebreo*! Jew! Bonaventura remained seated, awaiting the end of the demonstration; but when he realized that the hooligans had no intention of leaving off, he collected his notes and left the hall. The non-Fascist students stood up and applauded him. And this, I believe, was the last demonstration the opponents of the regime dared to make inside [*sic*] the walls of Florence University.[29]

These precise episodes of Fascist violence, among the many then taking place, seem to undermine the claim that Italian Jews were well integrated. They were; but despite this, Fascist violence had given rise to a growing anti-Semitism well before the so-called measures in defense of the race in the schools and universities of 1938, even if this was underrated above all by the victims themselves.[30] Each lived his Jewishness and politics in a different way. Among those frequenting the *Circolo di Cultura*, for example, for the Rosselli brothers and the Calabresis what counted most was anti-Fascism; for Bonaventura and Pacifici instead it was religion; for Isacco Sciaky perhaps a combination of both in revisionist Zionism. And naturally there were also Fascist Jews, such as the publisher Enrico Bemporad, who published the philosophy series of the University of Florence.[31]

Some positions were politically difficult to decipher: unlike Limentani, De Sarlo, and nearly all the professors of his own faculty, Bonaventura did not sign the so-called manifesto of anti-Fascist intellectuals by Croce and published on May 1, 1925. Less than a year later, however, he resigned from the council of the *Università israelitica fiorentina* where he had served from December 1919, and reported the "preconceived hostility of the Council towards any attempt" of renewal made by the minority councilors, which were pitted against the so-called Italian Israelis who increasingly sympathized with Fascism.[32]

In Florence's Jewish community "we did not discuss politics much, few anti-Fascists, very few Fascists and very many a-Fascists." Even the dismay for the assassination of the Rosselli brothers in 1937 depended, according to one witness, on feeling that they were the sons of the Community beyond being militant anti-Fascists.[33]

But it was the maturing religious and existential "reawakening" that inevitably clashed with Fascism. Fascism had always been suspicious of Zionist ideas, and Florence was the "cultural capital" of Italian Zionism. The so-called Jewish awakening had been brought about by a brilliant and cultured German rabbi, Samuel Hirsch Margulies. He had moved the celebrated Italian Rabbinical College from Padua, where it had been set up in 1829, to Florence and had invited the best

of the German rabbinical school to teach there. In Florence the journal *Israel* was published from 1916 with a supplement for young people from 1919, and a *Rassegna mensile* from 1925, while the publisher of the same name promoted works on Zionism.[34] After the sudden death of Margulies in 1922, his Florentine disciples stepped up their work with Alfonso Pacifici and Umberto Cassuto, who held the chair of Hebrew language and literature at the rabbinical college and then at the Faculty of *Lettere* in Florence.

The educated Zionist current now confronted the group of "respectable Italian" Jews (*benpensanti*) who were increasing proregime. In the 1930s the community split into two, it had three decidedly Fascist presidents, and in 1937 one of the few rabbis who had become a member of the PNF. Among the councilors instead in 1932 Prof. Ludovico Limentani had been elected, whom the police kept under surveillance as a "subversive." Various university *docenti* were among the founders, in 1929, of the Conference of Jewish Studies dedicated to cultivating the study of Hebrew language and culture. Out of 47 members 33 were Zionists, including Bonaventura, who in 1933–1934 chaired the conference. The Ministry of the Interior noted that this professor of psychology worked to help Jewish refugees from Germany and belonged to the Italian Zionist Federation, although he did not have a record at the Central Political Records Office in Rome.[35] In any case, the prefect of Florence placed the Conference under vigilant surveillance since

> the Zionist current [...] as we know, to be contrary to any assimilation to acquired patria, maintaining a line of intransigence and defending to the bitter end the integrity of the Jewish race advocating the reconstruction of its State, is strongly suspected of being against Fascist ideas, being so convinced of the shared interests and affinity of feeling among Jews of every country and political opinion.[36]

Fearing that the Florentine Zionists could carry out activity at odds with the party directives, on March 28, 1938, the prefect issued a decree and ordered the police authorities (*Questura*) to close the Conference of Jewish Studies, chaired by a *libero docente* from the nearby Faculty of *Lettere*. It was the first Jewish community institution to be suppressed, before the anti-Jewish laws were passed, even before the *Giornale d'Italia* had published the *Manifesto della razza* on July 14th.

The regime's anti-Semitic drive took many by surprise. Zionist Jews instead had already sensed the danger, because they felt the weight of what was officially claimed, that is, "the historical equation verified in these last twenty years of European life between Judaism, Bolshevism and freemasonry." Some thought that by distancing themselves from the Zionists, they would get away with it. Indeed, in early 1938 Mussolini still wanted it noted that any "impression that the Fascist government is about to launch an antisemitic policy [...] is completely wrong," but simultaneously he excluded the hypothesis of a Jewish state in Palestine, and thus officially declared the definitive break with the Zionist movement.[37] As early as June 1937, the president of the *Unione Comunità israelitiche italiane* (UCEI) Federico Jarach had sent a "confidential report to the Zionist Executive" considering it his "duty to inform Dr. Goldman of the situation and, with his go-between, Dr. Weizmann."[38]

The 1938 racial laws really act as an incentive for the long considered step. Some had already left for Palestine, and many more would leave later. Families with many children to raise, young people ready to take a risk; and elderly parents did not dare hold them back, and encouraged them to go. Without the racial laws some would never have left. Others would leave, but later, and in another way, but they all wanted to go and help build Israel. It was a forced choice, yet a choice nonetheless. In preferring that destination to others—the United States, England, Switzerland, or Latin America—there was a conviction. In this sense we can say that "all emigration to Palestine was Zionist."[39]

The number of Jews who emigrated to *Eretz Israel* from Florence was proportionally the most numerous of anywhere in Italy. There were 2,535 Jews in Florence or 5.6 percent of the entire Jewish Italian population; but 17 percent of Italian emigrants to Palestine came from Florence, many more than from Milan, Turin, or Trieste. Very few came from the much larger community in Rome; the greater part of whom did not leave at all, and ended up in the Nazi deportations of 1943/44.[40] How can we explain these differences? Florentine emigration was characterized by its highly Zionist nature: the Italian Zionist Federation based in Florence as well as the Italian sections of the fund-raising bodies *Keren Hayesod* and *Keren Kayemet Le-Israel* whose presidents both emigrated to Palestine, the first in November 1935, the other two between December 1938 and January 1939.

Most of Enzo Bonaventura's national and international contacts for finding work and starting anew in the wake of the 1938 Fascist laws were in the Zionist network. Over the years, as a disciple of Margulies he had the opportunity to make contacts and take part in many projects. Foreign Jews who came to Florence for whatever reason turned to the Community. As its representative for "education" and as a university lecturer, Bonaventura often welcomed more or less eminent visitors and groups of Palestinian teachers. He was a reference point for young people arriving from Poland, Russia, and *Eretz Israel* to study at the prestigious University of Florence, from after the Great War onward. It is no coincidence that there were several foreign Jews in *Lettere e Filosofia*, where in addition to Bonaventura we find Professors Cassuto, Limentani, and other first-class Jewish academics.

Many stayed in a small kosher boarding house on the second floor in Piazza San Firenze, behind Palazzo Vecchio. Cecil Roth went there as a young man on the advice of Rabbi Margulies. The food was good at Signora Giulia's, Jewish food of course, but Italian, *carciofi alla giudia*, and *ruote di faraone*. When the street doorbell rang, the maid would shout out "'who is it?' [. . . It was enough to reply] 'friends!'" and the door would be opened. In the memories of the Oxford scholar, both the "*pensione* and its visitors" were unforgettable.[41] He had the chance to meet the famous orientalist French Jacques Faïtlovich, the first expert on the Jewish population in Ethiopia that every year, in agreement with Margulies, sent a dozen *falashà* students to Florence to study at the Jewish school and to live with Jewish Florentine families. Signora Giulia's regular customers included the future first president of the UCEI, the Zionist Raffaele Cantoni, freemason and socialist; Chaim Weizmann, the president of the World Zionistic Organization and a professor of chemistry, who came to Italy for the first time in 1922; and

"all types of distinct visitors [Jews] who came to Florence from time to time [...] a great variety of rabbis and scholars." Italians and foreigners certainly met at the Temple, whose green cupola "stands out in the panorama of the city after that of the Duomo." The synagogue was so big that even on the Sabbath it remained half empty, except for "a row at the bottom on the right that was always full. This was called 'the Zionists' bench," because it was where the disciples of Alfonso Pacifici, with his red beard, gathered to discuss. These cultured men and excellent speakers had an indisputable reputation.[42]

> I am in the little group of Italian intellectuals Hebrews which [*sic*] feel the charm of zionist ideas: for twenty years I have offered my activities in service of our cause and I was for any [*sic*] years vice-president of the Italian Zionist Federation. It has always been my deep desire to give my scientific and professional activities to the University of Jerusalem and to educate my three children in *Eretz Israel*.[43]

This was how Bonaventura presented himself on November 8, 1938, to Chaim Weizmann, reelected president of the Zionist Organization in 1935, the most esteemed political figure in the Jewish world from when he managed to obtain the Balfour Declaration in November 1917. At the time the future first president of Israel still lived in London, and as a scientist educated in German and English universities had done much for the creation of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It had been officially opened in 1925 (like the University in Florence); it had first started in 1918 and in 1923 had hosted Albert Einstein for a lecture on the theory of relativity. Weizmann was chairman of its governing board and president of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute at Rehovot, south of Tel Aviv, created in 1934 thanks to the donation of his friends Israel and Rebecca Sieff in memory of their son. For some years he had been working to bring the scientific talents of Jewry persecuted by Nazism to *Eretz Israel*. Bonaventura certainly knew this when he took

> the liberty to write to you at a very difficult time of my life, hoping to have your help. As you know, in consequence of the recent ordinance all the Jewish professors have been excluded from the University and schools. Consequently I have lost my chair as Professor of psychology which I have held for fifteen years at the University in Florence.[44]

In fact he had never had a chair, even if he had been qualified for seven years and had directed the important institute and laboratory of psychology for fifteen. However, he skipped any explanation of the perplexing mechanisms of Italian university recruitment and his own previous academic troubles. If they appointed him as professor or director of laboratory at the University of Jerusalem, it would be "the crowning dream of my life." He also wrote in French to the provost of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: "Needless to say that I would be very honored to be able to teach in Jerusalem, having always loved the land of our ancestors."[45] Knowing that it was a required qualification, Bonaventura guaranteed that he would soon be able to teach in Hebrew, as he had a good knowledge of the language.

In Florence the most active Zionists had been meeting for years on Saturday mornings to follow a study program of the Bible, Zionism, history, and Hebrew. It was part of their goal of acquiring an identity. Nevertheless the plan to emigrate to Palestine was not exclusively aimed at religious and spiritual Zionism, nor inspired by faith. Other needs counted too. For many it was vitally important to remain Italian, to be able to make a difference as an Italian. As Primo Levi, they claimed a moral superiority over the Germanic world consisting in a "specific Jewish approach, observant but not religious, fundamentalist and violently anti-clerical."[46] The majority of wealthier Italian Jews wanted to maintain their bourgeois lifestyle and their professional activity. Jews from Florence settled mostly in the Italian community of Ramat Gan, an elegant suburb of Tel Aviv; only two chose the life of a religious kibbutz. The psychologist Bonaventura as the physicist Giulio Racah and other academics preferred to move to Jerusalem where there was a university. The Florentine university had expelled them, but they still wanted to continue their scientific work.

International Organizations for Displaced Scholars and the APA

Bonaventura had made it very clear in the form. In response to "Countries you prefer to go to" Palestine was his first choice, not his only one. He ruled out countries that were too cold or too hot, the USSR and the Far East "due to the distance from my parents," but his list was long and open: "Egypt, England, British Dominions, U.S.A., South-America, France, Belgium, Holland etc. [. . .] wishing to know if it is [*sic*] for me in *any country* a possibility of an occupation suitable to my scientifical [*sic*] competency." This is why, shortly after applying to the Hebrew University and Weizmann, he also contacted the SPSL in 6 Gordon Square, London WC1. He explained his situation as a dismissed professor and was sent a questionnaire. He filled in the section on general and confidential information, which mostly dealt with his sources of income. In response to the question "For what period longer will the means at present at your disposal last?" A few months, he replied.

How did he present himself? What did he think was the best way to present himself? The way in which he replied to certain questions is significant. "Professor of Psychology and Director of the laboratory," but he did not specify his qualification as required; but the fact that he was not a full professor was added by someone at the SPSL. As his special fields Bonaventura gave the "Psychology of Infancy and Adolescence; Educational Psychology; Psychotechnics." Also in his curriculum vitae on the headed stationery of the Institute of Psychology at the University of Florence, he defined himself as "a professor of psychology of the evolutive age" for 15 years from 1924 to 1938, although the description of his academic position and his reputation in Italy was tied to experimental psychology. He only referred to it for his PhD program. He declared that he had first "studied both Philosophy and Medicine at the University of Florence," even if it was not true, but just in case the collocation of psychology so debated in Italy were an impediment. As regards his linguistic knowledge, he spoke French, Spanish, and Italian

and could read German and English. He spoke and wrote English "moderately, but I hope after a little time to speak English more fluently." He makes no mention of his Hebrew, in the London questionnaire. Among the five religions given, he replied "'Yes' to 'Jewish orthodox' (so as this word means in Italy) [*sic*]."

Referees were decisive for the application. The SPSL form, in German and in English, asked for "names and addresses of reference in Germany and other countries," of which "at least three" had to be German. This was because the form had been drafted in 1933 for German displaced scholars persecuted by Nazism. What applicants really needed were references particularly from whoever knew them well, and ideally each scholar should have cited at least three colleagues from their own country, and one from another country.

Bonaventura preferred to be on the generous side, perhaps because he had some problems replying. He gave six names, including one German. The first three were famous foreign psychologists, Édouard Claparède in Geneva, David Katz in Stockholm, and Henri Wallon in Paris. Then two Italian professors: his colleague Giovanni Calò from the faculty in Florence and Father Agostino Gemelli from the Università Cattolica in Milan. Finally, there was a well-known English educational psychologist, Cyril Burt from University College, London, and just around the corner from the SPSL office. Calò was not from the scientific sector and taught pedagogy, but he trusted him in the memory of their common maestro De Sarlo. The list needed at least one Italian professor of psychology. There were only two full professors of the discipline left in Italy, Ponzo and the well-known Gemelli. As regards being in favor of Bonaventura or mindful of persecuted Jews in general, there was not much to rejoice about as we shall see. He added Gemelli's name next to last in the list of referees. He gave the exact addresses—road, house number, city, country—for all of them except for Gemelli, and not because he did not know it.[47]

Three days later, the assistant secretary of the SPSL thanked Bonaventura and opened a folder in his name. Miss Esther Simpson had already worked at the World Alliance of YMCAs in Geneva and had dealt with refugee scholars for years, including Nobel Prize winners. She had a firm grip on the situation: "We shall do our best to help you to find a suitable position. We would however advise you to get in touch with any contacts you may have in USA, as the prospects in that country are now better than in Europe."[48]

Other contacts were needed and in America. Bonaventura does not seem to have done anything in this direction. He did not even try the ECADFS in New York, which carried out a similar activity to the SPSL in London. In March 1939, however, and unknown to him, his name was reported to the American EC in a list of 19 names that its secretary had received from Elias A. Lowe of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. He had asked for an appointment. He knew from the president Duggan that Betty Drury "would help me with my sheaf of refugee names more effectively than any mortal living." He hoped that "I shall find that most of these names are on your files."[49] Even if he wanted to help them, he himself did not know who some of them were, nor what they did or how to find them. The only common fact was that all except two had been expelled from Italian universities, including four Germans who had already

emigrated to Florence, Pisa, Turin, and Rome. Only a few were accompanied by the names of foreign and Italian referees. For example, Pietro Fedele the Fascist "ex-minister of education" recommended his "best pupil," the historian medievalist Giorgio Falco expelled from the University of Turin. At least half were historians of antiquity and medievalists whom Lowe knew professionally, as an expert in Latin codex and *Scriptura Beneventana* (1929), who was often in Italy to work, particularly in the Vatican Library. Some names on his Italian list for the ECADFS were misspelt or incomplete, one had no surname (this was confused with the first name), two lacked any indication of place or discipline, which in other cases was questionable or unsuitable. "Enzo Bonaventura, Florence University (naturalist)," no better identified, was ninth on the list. Who knows how he got there, in the company of "17. Levi della Vida—Rome. 18. Levi Civita—mathematician."[50]

However, the name of the Florentine professor of psychology was now circulating in the international lists of displaced scholars who needed to be helped for "the rescue of science and learning." First in London, and later in New York, a file had been opened for him thanks to a vague indication by a Lithuanian-born paleographer—formerly named Loew—naturalized British who taught at Oxford and Princeton. In the same list "12. Calabrese, Bologna University (naturalist)," was probably the psychologist Renata Calabresi, who had spent two years in that university as a student, later moved to Florence, and finally to Rome as a *libero docente*.

More or less precise indications tangled and overlapped and were to be checked and followed up until a solution was found—if one was found—and even afterward for years on end. It was to be even better when the institutions, in addition to single scholars of goodwill, helped in collecting funding and information, in evaluating and selecting among hundreds of candidates.

In September 1938 the APA, on the decision of its new president Gordon Allport, Harvard University, had set up a Committee for Displaced Foreign Psychologists with ten psychologists of various North American universities. As secretary of the APA Committee, Barbara S. Burk of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, affiliated with the Department of Genetics at Long Island, immediately made an appointment with the president of the ECADFS, in the office in 165 West 46th Street, Manhattan. "Allport wants to bring jobs and people together," she explained to Stephen Duggan. To this end they were carrying out a fact-finding survey to report on the one hand the "foreign psychologists who have been displaced," and on the other the "possibilities of utilizing and conserving the[ir] potential contributions" in universities and various other American institutions.[51] The Emergency Committee collected data on displaced scholars of any discipline; the APA Committee intended to prepare a "dossier for each available foreign psychologist" with precise, useful, and comparable information.

For this reason they had prepared a special "guide for preparing records to be filed" on displaced psychologists who had come to America in the last five years or who intended to come. To certify the scientific quality, the references of each were obligatory. "Certain references re-occurred so frequently" that they prepared a list of 16 names that together constituted a network of strong contacts.

The ECADFS agreed that this was the right direction and promised full collaboration, because the specialized sectoral organizations "may be of great assistance to a certain class of refugees."[52]

It comes as no surprise that among the many it was the APA that was so well organized, albeit with a certain delay: psychology was a young science with basically German roots. Of their displaced psychologists, 80 percent were German, in general the best-known and best-reputed group. Some of them were already living in the United States, such as Kurt Lewin, Wolfgang Kohler, and Max Wertheimer. The latter was part of the APA Committee, while others often collaborated as referees for their own co-nationals. With the fact-finding survey, the list of the hopefuls lengthened very rapidly. In March 1939 there were 111 displaced psychologists; at the end of April this number had risen to over 150, then 220 in June, whereas placements only totaled "thirty-eight of which eight represent successive placements of the same individuals, making thirty individuals altogether."[53]

The first of the APA lists is conserved in the archive of the ECADFS. Names in alphabetical order, the same basic data for everyone. In eleventh position we find "Bonaventura Prof. Enzo, prev. prof. *inca[ricato].* Florence Univ.; born 1891, married, three children. REF. known to Soc. Protection Sci & Learning (London)," which evidently had pointed him out. "FIELDS: exper. psychol., childhood and adolescence, psychotech. MAIN PUBL: many titles incl. *L'educazione della volonta* [*sic*] (Milan 1927). *Psicologia dell'eta* [*sic*] *evolutiva infanzia e adolescenza* (Lanciano 1930)."[54] Thus these two works and his second specialization appeared to be the most relevant to whoever compiled the APA file on the Florentine professor. He presented himself as a psychologist of childhood and adolescence in the questionnaire for the SPSL, and still more in his curriculum vitae for the Hebrew University, where he gave "infantile psychology" from newborn to adolescent as his primary interest both in research and teaching.[55] He also declared to "practice Psychoanalytical treatment on neurotic subjects," which is rather surprising since he is considered to have only had a theoretical knowledge of Freudian ideas. This would need to be expanded with other useful clues, for example, his exchange of letters with Edoardo Weiss, the president of the Italian Psychoanalytical Society, whom Bonaventura had approached for an opinion on a patient, possibly suffering from agoraphobia, and the names of other willing psychoanalysts in Geneva.[56]

In short the label of experimental psychologist that had stuck to him in Italy emerges as too narrow. Approaches and interests that did not fit were overwhelmed by the drive to fascistize psychology, and all the sciences. Whoever remained in the universities and research centers under totalitarian regimes did not give enough weight to what was being lost, or was unaware of what else was developing. On the other hand, the strategy of the APA was to use and conserve the potential contributions of these scholars and to consider "the points of view of the foreign scholars themselves as to how such contributions might be best affected."[57]

The chances of assimilating them, however, were also decreasing in the United States where the SPSL now diverted various requests for help that reached it.

In a "Confidential memorandum to members" of the APA, the Committee for displaced foreign psychologists admitted that

> we had underestimated the size of the problem. Of more than a hundred scholars on our list (which is not yet complete) very few, perhaps a dozen, have found permanent positions, and only a third have found even temporary professional security (often in part-time positions for which they have little aptitude and at very inadequate salaries).[58]

Not only had the APA registered few placements in 1939, but the institutions that had taken in foreign psychologists "provided subsistence but little or no salary [...] only four were placed in a position paid out of regular institutional budgets," being extremely well qualified and "so unique" for teaching and research. Years earlier some international celebrities in the field had been able to choose, but in 1938/1939 for the wave of intellectual emigration from Italy this was no longer possible.

Three Candidates: Lewin, Eitingon, Bonaventura

Bonaventura considered his chance of obtaining an academic position to pursue his activities and to maintain his family would be better in Jerusalem than elsewhere. He opted for Palestine because he knew that at the Hebrew University they were looking for a professor of psychology, and he knew that he had been recommended by an authority in the field. When he contacted the provost and Weizmann, he reminded them both of this: "My great friend and colleague Prof. Dr. David Katz, at present professor of Psychology at the University of Stockholm, tells me he has suggested my name to Prof. Bergmann for a chair of psychology (experimental or pedagogical) in the University of Jerusalem."[59] The German psychologist Katz was "internationally known"—reported the APA Committee—and had been "retired" in 1933 by the University of Rostock because he was Jewish, but maintained a wide range of scientific contacts from Sweden. The other professor mentioned was presumably Ernst David Bergmann, a chemist like his father and brother, and a close collaborator of Weizmann. He had moved from Berlin to work in London, and in 1934 he had transferred to Palestine to direct the Daniel Sieff Research Institute.[60]

There was a long story behind the chair of psychology in Jerusalem. For some years the Hebrew University had been planning to create it and had been looking, above all in Germany, for a scholar to fill it. The best candidate appeared to be Kurt Lewin, who had worked with the masters of Gestalt psychology in Berlin. He was a prominent figure internationally, an opponent of American behaviorism and any form of reductionism, he supported a scientific psychology that was also humanistic and value-oriented. Negotiations began in 1933, by letter and direct meetings.

The idea "of working in Palestine fills my heart with joy. My wife and I are happy about the prospect of raising and educating our children in Palestine," declared Lewin, who was an orthodox Jew.[61] He nevertheless had his own

demands. First of all he wanted to build an institute of psychology according to a detailed and exciting plan, but which would certainly be costly. He also wanted annual financing for research and a team of assistants. Finally, he wanted a higher salary for himself. He noted that what he was offered was a quarter of what he had received at Stanford University in 1932. The Hebrew University did not have limitless financial resources, so Lewin himself proposed collecting funds through the chief rabbi of Germany and other acquaintances. In the meantime he was expelled from his chair and accepted a contract at Cornell University for 1934/1935 and afterward a position at the University of Iowa.

Negotiations with Jerusalem reached a stalemate. In early 1938 the university informed him that "unfortunately [...] the University in its present financial situation is not in a position to appoint you. We all feel very unhappy about missing this opportunity." The conditions in which Lewin was used to work were unrealistic in Palestine. The provost Judah Magnes, born in San Francisco, who had studied in Berlin and Heidelberg, and been a rabbi in New York, emigrated in 1922, had told him: "You should realize that the University is a small one and is likely to remain so in the immediate future. We cannot therefore offer you what you could no doubt be offered by any of the great Universities of America and Europe."[62] So Kurt Lewin stayed in the United States, at Iowa with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and in 1945 he moved to MIT.

At the Hebrew University they had considered another candidate from Berlin, a Russian Jew and refugee in Palestine since 1933. He too was asked for his curriculum, references, and his academic plans. Max Eitingon was director of the Psychoanalytical Institute in Berlin, financer and president of the International Psychoanalytical Association from 1927 to 1933. Sigmund Freud recommended him warmly praising his proposal to set up a teaching university on "psychoanalysis for physicians and educators" in Jerusalem and to develop a Freudian institute similar to the one in Berlin. The board of the Hebrew University expressed some concern that "it would be premature to introduce psychoanalysis before a chair of psychology has been established." Freud replied that psychoanalysis was a form of psychology, and if their best candidate was Prof. Kurt Lewin he was not necessarily the right man

> to carry out the synthesis of psychoanalysis and psychology [...The] plan to establish a Chair for Psychology indicates a barely disguised rejection of psychoanalysis and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem would thus follow the example of other official teaching institutions. It is then comforting to bear in mind that Dr. Eitingon is determined to pursue the practice of psychoanalysis in Palestine also independently of the University.[63]

In 1934 Eitingon set up the Israel Psychoanalytical Institute in Jerusalem, and directed it until his death in 1943. The governing body of the Hebrew University, which was made up of academic and public figures from various countries, clearly had to reevaluate the hopes for its development. In the 1930s everything was concentrated on helping the victims of Nazism, even to the detriment of the university, which was in turn financed not by the government of Palestine but

by Jews worldwide. For the time being, psychology did not get a new institute but courses in the Department of Education, where the Polish-born Alexander Dushkin had been called. He was a graduate of Columbia University, director of the Board of Jewish Education in Chicago from 1922 to 1934, then worked in New York, and finally Jerusalem.[64] It was his job to preside over the assessment of another candidate for psychology; not a German this time, but an Italian, a certain Enzo Bonaventura who they had been talking about for months.

Cecil Roth knew him personally and esteemed him, and "in all sincerity" he remarked to Weizmann that "his inclusion would add to the universal character of the faculty, counteract the tendency for it to become a replica of Heidelberg, and enable the University to draw upon the example and experience of the academic life of yet another country."[65] The author of *The Last Florentine Republic* (1925) was well aware of the situation created by Mussolini's anti-Semitic laws and had resigned from the *Accademia La Colombaria* in Florence in protest.[66]

From Italy two internationally known scholars put in a good word for Bonaventura. They were not psychologists but mathematicians like the provost of the Hebrew University, the German Abraham Fraenkel, who emigrated to Palestine in 1933. Both wrote directly to him in French. Federigo Enriques, one of the initiators of the school of algebraic geometry and founder of the SFI, a Pisan who had had to leave the chair in Rome (he would survive persecution hidden by a pupil in the Vatican), knew that Bonaventura had been proposed by the professor of psychology David Katz, who

> seems to enjoy great renown in this domain. As for me, even as a foreigner to the science in question, I can tell you that Mr. Bonaventura is well thought of in Italy, and that it is only sheer bad luck that he was not awarded the chair of psychology in Florence, after a public *concorso* where he had been classified and judged very favourably.[67]

Evidently the academic story of which the psychologist had been victim was known beyond his own disciplinary sphere. In the same letter from Enriques, another mathematician of world fame added a few lines of approval for Bonaventura and sent his greetings to Fraenkel. This was Tullio Levi Civita, former senator, pluri-award-winning by European and American universities but rejected by the *Accademia d'Italia*; officially his nomination had been rejected in 1933 for his political activity (former socialist, like many others had signed Croce's manifesto in 1925, no PNF card, but in 1931 he had taken the oath). In fact it seems that the strongest "implicit objection" was his Jewishness, even back in 1933.[68]

The letter from the two Italian mathematicians and the recommendation by the German psychologist were submitted to the committee of the Hebrew University that recorded all the documentation received on Bonaventura, among which were the names of references received.[69] The members of the committee chaired by Alexander Dushkin were Cecil Roth, reader in Jewish studies at Oxford, the pedagogist Chaim Aron Kaplan, who had joined his children in *Eretz Israel* in 1936 (not finding a position he eventually returned to Warsaw), and finally there was the professor of social philosophy Martin Buber, from

the University of Frankfurt until 1933, who had immigrated to Jerusalem a few months earlier, and a Zionist known to favor Israeli Arab dialog.[70] Since he knew Italian (like Roth, who however was the external member of the committee), he read the candidate's works and referred back to his colleagues.

Bonaventura had sent 22 publications out of the approximately 70 that he had listed. Buber made a synthetic evaluation of each grouped by argument: two books of general psychology—which included *La psicoanalisi* (1938)—nine essays of experimental psychology, of which four were defined as review essays, one on pedagogy, three on natural and moral philosophy, and five of "didactic psychology" (including two articles on the psychology of newborns and babies). The most overwhelmingly positive judgment—"excellent original study [...], thoughts of great value"—regarded these two pieces. Buber stressed that the book *De la infancia a la adolescencia* (*From Childhood to Adolescence*) too seemed to be relevant, but they only had the Spanish edition which he could not read, since the original edition in Italian was out of print.[71]

The committee's report highlighted the candidate's long-standing activity at the University of Florence; the president Alexander Rushkin stressed that Bonaventura had also taught in a special school for teachers of "abnormal children," the *Scuola Magistrale Ortofrenica*. "We should add that Prof. Bonaventura is very well known in Italian Jewish circles. He is a long-standing Zionist and seems to have some knowledge of Hebrew, which would allow him, soon, to teach in the language."[72] In November 1938 the Hebrew University administrator was in Italy and met him. He was "favorably impressed by the professor both as a person and for his explicit wish to collaborate with us."[73] This was confirmed by some of his unidentified "acquaintances" contacted by the committee. This is why, on January 18, 1939, they put him forward for the chair of psychology. Yet before any final decision it was suggested that Bonaventura should come and visit the Hebrew University.

A Child Psychologist at the Hebrew University

Emigrants to Palestine had to pay a large sum to the British Embassy as a guarantee of their ability to support themselves. Rabbi Alfredo Sabato Toaff's sons from Livorno, Tuscany, paid one thousand pounds sterling in November 1938.[74] Bonaventura arrived by invitation, hoping to get the job in Jerusalem. He left Italy in March 1939; the Committee chaired by Rushkin met again at the end of April, and in the meantime had various meetings with the candidate who was joined by his family in October.[75] On October 9th he officially received the nomination *ad personam* of professor of psychology at the Hebrew University, already deliberated in the assembly of August 13th–14th.

It would last two years, and bearing in mind that he had a wife and three underage children, the salary base increased.[76] Bonaventura accepted the conditions that Lewin had refused: a salary of 400 Palestinian pounds as the greater part of refugee scholars at the Hebrew University (the provost took 550); no assistants, or research financing or laboratory, at least at the outset. Not that it did not

bother him; in Florence he had always had it, but it is an exaggeration to say that he "could not work [...] because of the lack of an appropriate laboratory"; and it is not true that "there are no known reports of his research."[77] There are both publications and reports to senior academics of his research in Palestine. These testify that Bonaventura worked constantly also in departmental matters and as much as he could in an objectively difficult situation with good results.

In January 1940 the American Friends of the Hebrew University announced that the "most recent of the refugees to join the faculty of the University are three distinguished Italian scholars": Bonaventura from the University of Florence for psychology; the Florentine Umberto Cassuto from the University of Rome (until 1933 at the University of Florence) for Bible studies, and Enrico Franco of the University of Pisa as director of the Department of Pathological Anatomy, all with the same salary.[78] A few months later they were joined by Giulio Racah for theoretical physics; collaborator of Enrico Fermi and a *libero docente* in Florence, he had won the chair in Pisa the year before being expelled and would become the man behind Israeli nuclear research.[79] The expert in civil law Guido Tedeschi from the University of Siena was not on that list; a nongrantee in the ECADFS records of New York, he emigrated to Jerusalem with his wife and daughter.[80] The fact that all five were from Tuscany suggests word-of-mouth communication on academic opportunities in Jerusalem, where the first to arrive was Bonaventura, born in Pisa and resident in Florence. His contract would expire on September 30, 1941. And then what?

> There are fifty-two refugees professors and assistants on the faculty of the Hebrew University, most of them distinguished scientists and scholars. These men are willing to accept smaller salaries and subject themselves to other inconveniences in order [...] to continue to make their contributions to scholarship and science.[81]

What follows was a list of scholars and their salaries (from 350 to 700 PP). In 1940–1941 the AFHU, through their chairman Edward M. M. Warburg, asked the ECADFS to give a contribution of 12,500 dollars and to "choose from the list those whom you would like your contribution to go to." The pacts between the two bodies were rather different. Previous financing from New York to the Hebrew University had been made on the condition that the University "give these men permanent appointment on the faculty." Both remembered it of course. But "since the outbreak of the war the University had lost approximately 200,000 dollars [out of a budget of 510,000] from income previously received from European countries."[82]

Certainly Enzo Joseph Bonaventura was among the scholars for whom the ECADFS of New York sent a cofinancing in two installments until 1943–1944. In the letters accompanying the check, Betty Drury specified the names selected: Hanokh Albeck, Bonaventura, Cassuto, Racah, and Ernst Wertheimer. Three out of five were Italian, six in all in the first generation of academics at the Hebrew University, more than the English and only less than the German professors who had arrived first (18 out of a total of 54 from 1925 to 1948). The University of Jerusalem was exaggeratedly described as "the last Prussian University."[83]

We do not know whether Bonaventura knew of the interesting project that Lewin had presented to the Hebrew University years before, and its focus on three fields of action: the psychology of different Arab groups and their reactions to Jewish immigration; the psychological problems of mass immigration to Palestine from different countries, cultures, and societies; and "the comparative studies of the psychology of Jews inside and outside Palestine."[84] Once the teaching of psychology in the new Department of Education had been initiated, Bonaventura presented a research project in educational psychology on the compared development of children and adolescents.

Certainly he could avail himself of the theoretical skills and practical experience built up earlier in Florence, at the *Istituto Toscano Umberto I* for backward children, in the *Scuola Magistrale Ortofrenica* for specialized teachers, and in his clinical and professional activity. He had promoted and experimented with the psychology of newborns who have proved to be easily influenced by their environment.[85] Moreover, he now realized the need to consider the cultural and psychological differences between children of different origins who lived together in Eretz Israel. He planned to study a broad sample of children aged 3–18 years classified by age, ethnicity, social class, and cultural level, in order to single out which educational approaches and programs would be most adapted to develop the features of the groups and of each individual child. For teaching he organized lessons, seminars, and experimentation as in Florence. In Jerusalem the numbers were higher and rising from when, in 1942, psychologists had acquired their own professional status: in his classes he had 62 enrolled in 1943, 106 in 1944, and 130 in 1945. On several occasions with these data in hand he applied to the dean and the provost to finance the necessary development of psychology at the Hebrew University.[86] There was a clear need for such work in Palestine and among that particular population.

Over the years he managed to set up a laboratory, albeit modest, and from 1941 organized a curriculum in psychology and finally the department at Monte Scopus of which he became the director. In a little over two years he was again publishing regularly. Many refugee scholars found writing in a different language extremely difficult, in some cases almost impossible. Bonaventura wrote good Hebrew and promoted the translation of psychology's specialized terminology from German, English, and French. In his first piece of work in 1942 he demonstrated the importance of psychology for education; it should start from infancy, with the psychological aspects of learning. His research on "the psychology of adolescence and puberty" in 1943 was partially funded by *Keren Hayesod*, the "Foundation Fund" for Israel.

Collaborating with the Centre for Professional Guidance in Jerusalem, he worked on the "psychobiographical protocol" for schoolchildren, on teacher training and on collaboration to be set up with families.[87] What he had in mind were the Italian studies for vocational guidance, which psychotechnics had focused on in the Fascist era, but using a completely different perspective. The social relevance of young people's orientation was to be "based on justice, mutual help, equal rights [...] Every individual must work for the good of society [...], society must ensure each one is able to enjoy life."[88] Children were

the priority. Psychologists and educators had to try and understand them, their differences, qualities, and inclinations through play, interviews with them and with their parents, and mental tests. They had to "stimulate their creative and inventive capacity and direct them towards [. . .] independence and originality." Bonaventura mainly focused on the trends of American research, rather than the autarkic work cited in Italy. He was even critical of the Montessori method, since "despite its great merits" it made "excessive use of artificial analytical material, without taking fully into consideration the development of the child's personality as a whole."[89]

Reintegration in Italy

In the meantime in 1943 in Italy the process of reparation for the rights of Jews had been put in motion. This was not on the initiative of the government that emerged from the coup d'état of July 25th, or by the Badoglio government, or even by the Vatican that recommended only a partial rejection of the anti-Jewish laws.[90] On July 12, 1943, it was the Allied Military Government that repealed "any law that makes a distinction against any person or persons on the basis of race, color, or creed," with a proclamation published in the *Sicily Gazette*, and valid only for liberated territories.[91] The reintegration of Jewish professors into Italian universities, also in the South under Italian control, was finally ordered by the decree of January 20, 1944. At the end of the year the minister of public education Vincenzo Arangio Ruiz, jurist and confirmed anti-Fascist, began his search for émigré academics.[92]

It was not clear how those concerned could be reintegrated. Who Would pay the journey for those who had taken refuge alone or with their families in a distant country? Reintegration should have been automatic, but this was not entirely true for émigrés. Someone made a formal application, also from Jerusalem. This was the case of Prof. Enrico Franco, whom the Faculty of Medicine in Pisa certainly needed. After four years of playing for time—during which the legal requirements for reentry became more complex and confused—he received the dean's good wishes that he would find a "permanent position in Jerusalem." He died there in 1950 without ever having reset foot in Italy.

The jurist Guido Tedeschi, expelled from the University of Siena, did not return, neither did Giulio Racah whom the minister was quick to ask to take up teaching again at the University of Pisa. Happy to see "personal contact with various colleagues in Italian universities re-established," in 1945 the great physicist firmly refused: "I cannot accept such an offer, because today my place of work is here, taking part in the arduous work of rebuilding a country that welcomed me with open arms when the Fascist government expelled me."[93]

But what about Bonaventura? Did he want to be reintegrated? "We have heard that Prof. Bonaventura is very well, but we do not know whether he has any intention of returning to Italy permanently."[94] In 1944 this is what Alberto Marzi replied to whoever asked him, with hope or apprehension, about Bonaventura's possible return.

On August 13, 1944, the *Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale* (CLN) named a special committee member for the University of Florence in the hope that professors would soon return "to the chairs that were taken from them so arbitrarily."[95] For some of them there was no news, others were known to be in the United States, England, Palestine, or elsewhere, and had to be traced.

The faculty hardest hit by Fascist persecution had been *Lettere e Filosofia*, after Medicine in terms of the number of Jews expelled, but perhaps even more in percentage, and also counting the politically persecuted who had left. For this reason too, perhaps, the deputy provost Calamandrei wanted to be present on September 29, 1944, when that faculty convened for the first time. First, he congratulated Giovanni Calò for his return.[96] In the minutes, the professor of pedagogy had been reported as absent for over a year. Where had he been? After September 8, 1843, Calò had taken part in the Resistance against Nazi Fascism, along with other scholars, and four colleagues from *Lettere* were on the CLN.[97] Now he was once more at his post in the classrooms of Piazza San Marco.

Who else was still missing from the faculty? According to the infamous lists of 1938, eight professors had been removed from service, and sixteen *liberi docenti* had been "invalidated," including five in service. For the latter, minister De Ruggiero had already submitted a list and requested the repeal of their invalidated position a month earlier. Then there were the young scholars who had had no chance to make a career or even to start. Should only the Jews thrown out in 1938 be counted, or should those who had to leave earlier because persecuted for their active opposition to Fascism also be included? Calamandrei immediately requested that the faculty should reintegrate Gaetano Salvemini, removed almost 20 years earlier. Debate ensued. What teaching could be assigned to him? Someone objected that his reintegration would cause a great many problems.

The professor of Italian literature Attilio Momigliano had been reintegrated directly by the minister on September 3, 1944, fortunately before the faculty council had met. Giuseppe De Robertis, who had replaced him in the chair after being nominated by Bottai, became a supernumerary professor, until the teaching between the two professors was doubled, to the disappointment of the reintegrated, because this remedy protected the person who had taken his job not only at the university but also at *Corriere della Sera*.[98]

Alongside those concerned for the academics persecuted under Fascism, some worried for those Fascist academics awaiting trial and possible purge, the so-called *epurandi*. It should be noted that the university, in agreement with the Allied Military Command left the latter free to continue their work, if they wanted to and if they requested it.[99] From differences of opinion it was a short step to accusations of "Fascist intolerance" and defamation. The temporary commissioner and acting dean of *Lettere* resigned and all the decisions were postponed.

Perhaps it was easier talk about those who would not return. Francesco De Sarlo had died in 1937, Ludovico Limentani in 1940. The faculty could now commemorate them, seeing that the regime had prohibited it. The decision was taken but two years went by before the ceremony was arranged. Finally on May 23, 1946 in the great hall of Piazza San Marco, Eugenio Garin spoke on Limentani who he had replaced in 1938, and Giovanni Calò spoke on his colleague and *maestro*

De Sarlo. Calò published in the faculty series a little volume with his commemoration together with the still unpublished speech on *High Culture and Freedom* that De Sarlo had presented in Milan in 1926 and had cost him a year's suspension from university teaching.[100]

The speech in memory of Limentani was also destined for the press, in *Rivista di filosofia* which had been the greatest journal of anti-Fascist culture together with Croce's *La Critica*. But the neo-director Norberto Bobbio suggested that Garin should instead prepare an analytical essay on the ideas of Limentani, that was then published. His *Memory* delivered in 1946 would be published only posthumously in 2007. Sixty years earlier it had evidently caused some perplexity and embarrassment, when for example Garin affirmed of his *maestro* that "we never loved him and admired him for his books," or when he seemed to justify himself. "Today too many pretend in the past easy heroisms; too many reproach our generation [...], which began its own activity when by then Fascism raged unstoppable, for having surrendered." He confided that Limentani, "like De Sarlo [...] outmoded in philosophy as in politics," would have had "a word of understanding for all, even for those who had made mistakes."[101] If taking his place in 1938, Garin felt himself "among the privileged, without guilt alongside the persecutors," he would admit this only half a century later for another belated commemoration, that of Enzo Bonaventura.[102]

At the time of these commemorations in 1946, however, no one seems to have asked the professor of psychology to return to the university from which he had been expelled. There is no hint of this in the faculty minutes and in his personal folder, respectively archived by his home university and the ministry, which is where documentation on successful or failed reintegration of single academics has usually been kept. What we do know is that in 1947 Bonaventura took a year's sabbatical from the Hebrew University to visit Italy, Florence, and his old faculty. Why? And why that particular year?

In May 1947, after 16 years, the much awaited *concorso* for psychology was announced. The previous *concorso* in 1931 had assigned the chair in Rome to Mario Ponzo. According to the rules the second and third qualified among the candidates could have been appointed by some other Italian university. This was not the case. The new *concorso* opened things up again. It was the third candidate listed in 1931, Cesare Musatti, who was determined to win the chair advertised at the *Università statale* in Milan. But before him, the second in line had been Bonaventura, who in the meantime had become professor at a well-known foreign university and director of an institute of psychology, while "the actual position" of Musatti in 1947 was only as a teacher in high school where he taught philosophy.[103] On paper, no one had better academic credentials than Bonaventura, in addition to the reparation that would have been due to him as a victim of racist persecution and forced to emigrate.

Did he intend to reappear and represent his candidacy in 1947? This would have put the aspiring winner in a very difficult position. Did Musatti's supporters on the committee intend to invoke compensation-related arguments, for his failure to obtain the post in 1931 or for his removal in 1938, in order to impose him on the other younger candidates? If so, these arguments would apply much

more to his contemporary Professor Bonaventura, who had returned from the Hebrew University. In that period, during a train journey to attend a congress with colleagues, the psychoanalyst Musatti dreamt that he had crushed two beetles: "probably Marzi and Bonaventura" was the flippant interpretation.[104]

Beyond the personal circumstances of those who had been expelled in 1938, what interests us is the reaction of the university and the scientific milieu, not only faced with the forced removal of Jewish scholars, but also afterward. How did the academic world respond after the collapse of Fascism? How did the scientific communities, in this case the very small community of psychologists, behave toward those who had been expelled and in some instances had emigrated? Did they try to recuperate them for teaching and research in the Italian university system? And what criteria counted, beyond general measures? The first who needed to understand which way the wind was blowing were those displaced scholars who wanted to return to Italy or who were undecided whether to do so or not.

In November 1945 Enzo Bonaventura took pen and paper and wrote for information to the person who had replaced him at the University of Florence. It was the first time that he had contacted him after years. The former pupil Alberto Marzi replied on December 23rd:

> It is six years since we last wrote to each other: your last [letter] was in December 1939. I think that on both sides describing what has happened would take a large collection of volumes, especially as regards the psychological aspects. For my part, I am happy to hear that you are all well, I have been at least able to get an idea of your activity from your parents whom I have seen quite often and immediately after the emergence helped also (physically jumping in through a window to reoccupy the house in via degli Alfani). They are both in excellent condition and your father is in enviably good spirits and remarkably lucid. You [...] are right to want to be informed, and I will start to do so briefly, and will supply details later on, hoping to re-establish a regular correspondence with my unforgettable *Maestro*.[105]

What did he want to know? Bonaventura's letter is missing among Marzi's very many papers; but we can make some deductions from the copy of his interlocutor. "In reply to your questions [...] matters in psychology are going badly because the disagreement that I mentioned prevents us coordinating our efforts [...] The prospect of university *concorsi* is not even mentioned." The Florentine assistant wrote to him very clearly, the next time, on January 31, 1946. "Briefly: life very grey and horizons closed [...] it is now certain that there will be no *concorsi* for at least the next twenty years, and certainly not for psychology!"[106]

This was a mistaken "certainty." Was Marzi genuinely unaware of the great preparations underway for the *concorso* that would be announced the following year?

> [The] situation for academics is disastrous: any laborer earns much more, and the cost of living has risen steeply. But to end the psychological news I will tell you that in recent years the triumvirate Gemelli-Banissoni-Ponzo has been a sort of inviolable dictatorship supported by the National Research Council (CNR) where Banissoni has very shrewdly wormed his way in.[107]

And afterward? That is, after Fascism, of which the mentioned psychologists had been very active supporters. Marzi went on to specify that "it is Gemelli and Banissoni who do everything." In other words, nothing had changed. The information that he gave to the émigré professor was neither encouraging nor correct. He attributed a Roman destination to Musatti through Ponzo (whom he nevertheless defined as practically isolated). In fact the real decisions were being made in Milan with the all-powerful Gemelli, and Musatti had consolidated a privileged relationship with him. It was in Milan that the latter received the position of temporary lecturer in psychology at the state university in 1945/1946, renewed the year after. This news could not have escaped anyone in the discipline. It was both relevant and predictive and it revealed the strategy they were pursuing for academic recruitment, since an existing de facto situation was usually ratified.[108]

It was well-known that the friar-cum-provost was inevitable for any psychologist wanting to enter or reenter in an academic career. In early 1946 Marzi himself requested a colloquium with his "Excellence and very Reverend Father" in order to have "his enlightened advice." Gemelli had asked him for news of Bonaventura; Marzi boasted of being "in continual contact with him" (i.e., six years of total silence), and reassured him on one precise point: "the latest news from November do not forecast his return, I will however keep you informed."[109]

In the next letter he gave him his address in Jerusalem. Gemelli did not have it, not having any contact with the émigré psychologist in Palestine. Some days later, on April 3, 1946, the provost took the initiative and wrote to 21 Al Harizi Street: "Dear Professor, I am delighted to have your news from Marzi and am pleased to hear that you are well and working. But do you really plan to remain there or are you thinking about returning to us?"[110] This was what he wanted to know. He added, for courtesy's sake, that he hoped he would return.

Was the all-powerful Gemelli going to help him reenter the Italian university? He did not say as much, but his words might hold out a glimmer of hope. When Bonaventura finally returned to Italy, he accepted an invitation to a conference in Milan on December 16, 1947, and a private meeting with the illustrious Father, who had in turn began unilaterally and swiftly to address him with the informal "*tu*."[111] By now the *concorso* had been advertised and the committee was set to meet. What were his plans? Everyone wondered. Some asked Marzi to confirm rumors that were circulating. "Is Bonaventura still in Florence? Is it true that that he is not going back to Jerusalem?"[112] It would have been a problem.

His case fell first within the jurisdiction of the University of Florence that had awarded him the *libera docenza*, confirmed five years later, invalidated in 1938. Three years had passed since the 1944 legislation repealing the racial laws to when the professor reappeared before colleagues and students at the Institute. Surely this was enough time to decide whether to reintegrate a person who had served the university for 15 years, without counting his work as De Sarlo's assistant. From the faculty's point of view, might his return cause some bureaucratic or administrative issues? Beyond their respective scientific curricula, in the University of Florence both he and who had replaced him were temporary lecturers; hence the expedient to put one of them as a supernumerary professor was not

applicable in this case. They had to choose: Marzi or Bonaventura. For decisions of this sort, it was the chair-holder's opinion that counted, but here he no longer existed since De Sarlo had been expelled in 1923. From 1940 Marzi had been a tenured assistant of the vacant chair in psychology, and an untenured temporary lecturer of the same chair from 1938. In other words, he was assistant to himself and held two contradictory roles. This was not allowed and it was recorded in the minutes of the faculty council as being "for the last time."[113]

Did the faculty really want Bonaventura to return? His scientific and teaching ability had been fully and positively evaluated in Italy, by universities, journals, and scientific societies of psychology, and also in a foreign university where in few years he had made a career for himself, passing from untenured position to a chair of psychology, and setting up a department that he still directed. His experience abroad had certainly given him new skills; he had been faced with different scenarios and with an international panorama. He himself was keen to show this to Italian colleagues during his sabbatical in 1947. He was introducing new methodologies, developing his original work on groups, as he explained in his lecture in Florence and Milan on "Recent approaches and research in social psychology" (published after his death).[114] Could his reentry bring a proven contribution? In addition to being an act of justice, how could anyone fail to see it as profitable for psychology and the university?

Maneuvering behind the Scenes: Gemelli and Musatti

Even if such questions did come to their minds, the impression is that they were immediately shelved. In the peculiar Italian academic system the cases of single academics reintegrated were dealt with according to a mentality that was very different from the one used with displaced scholars by the international organizations. These had tried to help them but also, if not primarily, they tried to exploit their capacity and potential "for the rescue of science and learning." More concretely, to the benefit of British and American institutions that could select the best of them on favorable terms.

This was the general situation. In the postwar period Italian psychology had only a single chair in the entire state university system, in Rome, and one in a private university in Milan; the discipline was devalued to a pseudoscience or technique, without resources and isolated. The national *concorso* of 1947 would have created three chairs. According to a procedure established for decades, the examining committee nominated three qualified candidates. The first would automatically have the chair in the university that had advertised the *concorso*, and the other two would be called by other universities, normally those in which they already worked on a temporary basis. They needed to see how much and which universities and faculties were interested. Was Florence among them? Marzi said that it was, and that so was Bologna, where he had obtained his *libera docenza* in around 1936 and taught for a period of time.[115]

This was the next step; the first objective was that a university advertised a *concorso*. Which is what finally happened in May 1947. Ponzo hurried to inform

Marzi with whom he had kept up a regular correspondence on such issues for a couple of years.[116] Things were prepared well beforehand and with care: an agreement was reached with "three possible candidates for the next *concorso*."[117] In April 1947 the examiner Agostino Gemelli had informed the candidate Musatti in private, forecast as "the favorite," who now lived in Milan and was a temporary lecturer in psychology at the same University that had advertised the chair.

There were, however, more than three candidates. For example, three months before, Ponzo at the University of Rome heard, naturally via Milan, that the Roman "Banissoni would take part in the *concorso*."[118] It was known that Gemelli supported other candidates in addition to Musatti, who in turn had pulled the strings with the ministry, the other "lesser" candidates, and even with some psychologist commissioners, if not with all of them, for months. Some negotiated directly with him. Ponzo asked him if one rather strong candidate "could not withdraw."[119] Anything to avoid unpleasant surprises. "I have spoken to Ponzo who is very pleased that arrangements for the *concorso* are going smoothly," Musatti confirmed to Gemelli on November 29, 1947.[120] After all, the Roman Professor Ponzo had been recruited in the *concorso*'s evaluating committee by the favored candidate: "For the time being I could not avoid Musatti's active desire to have me on the jury," he confided to the aspiring candidate Marzi.[121]

But what about Bonaventura? He was the same generation at Musatti, but was his senior anagraphically and academically. According to this same logic and custom he should have been made qualified. All sort of things occur in academic *concorsi*, but passing him over for three others would have seemed excessive at the very least. In these cases the matter is resolved beforehand. A candidate may be convinced to not apply, or to withdraw if he has already applied, especially if he is a tough candidate. The "withdrawal of some candidates" did in fact occur, as we can see from the Committee's report published in the *Bollettino Ufficiale*. But it does not say who or how many withdrew. Even less is known about those who simply gave up and did not apply at all, given the circumstances.[122]

Bonaventura's name was not among the eight candidates still standing. There is no hint of his possible candidature in the private letters of more influential figures, for example, between Musatti and Gemelli, who persistently discussed how the *concorso* should proceed, and who had to win it. The "Florentine candidate" whom Ponzo informed of the Milanese agreements was, according to him, Alberto Marzi, who could certainly not compete against his own *maestro*. Bonaventura was not taken into consideration; his scientific merits, the university's obligation to him for the persecution suffered, and the benefit of his reintegration for both the university and Italian psychology apparently counted for nothing. Yet if this *concorso* had not gone in his favor, 17 years after the previous one, it would be difficult for him to be considered for the next ones. Apart from Judaism, Fascism, and Liberation, he had lost his place in the queue, and lost the right contacts, if he ever had them. Had he been somewhere else? He had stayed there. Going to work in a university abroad before having a tenured position in an Italian university, either by choice or by force, was more of a handicap than an added value.

There are no documents that reveal exactly what went on behind the scenes. Had someone spoken to Bonaventura? Was he persuaded to not even try the

1947 *concorso*, intended for others? No one doubted that it was still Gemelli who had piloted the fates of those in the discipline. The academically very able provost of the Cattolica congratulated himself on the fact that even the faculty of Florence turned to him informally for advice in the complex situation of psychology; he alluded to the pedagogist Giovanni Calò, also a member of the evaluating committee.[123] The candidate Marzi was warned: "you should hope that the age limit for professors is raised to seventy-five years. Father Gemelli would remain a few more years in the chair, with all the consequences," stated Ponzo, convinced as he was that Marzi's position would be settled sooner or later in the plans of the not-much-loved friar.[124]

Rather than in the hands of Providence, everything seemed to be in those of "the Magnificent terror" of the Cattolica. It was probably Gemelli who made Bonaventura understand the situation. Was it for this reason that he had contacted him through Marzi and then invited him to Milan to give a lecture? In the meantime the two had certainly been in touch, more than once given the change of Gemelli's tone between one letter and the next. Perhaps at the start Bonaventura was deluded, seeing that Gemelli no longer "smelt a bit too much of blackshirt" or anti-Semitism.[125] He would have had good reason to be indignant. But who was exploiting whom in this situation?

Perhaps Bonaventura wanted to build a future for himself in Italy that Fascism had prevented him for having, but Gemelli certainly had to reconstruct a more suitable past for himself in order to continue exercising power after the collapse of Fascism. In summer 1945 Gemelli underwent a purge trial. He took leave and defended himself against the accusation, of having denounced two of his students for anti-Fascism in 1933, simply by swearing that it was not true. The jury nominated in September by the Allied Military Government of Lombardy backed off from suspending him for "lack of evidence." It was a rather dubious absolution and given by a majority of three votes to two (one of which was by the famous philosopher Antonio Banfi). In synthesis, also for other cases between December 1945 and July 1946, any recognition of "the clear compromises in his past" was avoided. The shadow on Gemelli remained and still remains. The many records and documents collected by the Committee of the *Istituto Lombardo* have disappeared from the archives. Gemelli did not redeem himself despite his efforts to pass for a defender of the regime's victims.[126]

One of the many victims was unquestionably Bonaventura. Several years earlier, in 1935, the provost had told him very frankly what he thought. Bonaventura did not have a permanent academic position, in spite of the positive outcome of the *concorso* in 1931. He should have to make more of an effort in Florence, "because it is a battle that everyone must win on their home ground." This came from the mouth of the friar who had been maneuvering *concorsi* throughout Italy for decades. Bonaventura had replied

> I am not just speaking from a personal point of view [...] As far as I am concerned I am so embittered and disappointed that I have no desire to fight any more, were it not for my love of the discipline which sustains me and the fact that, after me, there are other younger scholars for whom we must try to prepare the way.

Gemelli's response had frozen him: there was no chance for him in the Italian university or even abroad,

> since the "retirement" of many German professors, guilty of being Jews, had filled many positions in America and Europe […] perhaps God's Providence wants you to leave teaching and dedicate yourself to a field which requires energies like yours. At the present time I don't know what to suggest, however I will take a look at the problem.[127]

Gemelli forgot this vague promise. His brutality with Jews, well before the racial laws, cannot be forgotten. In 1924 "on the occasion of the suicide of [the Italian professor] F. Momigliano," the "spineless" had written whining obituaries, whereas he had publicly wished "death on all Jews who continue the work of Jews who crucified Our Lord." This was his note published in his ultra-Catholic magazine; it was anonymous but he immediately admitted (or vindicated) that it was his, because "it is the Jews who gave us and spread socialism, communism, freemasonry, the power of the banks and a thousand other witchcrafts": on the basis of these "truths" he considered his ill omen justified.[128]

Contrary to the friar's predictions, Professor Bonaventura, who was also "guilty of being Jewish," had not left university teaching, not even by emigrating. On the contrary he had obtained the direction of a department and a chair in psychology at the Hebrew University. The question of his return to the University of Florence was fatally resolved in spring 1948, as for Limentani in 1940, and for dozens of academics who died without being reintegrated in the universities that had expelled them.

Commemorations and Justifications

> In truth also far from Italy, also forced by an iniquitous law to leave his Florence in order to find a field open to his scientific activity and bread for his children elsewhere, Enzo Bonaventura had never become estranged, had continued to love both one and the other, *ready as soon as possible*, to resume relations of collaboration and *to return* in some way *maestro* in the faculty where he had taught and directed the Institute of Psychology for many years.[129]

"In truth" this was claimed by Giovanni Calò, beaten up by Fascists in 1925, and whose name had ended up in error on a list of "Jewish race" professors published in 1938. "After such a long absence and such fatal events of ruin, slaughter, anguish," they had met again just a few months earlier and now, on May 13, 1948, with the "bitter pride to have had him first as his pupil, then as a colleague and friend," he found himself commemorating him in the great hall of the Faculty of *Lettere* in Florence, which Bonaventura "had truly the right to consider as his home, his spiritual home. For this reason he realized his intention of returning as soon as possible."

Calò acknowledged that the late lamented scholar

> was owed much by the University of Florence, much by Italian psychology. Among us psychology has suffered much from the predominance, for a certain period, of

> some philosophical trends, and it still suffers from being misunderstood by many respected figures in other cultural fields. Hence the enormous progress that this science can today boast in all civilized countries [...] has a wretched and difficult life in Italy, surrounded by doubts, misunderstandings, hostility and disinterest. Enzo Bonaventura was one of the few who could [...] ensure that it did not lose too much ground in comparison with other countries.[130]

But then why had the University of Florence and psychology not taken steps to encourage his return? Yet he had longed for it. This is what was said to colleagues and students and in the *Rivista di psicologia* where the commemorative speeches were published. Calò knew Bonaventura well, and was well informed on many academic matters. He had been part of the committee for the last *concorso* for psychology, concluded two months earlier, which had resorted to a secret vote.[131] In his "inexpressible sorrow" he recalled their common maestro De Sarlo, a model of integrity, and could not hold back a self-criticism of certain academic conduct that never changed. After the collapse of Fascism, there was an opening up, but it seemed already over. In the immediate wake of the Liberation, Calò had become dean of *Lettere* nominated by the provost Calamandrei—both men of the Resistance. From 1947 the dean was Paolo Lamanna, who had already reemerged from his Fascist past.

On behalf of the faculty of Florence, he was the second orator to speak about Bonaventura, who had been the pupil and then assistant of his father-in-law: "During his time in our faculty, a combination of adverse circumstances prevented him from enjoying that full official recognition to which he aspired and to which he was entitled; and he was justly embittered."[132] If some responsibility for having treated him unjustly after the 1931 *concorso* could be hypothesized, on the other hand Lamanna argued that "the resentment was frank and general, mixed with indignation, for the iniquitous measures that snatched Him away in inauspicious 1938, with other honored Colleagues, from their chair and from science." The victims had enjoyed solidarity, he claimed. Better still, by emigrating they had enjoyed professional satisfaction. Bonaventura in particular had been well repayed, and "there was an equally frank and general satisfaction for the compensation of the suffered injustice that he had [...] in his second and more antique *Patria* where a vaster field of richer opportunities opened up [...] with great success in esteem and results."[133]

In Lamanna's words, things had turned out better for him abroad than if he had stayed in Italy. Naturally everyone was content (and relieved): "we thought with pride that he was a shoot from the old tree, the glorious Florentine *Studio*, transplanted overseas, and [which] bore, and would have born in the future, abundant fruit." But unfortunately, in that Holy Land he became a martyr "of the hurricane of passions and contrasting interests [...] and we are left to weep."[134]

A further piece in this compensatory reconstruction was added by the third orator, who presented himself as the "pupil and successor of the deceased." Alberto Marzi claimed that Bonaventura did not have a professorship in Italy, but "only attained it in Palestine in 1939 when an international committee [...] unanimously designated him for the chair of psychology in the Hebrew University

of Jerusalem, thus repaying the deserved recognition which had been absent in Italy."[135] All the problems had arisen from the Italian "hostility" to psychology. "Bonaventura was seriously damaged by such hostility" after the same *concorso* of 1931 also recalled by Marzi, who was in turn anxiously waiting for some university to appoint him after the *concorso* of 1947. In any case the "bad guys" were the others, the Italian antipsychologists, and Bonaventura had been compensated thanks to "more famous psychologists" throughout the world who had lent their weight to giving him the chair in Jerusalem. This "international committee" included, among others, "Péron, Katz, Myers, Claparède and Gemelli," the ubiquitous and unavoidable Gemelli.[136]

Where did such a story come from, with those details, with totally different professors of the HU committee? It is difficult to say how much Marzi or who listened to him really believed it. One version of the kind, publicly expressed in the great hall of the University of Florence, in 1948, in those circumstances, had a consolatory and self-absolving function. But it was rather unlikely. Those famous psychologists and the provost of the *Cattolica* (whose bad opinion about Jews was well known) had been summoned by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to finally give the Florentine scholar the promotion he had merited in 1931? The only person mentioned not inappropriately was the German David Katz, a refugee in Stockholm. But even he was not part of Bonaventura's examining committee, although he had recommended him. And he had been the only one. From Italy only two Zionist mathematicians, who both died before him, had backed him for the post in Jerusalem in 1939; just as after the collapse of Fascism, or just a few months before the new *concorso*, none of his colleagues had pushed for his reintegration.

Also what had been at stake in 1939 at the Hebrew University was not a chair, but just an untenured and underpaid lectureship refused by others. It was not a professional triumph, but an escape from Fascist persecution, a desperate attempt to start again somewhere else, adapting to a series of difficulties. The idea that having success abroad was easy and immediate for an intellectual, particularly if he was Jewish and "hence without roots," was a powerful stereotype of Italian academics who emigrated under Fascism.[137] It calmed consciences and placed the blame on others. It even helped convince those who remained that those who had left never wanted to return. Much evidence indicates the exact opposite. In his autobiography, the Nobel Prize–winner Franco Modigliani testified from the United States: "we always thought we would return to Italy, sooner or later."[138]

What Gemelli had said to Bonaventura before the keenly awaited *concorso* of psychology, when contact was reestablished by the former after many years, remains a mystery. Did it influence Bonaventura's decision to return immediately to Jerusalem, to not take part in the *concorso* that he had the best qualifications to win? It would be rash to rule this out, and given the shortage of reliable evidence we can only make conjectures. The *concorso* came to an end on February 7, 1948, with Musatti's announced victory, Ferruccio Banissoni coming second, and Alberto Marzi third. The records conserved by the Ministry of Education, although incomplete and not in order, show that three candidates had withdrawn and eight remained, making eleven in all. The numbering written in

pencil on the folders arrived at 12, but had been corrected by hand. Perhaps just a banal error, but in any case that archival source would never reveal who had intended to apply and then withdrew their candidacy.

As we know, the university *concorso* had been discussed in advance by the commissioners, starting with themselves; they were to be elected by tenured professors throughout Italy belonging to the faculty involved, in this case *Lettere* and *Magistero*. "I had news of the directives for the vote in Bologna, Florence, Pisa and in part also in Rome. I don't know if they managed to vary the general result," Ponzo wrote to Marzi on July 14, 1943.[139] Gemelli came fourth out of five with 58 votes, far behind Ponzo with 133.[140] However, those elected to the committee were the members agreed on. Accordingly, some months later the agreed winner candidates emerged too.

In the Arnona neighborhood of Jerusalem there is street named after Bonaventura where a plaque reads, "Enzo J. Bonaventura, scientist, died for the freedom of Jerusalem."[141] The morning of April 13, 1948, Arab forces ambushed the Hadassah convoy of academics, students, doctors, and nurses on their way to Monte Scopus to avenge the slaughter of Deir Yasin four days earlier. Mount Scopus was a Jewish enclave in an Arab zone, where the Hebrew University was located next to the Hadassah Hospital financed by the women's organization of the American community. It was a massacre. Four cars and three armored vehicles of Palmach, the special troops of Haganàh ("Defence"), the clandestine Zionist military organization, were overpowered. Most of the passengers were burnt alive. The British Army was responsible for guaranteeing the functioning and safety of the hospital, the university, and the convoys on the order of the British secretary of state for the Colonies; that day they took seven hours to arrive—too late—, even having been called and having seen, as the provost Judah Leon Magnes and others testify.[142]

Among the victims there were three of the founders of the Faculty of Medicine. Among the Italians there was also Prof. Umberto Cassuto's daughter-in-law. Anna Di Gioacchino, wife of the doctor and rabbi of Florence Nathan Cassuto, had survived deportation and had joined his relatives in Palestine. The 23-year-old Paola Cividalli, studying at the Hebrew University and active in a small student group of the Jewish Communist Union, wrote: "they say that she died immediately and had kept her beautiful serene expression." And "Prof. Bonaventura, despite his 56 years, was on guard at the University three days a week and he went down [...] fighting."[143] Paola had visited his wife: "She is very upset, but is making an effort for the children," wrote the student to her parents in Tel Aviv.

The two families knew each other well, and had emigrated from Florence to Palestine a few weeks apart, the men first, followed by their wives and children, Matilde with her three boys, Maria with her two and the three girls. Engineer Gualtiero Cividalli (who was working on the restoration of Palazzo Strozzi in Florence when he was expelled) had been a follower of Pacifici in the Florentine Zionist movement and an active anti-Fascist from his schooldays at *liceo* Michelangelo with his friend Nello Rosselli, classmate of Maria D'Ancona, whom he had married. In Palestine Cividalli was an influential exponent of *Irgun Olei Italia*, the Association of Italian Migrants, and among the most

convinced supporters of the need to reach an agreement and understanding with the Arabs.

"These last days have been terrible," he wrote to his "dearest children" on April 17, 1948. "The massacre of Deir Yasin has deeply shocked me [...] the idea that Jews must do what the others do terrifies me; that the faults of others are taken as justification for guilty acts." In the Arab reprisal on the road to Monte Scopus many friends had fallen as was widely reported in the press. A few days before in the battle for the village of Kastel, Reuben had died like his older brother David; both sons of Elia Samuele Artom, chief rabbi in Florence from 1925 until 1935, a *libero docente* in Jewish language and literature, expelled from the same faculty as Bonaventura and like him an émigré in Jerusalem in 1939.

"We know we have to react; to go on living and working, but the burden weighing on my heart gets bigger and bigger; a weight that does not seem to have left me since that terrible morning when we heard of the assassination of Carlo and Nello."[144] Even if it had happened many years before, in another country, in Bagnoles sur l'Orne on June 9, 1937, it was from that day Gualtiero Cividalli confided to his daughter that he felt death, "when it had unexpectedly struck those close to me." Speaking of Enzo Bonaventura and Cassuto he had the same reaction as for the Rosselli brothers: "when tragedy touches us close by we feel a dismay that paralyzes all our strength."

In Italy and in non-Jewish circles, Bonaventura's death in Israel was a very distant fact. The circumstances and place where it had happened somehow simplified other events and cancelled the responsibility of the injustices inflicted and seen close up. The *Rivista di psicologia* that published the three commemorative speeches given by Professors Calò, Lamanna, and Marzi in Florence, in an unsigned note dwelt on the news coverage of the attack, on the numbers of 20 injured and 77 dead, but only naming the Italian psychologist.[145] Bonaventura, it was recalled, had been codirector of the *Rivista* from 1933.

Yet the *Rivista* did not say until when, or that his name had been removed from the front page in 1938, immediately and rather diligently since no "official provision of any sort on the collaboration of Jews in scientific journals" had been issued that year, as another Florentine director and publisher had observed.[146] The editors of the organ of the *Società Italiana di Psicologia* (SIP) had not published anything of his until 1947. The name of Enzo Bonaventura was in the lists of Jewish authors "whose works are unwelcome in Italy" and which were banned in schools or libraries.[147] On all this not a word. The note instead stressed that he had held the post of secretary of the SIP. It was even claimed that in "these thirty years between 1917 and 1947 [...] relations between him and our journal had been frequent and close": as if they had never expelled him, along with others; as if the traumatic interruption of a decade did not count.

The president of the SIP from 1943 was Mario Ponzo, another to whom Bonaventura had asked for help without receiving it.[148] In private Ponzo commented on the tragic news in April 1948 with Marzi: "He fell magnificently for the faith that had inspired and guided him throughout his life. The children, from what I'm told, are among the most fanatical Jewish supporters."[149] It is difficult to image what Ponzo could know about them, or of Zionism, how much

he was informed about the complex general situation in the Middle East, of the enormous difficulties in applying the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations of November 29, 1947, the birth of Israel not yet proclaimed. Bonaventura "had been faithful to his convictions, he had fought for them, and died"; Ponzo gladly left Marzi "to commemorate him worthily in Florence or elsewhere during one of our conferences."[150]

The task of illustrating Bonaventura's thought and work fell officially to the person who had been teaching psychology for 10 years in the same faculty and position where he had been for 30. Marzi lamented the loss of "a model of firm rectitude, of honesty that it will be impossible to forget and that [...] we will continue to love religiously." In retracing his work, from his thesis until one of his books published 20 years earlier, on *The Psychological Problem of Time* he mentioned the manual on child psychology (1930), and "his *Psicoanalisi*" (1938) to emphasize in these pages "above all his high moral ideals [...] that together with his deep religiousness constituted one of his most pleasing features."[151] As regards his work during the decade abroad, once again nothing was said. Yet Bonaventura had been very keen to present his new research in 1947, and had even brought his offprints in Hebrew to the Institute of Psychology library in Florence. These were duly inventoried, but are no longer there.[152]

Reading these commemorations leaves us with the strong impression that the break had occurred before Bonaventura's death and was irremediable, precisely because it was minimized. The speeches, except for the one by the anti-Fascist Calò, focused on the academic injustice inflicted nearly 20 years earlier; the speck in the eye of the other while not seeing the beam in one's own. No appointment to a chair would have avoided his expulsion on racial grounds. Deploring the missed promotion of 1931 meant concealing the lack of his reintegration that his colleagues could have offered to him with the *concorso* of 1947/1948, when Bonaventura had returned to Italy.

It was better to draw one more veil over the circumstances than to clutch at justifications. Marzi's commemorative oration was republished in almost identical form, redated April 1949, as an introduction to the fourth edition of Bonaventura's *Psicoanalisi* in 1950. In comparison to the version that had appeared two years earlier in the *Rivista di psicologia*, some of the text is missing; precisely the parts on the presumed compensation and the imaginary international committee with Gemelli in Jerusalem, just like those on the earlier academic hostilities in Italy.[153] No mention at all of racial persecution. Paradoxically the reader was reminded of that by Enzo Bonaventura himself in the *Preface* (Jerusalem, March 1948), which was published posthumously:

> Ten years have passed since the first edition of this volume. And what years! Racial persecution broke out, the old master and founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, had to flee his city and take refuge in England where, suffering, anxious but vigilant and active until the end, he died.[154]

On the contrary, Bonaventura "had not fled to Palestine. It was his homeland, because of the religion of which he was a fervent apostle," and he had gone there

to die, leaving the University of Florence and "the directorship of the Institute of Psychology and the lectureship in psychology which he held until 1940."[155] This was the new version of the facts presented by Mario Ponzo in the *Archivio di psicologia neurologia e psichiatria*. He avoided revealing how their colleague had arrived at the Hebrew University or gave any hint of his activity as a psychologist alongside European and American scholars. He gave a list of his publications, which stopped in 1931 as if he had done nothing for the next 17 years. Yet after 1931, and before he emigrated, Bonaventura had around 25 scientific publications to his name. As usual, Ponzo lamented the injustice of the previous *concorso* (won by him) and the hostility of many Italian philosophers to psychology. Gemelli added "a word of grief" and three lines to say that he had invited Bonaventura to Milan.

This intentionally false version of the facts appeared in one of the main journals of the psy-disciplines, of which the president of the SIP Ponzo was codirector along with eight others, *in primis* Gemelli who figured above all the others on the front page. Whoever believed in that version might have thought that the 1938 racial laws had either never existed or had been quite soft, seeing that the "convinced Zionist" Bonaventura had remained in Italy as a university professor for a couple of years more, until 1940, until the faith finally took him to Palestine.

How could one write and publish something so absurd? Just ten years had passed since the racial laws; they had been applied with remarkable efficiency. The death of the psychologist in 1948 fell on the ten-year anniversary. When his commemoration was held at the University of Florence, the former provost Serpieri—who had expelled all Jewish academics—purged from service and no longer a senator by a decree of June 6, 1945 of the High Court of Justice for penalties against Fascism of 1944,[156] had already been reintegrated by the university and even proclaimed emeritus professor. In 1948 Italy was busy pulling itself together by normalization and reinterpretation for the sake of peace and continuity.

Misunderstandings or a Minefield?

50 years after the racial laws, at a conference dedicated to Bonaventura at the Institute of Psychology in Florence, the story of Gemelli and the international committee that had awarded Bonaventura the chair was again presented as a fact, accompanied by the same implausible details, and based on what had been said and written in 1948.[157] Yet some of the documents used here on Bonaventura's appointment at the Hebrew University had come into the hands of the psychologist organizing the conference. These would have been more than enough to reopen the issue. Instead they remained a dead letter even if in part published.[158] In the circle of the discipline, the repetition of unproven, but more tranquilizing versions of history persists.

The case of Bonaventura has been cited in Gemelli's defense against "the most defamatory accusations" made against him and that some historians consider reliable. Despite everything, "Gemelli can't really have been such a staunch

antisemite," his defenders argue, if so many Jewish people sought his advice, to convert or to find employment[159] More than concrete help, however, his replies seem to contain declarations of charitable intent. This was in private, while in public he failed neither to attract the *alala* of the Fascist press, nor to arouse "a sense of shock and disgust" among non-Fascist Catholics for his attacks on the "Christ killers."[160] On January 9, 1939, his lesson at the University of Bologna on a medieval surgeon was widely reported in the press, and applauded by Roberto Farinacci, the most brutal of Fascists. The enthusiasm was not for the medieval Guglielmo da Saliceto, but for the anti-Semitic and Fascist conclusion of the lecture that was quoted on the front page of the *Corriere della Sera* and the *Popolo d'Italia*: the provost of the Cattolica publicly recognized that the Fascist policy in defense of the race was both just and exemplary, one of the "consequences of the horrible crime that [...] persecutes the wandering Jew wherever and whenever he is," just as the reverend professor had said.[161] "We are not alone," exulted *Regime Fascista* on January 10, 1939, certain that this recognition was "destined to have a broad repercussion on the spirits of Italian Catholics," to counterbalance the opinions of the Vatican which had even sounded philo-Semitic.[162]

Gemelli's presumed help for his Jewish colleague dated to the month *after* this lecture. Moreover, it is said that it was Bonaventura who asked for it, regardless of the provost's public position. He had been rather more cautious when he sent Gemelli his curriculum vitae "in case [...] someone refers to you for information, you can supply the exact details." He had mentioned Gemelli that having to list referees in a form, he had given his name to an English agency that dealt with displaced scholars; but avoided telling Gemelli which one (it was the SPSL) as he avoided giving Gemelli's address. As a victim of anti-Semitic persecution Bonaventura had no reason to trust the friar, even if "in the tragic situation in which I find myself I am *desperately* looking *everywhere* for a way to save my family."[163] Yet he had not voluntarily mentioned his contacts with the Hebrew University to the provost of the Università Cattolica at all.

With caution and without the legendary international committee of famous psychologists, even Gemelli's main biography in 2003 hints at his help for this academic position in Jerusalem. In a footnote the episode is reconstructed as follows: on February 10, 1939, Bonaventura supposedly asked the provost of the Catholic University for a reference for the chair in Jerusalem. On February 22 Gemelli then supposedly sent to Professor Krauss of the HU a "favorable opinion that proved important, at least according to the professor's relatives—so that Bonaventura could find refuge in Jerusalem."[164] But the documents cited, together with other papers, tell a rather different story: Gemelli's letter to "Prof. Stephen Krauss at the Hebrew University" was a reply to a Krauss's letter dated February 2 and concerning the position in question. Gemelli had informed Bonaventura, who in turn was obliged to explain that effectively the post existed, and that Katz had recommended him. Negotiations were proceeding well.

> Certainly, a word from you in my favour would be of great help; and this is why I allow myself to ask you for this help, that is, to say anything good that you can about me, so as to facilitate my appointment over there—the only solution that has

> turned up to the tormenting troubles of my life and my family. Since you asked me, very kindly, for a draft reply, also in relation to the particular questions cited in the letter, I stick to your request, although I am ashamed to praise myself! You, replying in German, will see how to use this note.[165]

He enclosed a full curriculum with a list of publications and fields of research. On February 22 Gemelli replied to Krauss, and on March 22 wrote again to Bonaventura in Florence—who had left for Palestine in the meantime—to tell him that he had been contacted by the "provost of the Hebrew University" and had sent him a positive reply. Finally, there is the touching letter from Arnaldo Bonaventura, Enzo's father, dated June 5, 1939. He rushes to thank the "Reverend Father [. . .] for the influential and efficacious support" that Gemelli had informed him he had given to his son's application. Gemelli's opinion, he wrote, could not but have influenced the positive decision taken by the Palestinian faculty.

This however was only a deduction—and based on Gemelli's word—by a very concerned parent, religiously agnostic and certainly not anti-Fascist.[166] There is no trace of Fraenkel's exchange in Gemelli's *Corrispondenza* apart from what he reports himself (in fact Bocci only cites Gemelli's letter to Bonaventura). In any case, the committee at the Hebrew University made no mention of any psychologist-friar's opinion, while it did declare it had recorded even the few words of praise that the mathematician Levi Civita had sent to Fraenkel. Indeed, the only letter that we are certain that Gemelli wrote declaring that "Prof. Bonaventura is most worthy of the chair of psychology in this University" was addressed to Prof. Stephen Krauss. But who was Professor Krauss? Gemelli did not know him and neither did Bonaventura. Perhaps there has been a series of misunderstandings.

Krauss certainly had not asked for a recommendation for the Italian candidate. He was neither qualified nor interested to do so. He was part of neither the committee nor the faculty. After a short period at the Hebrew University as a research fellow, he would leave for England where he became a well-known psychiatrist.[167] At the time he was only a young scholar from Budapest, who had graduated in psychology from the University of Wien, and he too had fled Nazism in search of security and employment.

He had approached Gemelli "very confidentially," expressing his skepticism regarding the Italian psychologist whom he had never heard of before. However, as Bonaventura was more qualified than him, the young Hungarian, a pupil of Bühler's, raised serious doubts about the scientific originality of his competitor and relied on Gemelli to confirm his criticism. Gemelli did not, but the typical letter of recommendation with which he replied and which the receiver was keen not to divulge, was rather incongruous, given Krauss's request. What was even more incongruous was the way Gemelli had spoken to Bonaventura, and perhaps others afterward. Perhaps he had not understood who had written to him or why. In the end, the idea that his reply to the son of the famous Talmudic scholar Samuel Krauss (who died in 1948 in Cambridge) constitutes evidence that Gemelli helped Bonaventura win the chair (albeit only a temporary position) is just one more misunderstanding in a long series. What was really done to help is rather different from what was recounted later and why.

Without doubt that version of the facts placed Gemelli in a good light, which he needed in the postwar period. To make it seem credible that he had not been racist he wrote to De Gasperi referring to "all the Jews that from 1939 I have saved, for whom I found jobs in North and South America and the many whom I have catechized and baptized. These were mainly from academia," and Gemelli went around to say that they could "testify to everything that he had done for them and their families."[168] The story that he had helped Bonaventura win the chair in Jerusalem came out later, when Bonaventura was no longer around to confirm or deny it.

As if that were not enough, there are other tangled misunderstandings. This is may be a "minefield" as an acute psychologist has warned regarding the "lack of serenity with which psychoanalysts contemplate their history,"[169] and the lack of objectivity with which some Italian psychologists have examined their past. In fact the two histories and communities seem less separate than is usually pictured and than academic reasons have always suggested. We must take a closer look at Bonaventura and others, and take account of Musatti, who was always concerned about keeping his academic image separate from his identity as a psychoanalyst, and who was both the leader of Italian psychoanalysis and the favorite candidate for the first chair of psychology in the postwar period.

On February 7, 1948, the examining committee that awarded him wanted to declare in the minutes (recorded by Mario Ponzo) that the winner of the chair "had been prevented from teaching in the university on racial grounds" in 1938.[170] Until then Musatti had continued the work of his maestro Benussi, died in Padua in 1927, just as Bonaventura had continued the work of De Sarlo in Florence, expelled in 1923 by the Fascist minister Gentile. In 1938 both had to leave the university. Two parallel stories? It is unlikely that the provost of the *Cattolica* had really helped Bonaventura, but he had certainly helped Musatti, and more than either were willing to say. Therefore one might conclude that for at least one, of those hit by anti-Jewish persecution, the academic community of psychologists (in particular Gemelli who led it) had the merit of providing for reparation. But this was not the case.

In his carefully thought-out curriculum for the *concorso* on July 8, 1947, Musatti wrote:

> In autumn 1938, following the racist policies, although as one of mixed birth I was not considered a Jew, I was expelled from university teaching. Instead I still had my high school job as a tenured teacher of philosophy since 1933 [...] I was nevertheless removed from Padua and transferred first to Vittorio Veneto [province of Treviso] and then in 1940, after some months' military service, to Milan," once again to teach philosophy.[171]

These words ambiguously suggested a sort of racial persecution, even if applied incoherently and in a rather muddled way. Thus, on the back cover of the proceedings of a conference in 1997 entitled *Cesare Musatti and Italian Psychology*, one discovers that "following the racial laws [...he was] 'downgraded' to the level of a *liceo* teacher."[172] This is what is generally believed in psychoanalytical

and academic circles and among the general Italian public that has heard of Musatti, although historical studies on the anti-Semitic persecution in the University of Padua suggest another story. Even without going into this particular case in more depth here, and even considering the escalation of discriminatory measures in 1943, for those born of mixed marriages as well, it is striking that such untenable "explanations" are stated and reiterated in total contrast with the facts. Everyone in universities and schools knew that in 1938/1939 all Jews without exception, among whom those in the very *liceo* where Musatti taught, were expelled, not just downgraded,[173] and they were exempted from military service, which indeed Musatti claimed to have done in his curriculum vitae for the ministerial *concorso*.

Unreliable stories have been jumbled together, and continually revived, altered, and reformulated without knowing when and where they originated. I believe I can say that this took place in the same small circles for interrelated reasons. When Bonaventura died in 1948, some wanted to pass him off as not having been forced to emigrate because of being Jewish, but as someone who was compensated for earlier academic hostility with a chair in Jerusalem. On the contrary, when Musatti obtained his chair in Milan he was the first to claim that the academic position was also for him a rightful reparation for having been removed for racial reasons. In the end there was a remedy for everything, apart from death.

The reasons why his University had not wanted Musatti any longer were different, and this was known both in academic circles and in Padua. There were rumors, but the surviving documentation does not fully explain them. The fact is that Musatti was officially declared of Aryan race and thus not subject to the racial laws.

The matter is also relevant both for Italian psychoanalysis and for the comparison with Bonaventura. Musatti claimed, and others repeated, that he had been "prevented from publishing his *Treatise on Psychoanalysis*," apparently for the usual reasons: "I ended up writing it in 1938 when, as a result of the racial laws, I was suspended from university teaching and excluded from any opportunity to publish." This is what he recalled, for example, in one of his fluent and popular autobiographical pamphlets in 1987.[174] In his curriculum of July 8, 1947, for the *concorso* he had declared instead that in 1938 his *Treatise* was ready "in its general outline,"[175] and had sent the committee a typescript (which should be compared with the edited text). The work was finally published by Einaudi a couple of years later, in 1949; and it seems he had proposed it to the publisher on February 20, 1948.[176]

If his *Treatise* was virtually ready, why had he waited so long after the end of Fascism to publish it? The usual response is that in Italy Freudian ideas appeared too indecent, not only to Mussolini but to the Church as well. Yet there was no shortage of Fascist psychoanalysts, as has been noted. For example, Ferruccio Banissoni, who underwent a purge trial and was also on excellent terms with Father Gemelli.[177] The further justification that Musatti pleaded in the first edition, and left in successive editions decades later, was always that in 1938 the "then racist policies just begun in Italy had made its publication virtually impossible

for all those years." The impossibility referred not to him, but to the book's subject, that is, psychoanalysis condemned by German racism as a "Jewish science." So "quite apart from any other consideration" (which he didn't specify), Musatti claimed that "in Italy it had been impossible to find a publisher willing to publish the book, with the risk of seeing it pulped before sale."[178]

Yet in 1945 Mondadori had printed the third edition of Bonaventura's *Psicoanalisi*. The author was clearly Jewish, and had published it with this famous publisher for the first time in the terrible year of 1938. Stocks ran out immediately, and it had to be reprinted. It had been welcomed by the most acclaimed Italian psychoanalyst: "It is the first time that a good summary of psycho-analysis [...] comes from the pen of an Italian psychologist who recognizes this science as a very important enquiry." Edoardo Weiss, another scholar who also emigrated because of the racial laws and who never returned from the United States, had gone on to praise the "director of the psychological laboratory of the University of Florence [...] generally esteemed as a serious psychologist" and in 1939 had publicized his book in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.[179] Weiss was well known for being very severe with his conationals, so that he would express serious doubts about Musatti as a psychoanalyst.[180]

Mondadori continued to print many copies of *Psicoanalisi*, even after the author's death.[181] The posthumous edition (1950), the same year as the second edition of the *Treatise*, was edited by Alberto Marzi, neither a promoter nor interested in psychoanalysis, who had limited himself to reprinting as a preface his speech commemorating the author. Cesare Musatti, who unlike Bonaventura and Weiss had never fled from Italy, did not consider his colleague's pioneering book at all. He did not even cite him; strange for someone who did so much to popularize psychoanalysis in Italy.

The chronological priority of the one work over the other would not be so important, were it not for the fact that, in the silence and the unconvincing "explanations," both then and later, not only the dates but also other issues were capsized. Musatti was never "excluded from publishing," contrary to what he liked to say. Even the memoirs of the "father" of Italian psychoanalysis, widely released to the press when he became famous, need to be verified for their lack of neutrality. The list of banned authors to which Italian editors had to stick to severely from September 30, 1938, included Enzo Bonaventura (Mondadori stopped printing him in this period) and his father Arnaldo, the musicologist; there were Ludovico Limentani and Arnaldo Momigliano all expelled from the Faculty of *Lettere* at the University of Florence.[182] The list was not confidential; on the contrary Minister Bottai wanted it to be well publicized, in the same way as the list of Jewish professors. In the lists of the "Authors whose works are unwelcome in Italy," in 1942, a great many others were added. There were Renata Calabresi and her brother Massimo, their friends and many other already mentioned scholars, for example, those who had recommended Bonaventura to the Hebrew University, from Cecil Roth to Federigo Enriques. Glancing through all these names, mostly Jews but also anti-Fascists—all undesirable, all banned reading—one is astonished. Who and what was left to represent culture in Italy?

Cesare Musatti's name, however, does not appear in these lists. Indeed he continued to publish, not a great deal but something relevant regarding where, what, and when. In 1943, under German occupation and the worst persecution, he published four thematic entries—"psychoanalysis" and "homosexuality" were the most thorny—for the *Dictionary of Criminology* edited by Eugenio Florian, Alfredo Niceforo, and Nicola Pende.[183] The latter was the endocrinologist who had signed the *Manifesto on race*, a dissenting but nevertheless racist convinced that "even a few Semites can pollute the life of a nation," as he exclaimed in his infamous speech in 1940. Musatti not only had been allowed to publish under the racial laws, but had not even made any bones about collaborating with the promoters of racist theories.

From 1948 on Bonaventura could not disprove the falsities that were uttered, and no one publicly did it for him. The reconstructions of the facts, full of contradictions, had not clarified, but instead obscured the reality both intentionally and unintentionally. They have also been revised, not once but several times, and had largely been accepted without too many questions being asked.

Historians have adopted the psychoanalytical notion of removal regarding the racial laws and the disturbing lack of protest and dissent in the Italian university community. Experiences that people do not want to talk about or to listen to are repressed and displaced, producing cover-up narratives of what is removed, as has occurred in a historiography that minimizes Italian Fascism. What emerges here is that these self-defensive narratives began very early and not undeliberately within the academic community itself. The oblivion, the inability to confront the past came later. Close to the facts, the covering up of suffering and responsibility were activated intentionally with further responsibilities and, once again, without provoking any unanimous, effective protests capable of preventing it.

Plate 1 Professors and students of the Faculty of Philosophy and Philology, ISS, Florence, June 1924. Seated in the middle is Francesco De Sarlo; at his left is Ludovico Limentani; and at his right is Enzo Bonaventura. The first on the right is Jacob Teicher. The photo was taken at the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence, and it is reproduced by kind permission of Anna Teicher.

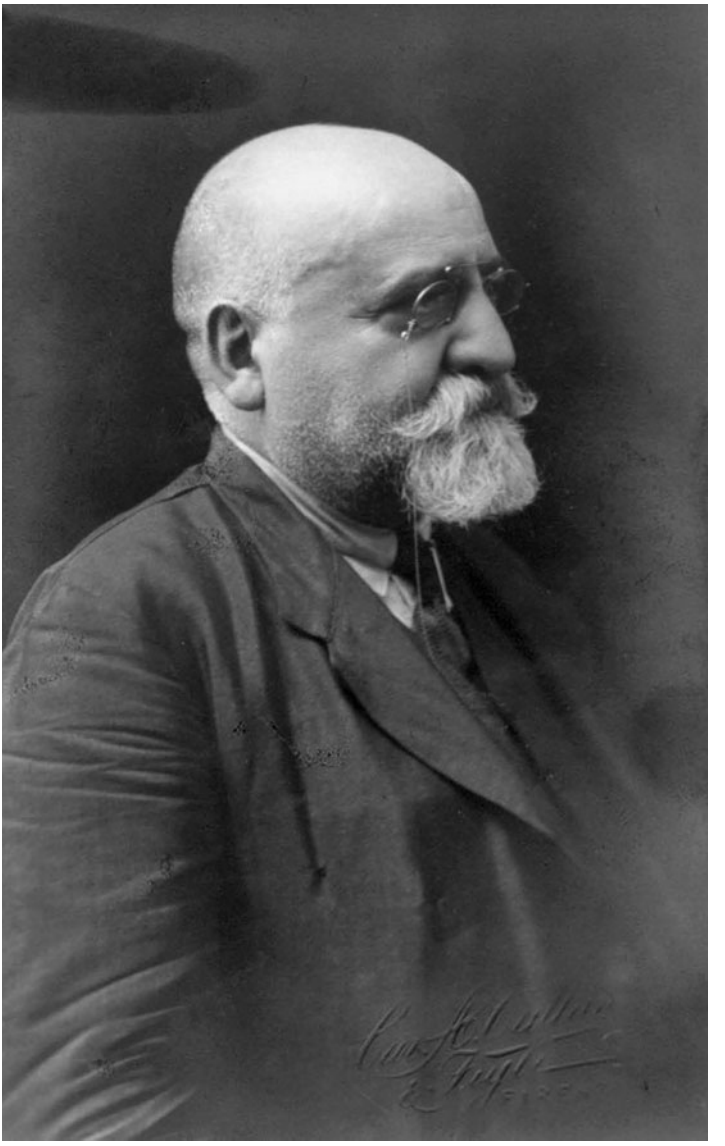


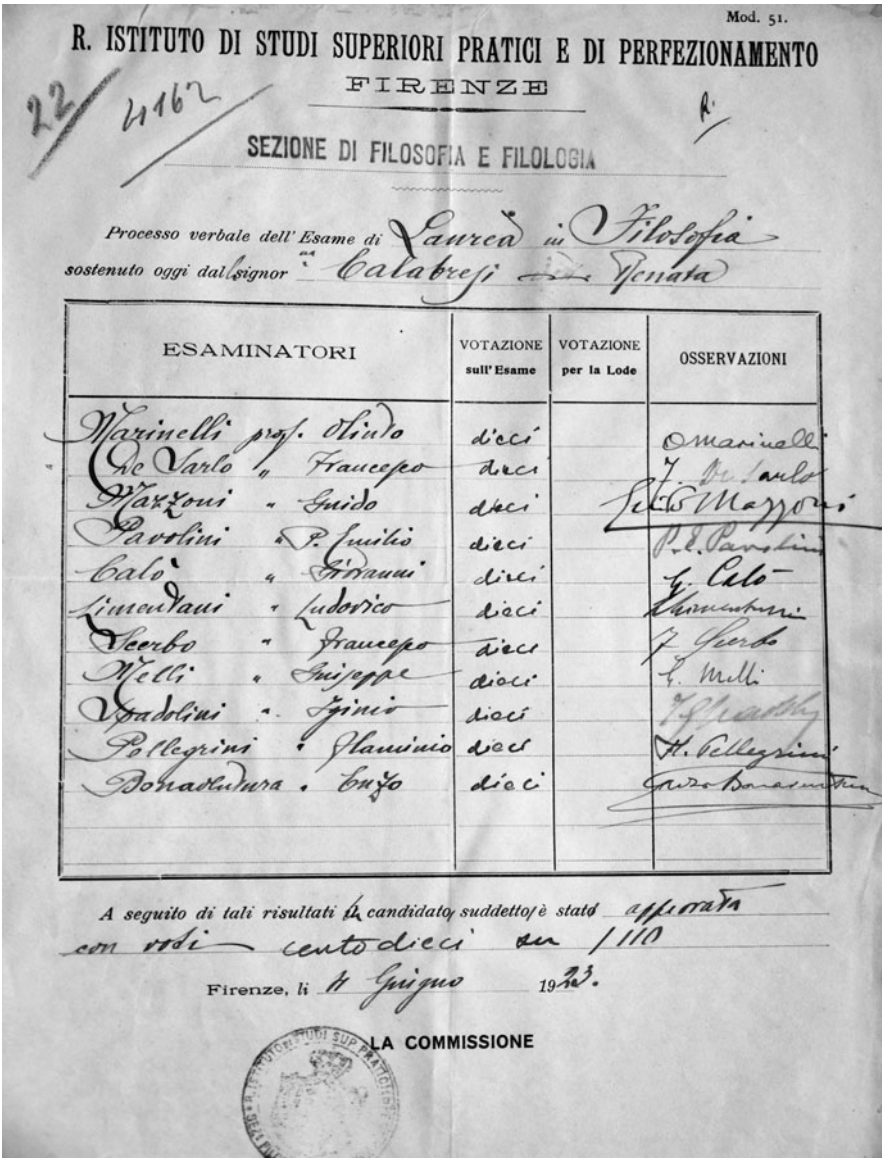
Plate 2 Francesco De Sarlo, ca. 1927, by kind permission of Francesco De Sarlo Jr.

Plate 3 Francesco De Sarlo and his son Luigi (Luino), Porta a Prato, Florence ca.1933, by kind permission of Francesco De Sarlo Jr.

Plate 4 Renata Calabresi, ca. 1939, by kind permission of Guido Calabresi.

Plate 5 Renata Calabresi (the first on the right) with her brother Massimo Calabresi and her sister-in-law Bianca Finzi Contini, New Haven, ca. 1940. From left to right, the children Paolo Calabresi and Guido (John) Tedeschi, Guido Calabresi and Luca Tedeschi. By kind permission of Guido Calabresi.

Plate 6 Renata Calabresi at her brother's house in New Haven, ca. 1940, by kind permission of Guido Calabresi.



Mod. 51.

R. ISTITUTO DI STUDI SUPERIORI PRATICI E DI PERFEZIONAMENTO

FIRENZE

SEZIONE DI FILOSOFIA E FILOLOGIA

22 4162

Processo verbale dell'Esame di Laurea in Filosofia

sostenuto oggi dal signor Calabresi Renata

ESAMINATORI	VOTAZIONE sull'Esame	VOTAZIONE per la Lode	OSSERVAZIONI
Marinelli prof. Olindo	dieci		Marinelli
De Varlo " Francesco	dieci		F. De Varlo
Marzoni " Guido	dieci		Guido Marzoni
Pavolini " P. Emilio	dieci		P. E. Pavolini
Calò " Giovanni	dieci		G. Calò
Limentani " Ludovico	dieci		Limentani
Scerbo " Francesco	dieci		F. Scerbo
Melli " Giuseppe	dieci		G. Melli
Bradolini " Ugo	dieci		U. Bradolini
Pellegrini " Flaminio	dieci		F. Pellegrini
Bonaventura " Enzo	dieci		Enzo Bonaventura

A seguito di tali risultati il candidato suddetto è stato approvato

con voti centodieci su 110

Firenze, li 11 Giugno 1923.

LA COMMISSIONE

Plate 7 *Laurea* certificate of Renata Calabresi, ISS, Philosophy and Philology, Florence 1923. After the racial laws, the Ministry of National Education even questioned whether she had ever graduated: here is the evidence. ASUF, SS, f. Calabresi R., by kind permission of the *Università degli studi di Firenze*.

5

The Anti-Fascist Network and Renata Calabresi: From Florence to Rome and New York

Irrelevant and Negligible

The census of Jewish academics ordered by the minister of national education Bottai, in a circular of August 9, 1938, was quite simple to carry out for tenured professors who were all state employees. But the more numerous and lower-status personnel were mainly dependent on the local budget of that university where they worked on a part-time or temporary basis, even for a decade or more: *assistenti ordinari* and *straordinari* (the latter sounds higher but is not), *aiuti* and *incaricati* (adjunct professors and instructors, temporary lecturers), *comandati* (on leave from their full position in a high school), or *assistenti volontari* (mainly unpaid assistants). Scholars who had passed a *concorso* to obtain the university teaching qualification of *liberi docenti* were formally attached to a university only if they really taught there on a temporary basis, which was the minority of the cases. Yet most did take part actively in research and teaching in order to keep their title.[1]

Between September and December 1938 the Ministry also sent various communications on personnel who were to be "relieved of their duties." Yet, despite the zeal, the data submitted by provosts were incomplete, and the criteria used not homogeneous. The attempts to reconstruct a precise picture of the university personnel affected by Fascist racial measures thus remain approximate by default, i.e., appear fewer than in reality, particularly as regards temporary positions. In addition to at least 97 tenured professors, there were 133 *aiuti* and *assistenti*, 42 of whom were *liberi docenti* who were over 200 in total. All had their qualification invalidated by a ministerial decree of March 14, 1939, which declared them *decaduti* (dispensed) retrospectively from December 14, 1938, and their temporary appointments remained unconfirmed or expired.

A notice of February 3, 1939 stated, "I inform you that following the legislative measures in defense of the race, you have not been confirmed in the position of voluntary assistant at the Institute of Experimental Psychology for the academic

year 1938/39. I have therefore arranged for your termination from the aforesaid position as of 29 October 1938–XVII."[2] It was a typewritten copy, corrected by hand, not registered, with the sole address "Calabresi Renata, Rome," and kept in her folder at the university where she had taught and carried out research for eight years. In the census of Jewish personnel the provosts of Rome and Florence too had not provided any information on voluntary assistants, who have been recently numbered about 14 and 15 respectively.[3] An official notification to them of their dispensation was not even necessarily contemplated.

In short, it is very difficult to reconstruct a complete picture for untenured scholars, at least as regards their home university and disciplines. In one of the many lists of displaced Jewish scholars looking for a job, "Renata Calabrese" [*sic*] was cited as a "naturalist" expelled from Bologna,[4] where instead she had been an undergraduate student in *Lettere e Filosofia* for just two years. A recent database on Italian women scientists, that does not include psychologists, adds her to the medical graduates, although she graduated in philosophy, with four other women academics of scientific disciplines, all expelled from the University of Florence. Of these four only one actually worked there, the state-employed *aiuto* in chemistry Clara Di Capua Bergamini. The other three had graduated in Florence but worked elsewhere: Pierina Scaramella was an *aiuto* in botany in Bologna, Enrica Calabresi, a *libera docente* in zoology who had left in 1932 and seems to have had a job in Pisa or perhaps already taught in a high school; and the *assistente volontaria* Renata Calabresi—no relation to Enrica—was in Rome at the Institute of Experimental Psychology.[5] In Florence instead the expelled voluntary Jewish assistants were Eugenia Jona in medical pathology and Lea Oberdorfer in economic statistics; in Rome in addition to Renata Calabresi we find the voluntary assistant Maria Rossi (and we do not know her discipline).

When it came to women academics—fewer, less well-known and less sought after irrespective of their merit—their paths appear even more elusive, in Italy and elsewhere. Does this mean that they were negligible? Was the dismissal of all Jewish scholars irrelevant for science in general, as Hitler and Mussolini claimed? The strategy was to play things down, and to assert that Italian science was almost totally "created by scientists of *razza italica*"; hence the elimination of some Jews "experts" would not mean a loss of quality, and the decrease would be negligible as any dismissed academic would be immediately replaced.

On the contrary, "their loss will be a serious blow for the biological sciences in Italy," observed a concerned Robert Lambert at the Rockefeller Foundation, referring to some Jewish Italian professors that he knew: Giuseppe Levi, Bruno Rossi, Ugo Lombroso, Mario Camis, Tullio Terni, among others. The European office had informed him of the long list of the dismissed, which had appeared in *Vita Universitaria* on October 5, 1938. He had telephoned and then written to the assistant secretary of the Emergency Committee in the Aid of Displaced German Scholars, who registered the names and inserted a copy of his letter in Levi's and the others' folders.[6]

The Committee, set up in 1933 in New York to help German academics fleeing Nazism collected around 6,000 applications and recommendations from all over Europe. In the space of 12 years it helped 335 displaced scholars. These were

financed indirectly for a period by grants to the institutions interested in recruiting them on conditions that were certainly advantageous. The Aid Program of the Rockefeller Foundation, for example, assisted 191 Germans, 30 Austrians, 36 French, and 12 Italians.[7] The largest group were always German, whereas most of the scholars fleeing from other countries did not contact the New York Committee, not even the Austrians who were normally the second largest group in terms of numbers.[8] And what about the Italians, or rather the wave of Jews from Italy who arrived later, even after the first group of political refugees? Things were more difficult for them than for German intellectuals, and not only because the offers of work had slumped after 1933. It was worse for Jews than for political refugees, for women than for men. Stereotypes count, on both sides, even for those with the best intentions.[9]

In October 1938 the secretary of the Emergency Committee asked herself what she should do with the Italians whose first requests arrived on her table. Miss Drury was not sure of EC policy for them, as though there should be a special one. She justified her odd question with the fact that until then she had not assisted scholars from Italy, and in any case saw no chance to do so in her country.[10] Naturally, many intellectuals who emigrated from Italy left no trace in the lists of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars (ECADFS; it was renamed to include non-German foreigners). To judge from the Italian surnames and names, there were around 130 scholars registered, of whom 23 were women, some married to applying academics. This is without counting Italian Jews with non-Italian names and non-Italian Jews who had recently fled to Italy. We also find records of former students of the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia* in Florence: the Galicians David Diringer and Jakob Teicher (the latter had enrolled in the *Perfezionamento* in psychology), graduated in 1927 and 1928, respectively, and both emigrated to England; the Russian Alexander Haim Pekelis graduated in law in 1924 and settled in New York.[11]

Among the many applicants for assistance from Italy, only seven are in the lists of EC grantees, against around 120 nongrantees. These two lists and the respective classification of the names recorded by the Committee raised doubts and queries. The effort of keeping up to date was enormous. The placements were provisional and could change. They could be anywhere, even far from the United States. The temporary financing came from several different bodies. Were the scholars who had not kept in contact settled or did they give up? Had the few grantees always received financial help from the ECADFS? This was not the case for Bonaventura, for example. For Renata Calabresi financial support was provided only after some years and for a period much shorter than requested. Sometimes the grantees also had their names registered by other organizations, such as the SPSL or the RF; therefore the numbers cannot be added up without checking the names. Not all the nongrantees necessarily gave up the idea of leaving Italy or left without any support. They found other options in the United States, as, for example, Paolo Contini, Nino Levi, and Max Ascoli, who registered at the ECADFS. Looking at the long list of nongrantees leaves us speechless; there were European scholars of great distinction and reputation whose search for a job was disregarded by the New York organization. Evidently excellence was

not enough. Many factors could affect individual outcomes. The cases should be investigated one by one, to identify possible features of the Italian group as has been done for other national groups.[12]

Given the low numbers, Italian culture in America had produced very good results, not just for the Nobel Prizes obtained by scholars of Italian origin in the United States, but for having made a contribution to the training of talented scholars in various fields: economics by Franco Modigliani, who emigrated in 1939; molecular biology by other future Nobel Prize winners from the school of Giuseppe Levi; and comparative literature with scholars of the first and second wave of emigration.[13] This is an a posteriori evaluation. Both the very young Modigliani and the already well-known Levi appear among the nongrantees in the New York offices, as was Enrico Fermi who won the Nobel in December 1938 two weeks before setting sail for New York with his Jewish wife.

No particular recognition emerges from the EC classification. The seriousness of the losses for Italian science in some fields of recognized excellence, physics being the best-known case, did not automatically translate into a gain for America. The brain drain is not simply a question of transfer. Of those seven Italian grantees, Bruno Rossi and Luigi Jacchia, physicists, went to MIT and Harvard. the physicist Giulio Racach, the Hebrew scholar Umberto Cassuto, and Enzo Bonaventura emigrated to Jerusalem. The sculptor Dario Viterbo and Renata Calabresi settled in New York. A common denominator in all this diversity is that they had all trained in Florence at some point, even the grantee jurist Alexander Pekelis, born in Odessa. Therefore in the ECADFS lists the "lucky" Italians were two physicists, an astrophysicist, a Hebrew scholar, a sculptor, and two psychologists one of whom was a woman. The latter were quite surprising, given her and even his academic marginalization and the unimportance of their discipline in Italy, impoverished as it had been by nearly 20 years of Fascism.

With the advent of the racial laws, in all the Italian universities psychology had only one full state professor, in Rome, four or five temporary lecturers or assistants where the chair had disappeared, two of them expelled, in Florence and Padua, but just one for belonging to the "Jewish race." Finally, there were the various *liberi docenti*, unpaid assistants, technicians, and an unspecified number of experts of weak professional identity whose outcomes remain unclear. It was no longer a question of the interminable controversy over the status of psychology, and its academic location between medicine and philosophy, between human sciences and natural sciences. Its uncertain identity was worsened by the fascistization of the discipline. Not only because it was theoretically declassed from science to *tecnica*, but also because of its practices, among which those for recruitment, and also because its applications had to be useful for the regime.

In an environment inclined to remember little, and that badly, the conclusion that the losses caused by the racial laws were irrelevant for psychology is rash, to say the least, even aside from the exceptional case of Renata Calabresi, the only woman scholar from Italy to receive a grant from the ECADFS of New York. Her case has remained in the shadows even more than that of Bonaventura. If they are ever mentioned, it is with serious distortions: we have seen what took place in the case of Bonaventura; and Renata is even attributed with having been a Fascist,

against all evidence and on the basis of hearsay. This speaks volumes about the behaviors and reactions of the environment.

As was pointed out to the provost of the University of Rome in 1931, at the Institute of Psychology there was "only" a voluntary assistant, a certain Giuseppe Boriani.[14] Who was he? An army general, with experience in forestry and agriculture, he had retired in 1926 but was still part of the reserve army. It was perhaps unimportant that he had neither scientific connections nor publications in psychology; vice versa, the discipline had to show its closer contact with the regime and its military leadership. Therefore the general and *gran fascista* who became senator in 1939, thanks to a proposal by the PNF secretary, might prove useful.

Yet a real scholar of psychology would certainly be welcome. Renata Calabresi was trained in the first prestigious experimental institute in Italy and had an excellent curriculum and distinguished scientific publications. She was made voluntary assistant for the academic year 1930/31 in Rome and was "confirmed in that role for all successive academic years until October 28, 1938."

Why not longer? Her certificate of service, dated December 20, 1938, did not specify, but in pencil someone wrote and underlined *cessato* (cesead) and in smaller writing "Jew."[15] On February 13, 1939, Renata declared that she belonged to the "Jewish race." Although she never attended the synagogue, even in Florence, she did not repudiate her origins.[16] Several days before she had begun to send out her curriculum. "Owing to my belonging to the Jewish race I have been recently obliged to discontinue my activity in Italy," which was dedicated to psychology, she explained on February 4th in a letter to the director of the International Education Institute in New York, who was the secretary later chairman of the ECADFS. "I very much wish there were something we could do to assist you," replied the very courteous Miss Betty Drury on behalf of Stephan Duggan.[17] But she did not give her much hope.

Leaving Italy seemed the best thing to do. The prospects of a career in her discipline, which were already meager, especially for a woman, disappeared altogether with the 1938 law for those "of the Jewish race" while the opportunities would unjustly increase for others. At the age of 40 Renata Calabresi had no children, was unmarried, and was not yet professionally established but aware that she deserved recognition more than others. She had lost her job and was ready to cross the Atlantic to find one and to be free of Fascism. She had no shortage of connections, resources, and determination. Her brother Massimo had already decided to embark before the University of Milan, where he was an *aiuto* in the medical clinic, expelled him, along with another five colleagues in the same position.[18] He hoped to find a job at Yale, even a temporary position. The racial laws forced him to speed up his plans: instead of going alone and for a few months, he decided to move together with his wife Bianca Finzi Contini and their children Guido and Paolo, aged six and eight.

The idea of simply following her brother, or worse, of being dependent on him, I believe never crossed Renata's mind. They were very close, but each had his or her own life and own work. It would always be so. There was, if anything, a question of what their sister Cecilia would do. She lived with their mother Olga in Florence, while at the Registry Office Renata appeared as "emigrated to Rome"

from January 14, 1938, a few months after their father's death.[19] All three women could have left together. The Calabresi family was used to traveling; the father had continually traveled for his business in textiles and trade. He had also wanted his daughters to learn French, English, and German (which Cecilia spoke very well). They had all circulated widely in Europe. Not yet in America, where they had friends and had long wished to visit. Indeed in 1938 Renata "was supposed to attend [a] conference in Washington last fall as a delegate."[20]

Leaving was part and parcel of her own biography. In their high bourgeois circle, going to other places and getting to know other environments, exchanging ideas, and contacts were experiences that the children had grown up with, encouraged by their parents. Renata Calabresi had left home at 18, to study in Bologna instead of going to university in her own city of Ferrara. She was the eldest and when she had chosen to continue her studies in Florence in 1920, she had been the one who opened the way for her sister and brother. He was the youngest and had been the last to graduate in July 1926, but obviously the first to move. In December Massimo had been appointed assistant of human anatomy by Prof. Giulio Chiarugi in Florence; in 1927 he had begun again as an unpaid assistant of pathology in Milan, hoping to have better chances there.[21] Renata instead had stayed for several years living with her parents, who had reached them in Florence, but in 1931 she had moved to Rome where she had stayed in a small hotel and worked at the Institute of Experimental Psychology. In 1934 her sister Cecilia had joined her, doing research at the Italian Institute for German Studies.[22]

It would be simplistic to explain life choices in terms of a single dimension, especially when there are no diaries or private papers to provide specific personal information. Yet Renata's work was certainly very important for her and from this perspective she had little reason to stay in Florence, although she considered it her home, the city of her youth, and where she would return as would her nephews every year. But after eight years, Rome proved to be only a waystation for her, before leaving for America. For months she put all her energy into the objective that she had set herself, knocking on doors, and trying different strategies. In order to present herself better, she had a pamphlet printed in English, *Scientific and Didactic Activities of Dr. Renata Calabresi*. She immediately sent a copy to Miss Drury, and not only to her.[23]

Between March and May 1939 the ECADFS opened a file in her name and one with a curriculum and two letters of reference for her sister Cecilia, who had graduated with honors in philology in March 1925 at the University of Florence, and was an expert in Romance and German languages. "She is a cousin of Renata, who is on that psychologists list": whoever sorted the information could be confused by so many foreign names especially when the information was provided by someone else as in this case.[24] Cecilia could not be placed; she did not have the necessary requirements. She had done research in Heidelberg, had published a translation, but did not hold either a *libera docenza* or even a temporary academic position. She would remain in Italy with her mother Olga, using false documents and names.

The archives of the ECADFS did not contain a file for Massimo Calabresi. He used other channels to emigrate to the United States in August 1939. This

was primarily thanks to Giuseppe Levi, who always encouraged young people to go to America and was, in the words of his daughter Natalia Ginzburg, a great admirer of the Rockefeller Foundation. Renata and Cecilia's younger brother had the help of friends, naturally, and even a rich businessman who knew his father and whose wife offered Massimo and Bianca a generous loan when newly arrived in New York with their two small children.[25]

In the overwhelming majority of cases, writing to organizations that assisted displaced scholars and applying to institutions was not enough. Publications and academic qualifications certainly counted, as did a knowledge of English. But whoever planned to emigrate had to rely on their own network of family and friend-based contacts, which did not always produce similar results even within the same family. The two main migratory paths for displaced scholars were the foreign brain gain programs and personal networks. These functioned better interwoven than separately. The chances of building a new future depended a great deal on what one had already done, previous professional experience, connections, and family and social background. Naturally age and gender counted too, as did certain character traits, including a strong ability to adapt.

From Which Environment: Professors, Parents, and Friends

Let us have a look at the path taken by the psychologist Renata Calabresi before her decision to emigrate. Which connections would turn out to be significant, which could be used when needed, and which friendships would provide solidarity and help her in various ways?

Her dissertation on *Determining the psychic present* presented experiments carried out in the laboratories of the Florentine institute, and offered a theoretical reflection on experimental methods and on introspection. It was so original that Professor De Sarlo invited her to give a paper at the national conference of the *Società Italiana di Psicologia*, of which he was president, in Florence on October 1923.[26] Moreover, De Sarlo himself requested that it be published in the prestigious series of the Faculty of the ISS, subsequently University of Florence. He intervened especially for her at the council assembly, which proved to be the last he attended. Afterward he never again set foot there out of protest.[27]

The unjust expulsion of her *maestro* from teaching psychology, imposed by the Minister Gentile, was a loss for everyone, especially for young students aspiring to an university career and who needed an influential supporter. Enzo Bonaventura worked ceaselessly to run the institute in the place of its founder; he knew the instrumentation well and had many interests. But things were not the same with him, just eight years older than her and no academic influence. Fortunately Professor De Sarlo continued to hold his course of philosophy; at least until they allowed him to, seeing that they suspended him for his anti-Fascism after his courageous speech on freedom at the Milan congress in 1926.

To make matters worse, that year the ministry proclaimed that women could not teach humanities in high schools. Philosophy was banned for them since it was a masculine discipline. Gentile had been saying this for a long time: being

without "vigorous originality of thought [...], without a spiritual vigor of steel" and other exclusively male intellectual and moral qualities, from 1928 women were no longer admitted to his *Scuola Normale Superiore* in Pisa.[28] In Florence, Renata had enrolled for a *Perfezionamento* in philosophy six months after having graduated, but she had found herself teaching in lower level schools, that is, private schools and adult evening classes.[29] The same applied to Cecilia. In the meantime both continued to develop their talent in their respective fields of research, as they had been trained to do by their upbringing.

In their environment even women of the elder generation took an active part in cultural life. When the young sisters had moved to Florence they had found the ADDI, *Associazione divulgatrice donne italiane*, set up in 1917 by Amelia Rosselli, Olga Monsani, and the prolific author Gina Lombroso Ferrero. Its aim was to "induce Italian women to take part in the scientific, social, political, philosophical development of the country." Carlo and Nello Rosselli's mother had also been one of the first members of the Lyceum in Florence. This was a cosmopolitan circle for the promotion of women's culture, based on the London Lyceum to which it was affiliated together with the ones in Paris and Berlin. Amelia published with the best Florentine printers, translated, and wrote for the theater.

Renata had even been convinced to act in a Spanish play with the Rosselli brothers, Maria D'Ancona of her same faculty, and Maria's future husband Gualtiero Cividalli.[30] They were all students and friends, among the first that she had made when she arrived, and would remain friends for life, well beyond their years together in Florence. The pension where Renata and Cecilia lodged was three minutes from the much frequented house in via Giusti where *Signora* Amelia and her sons moved in July 1920.[31] The girls passed it every day on their way to class. In the square where the two lived was the *Biblioteca Filosofica* where Carlo and Nello as well went to study or to attend lectures. It was probably Alessandro Levi, the oldest cousin of the Rossellis, who introduced them. The Calabresis knew him from Ferrara as professor of philosophy of law with whom their friend Max Ascoli had graduated—Max also frequented the Rossellis; and naturally they all knew Ludovico Limentani from high school and then at the ISS. Leo Ferrero, the eldest son of Gina Lombroso and the historian Guglielmo, was also enrolled in the same faculty as Renata and Cecilia. The Ferreros were another family of friends who had moved to Florence, in viale Machiavelli, some years before the Calabresis and Rossellis. The parents were of the same generation as were the children, all linked by shared interests, affection, and ideas.

Leo and Massimo were both born in 1903, some years after Carlo Rosselli and Gualtiero Cividalli in 1899. Nello was born in 1900, Tommaso "Maso," son of Prof. Felice Ramorino at the Faculty of *Lettere*, in 1898 like Max Ascoli. The girls, sisters and fiancées, were somewhat younger. Renata was the eldest and the same age as Carlo, followed by Cecilia in 1902; Maria Todesco, Nello's fiancée, in 1905; and Leo's younger sister Nina in 1910.[32]

This all meant that when Renata had moved to Florence at the age of 20 in 1919 "and with her Cecilia and the year after Massimo, followed by their parents," they could all could count on a reliable network of connections and friends, two generations of the wealthy and cultured Jewish bourgeoisie—intellectuals,

nonobservant, sometimes related, and in any case mutually supportive. It was an open environment, with contact with foreigners, where everyone discussed culture and politics, even when it could no longer be done so freely.

Within a few years began the "meticulous hostility or [...] open persecution which the regime reserved for independent intellectuals," like their parents and the professors they had chosen. It is not surprising that together they attended the lectures of certain professors—Salvemini was well known by students of all faculties—and organized lectures at the *Circolo di Cultura* where nonacademic scholars like Ferrero and his wife gave talks alongside academics (until the Fascists destroyed it on December 31, 1924). This was where Carlo and Marion Cave had met and fallen in love. She was three years his senior and worked at the British Institute and the university, the daughter of a Labour Party sympathizer, the miss who gave English lessons to Salvemini, and who typed the articles printed in *Non mollare!* that Renata and Cecilia Calabresi with other young women took risks to distribute.

A *Diary of a Privileged under Fascism*, kept in 1926/27 by the 24-year-old Leo Ferrero and published 20 years later by his mother, contains precious material to understand with what eyes young people like him, brought up with certain principles, looked on what was happening. Shocked when faced with the cowardice of neighbors and servants, of some so-called friends, of certain incoherent professors, these young people watched a growing "moral deficiency of the Italians [...] so that the universal meekness to the abuse of power isolates the rare opponents in a Torricellian vacuum and makes them an easy target of power."[33] In addition to the dramatic persecutions, it was in ordinary life, in places frequented daily, that they felt "literally closed in a barbed wire cage" from which they tried to escape or resist. Each in his own way, according to character and age, had grown up as anti-Fascists among adults who had passed a good part of their lives without dictatorship and who made no secret of their dissention, above all moral, from the regime.

In these families, culture, finance, and entrepreneurship were intertwined: the Calabresis in the textile industry, the Ascolis in the coalmines, the Nathan Levis and the Rossellis in mercury mines. Amelia Pincherle Moravia, married Rosselli, found herself and her sons heir to a huge fortune; it was this that helped finance Carlo and Nello's initiatives against the regime, and helped friends who fled abroad, particularly Gaetano Salvemini, who was stripped of his citizenship, had his goods confiscated, but kept a precise account of the loans received in order to repay them.[34] The Fascist authority that intimidated "subversive" intellectuals, threatening to suspend them from work for "incompatibility," or refusing to issue documents and passports, also boycotted anti-Fascist businessmen by denying them export licenses, discouraging other companies from doing business with them, and generally isolating them.

Ettore Calabresi, born in 1870—the same age as Amelia Rosselli—and resided in Florence since 1921, had been "expelled from the *Circolo of industriali e commercianti* of Ferrara," his city, for anti-Italian behavior. He was under surveillance. The police in Florence had searched his home, and seized papers dealing with the *Grande Oriente* from 1921 to 1925 and his "private correspondence,"

that was "of no particular interest apart from confirming his aversion to the government and to Fascism." The Ferrara police had arrested him, "because well known as a leading exponent of the Masons of *Palazzo Giustiniani* and as an indomitable, brilliant, but imprudent opponent of Fascism and of the national government, this was on the one hand an opportunity to avoid possible incidents of order public and on the other to investigate into his activities."[35]

He was released several days later on December 11, 1926, and sent back to Florence with an expulsion order. They were considering whether to subject him to "exile or warnings," and in the meantime they kept his anti-Fascist and freemason activity under surveillance, finding "his feelings unchanged," even after the law against freemasonry had passed the previous year, on December 26, 1925. He had joined in 1898 with the office of grand master of the lodge Girolamo Savonarola, "*de vizi e dei tiranni flagellatore*" (chastiser of vice and tyrants); Ettore Calabresi had now reached the thirty-third and highest rank in the hierarchy of the *Grande Oriente d'Italia* of *Palazzo Giustiniani*, which had around 20,000 affiliates. From 1923 there had been an increasingly dramatic split between the freemasonry of *Piazza del Gesù*, which sided with Mussolini, and the *Grande Oriente*, which had condemned the assassination of Matteotti (killed by a mason who had moved to the *Gran Loggia d'Italia*). Some of the better-known members of the latter had signed Croce's *Manifesto*, and taken part in the opposition on the Aventino led by the giustinianeo Giovanni Amendola.

The persecution of freemasons reached a peak in Florence, where the "the motto of the Florentine *fascio* [was to] strike masons physically, their goods, and all their interests." This proclamation appeared in *Battaglie fasciste*, which urged "all possible means: from the truncheon to the revolver, from smashed windows to purifying fire. Life must be made impossible for masons." In the terrible night of Saint Bartholomew on October 3, 1925, the victims included the lawyer Gustavo Consolo that the Fascist paper had pointed out as an activist on Salvemini's and the Rossellis' *Non mollare!*[36] There was no shortage of spies, as they well knew. Any incautious action was highly risky; and the elder generation lived with bated breath on behalf of children and pupils and vice versa. The Calabresi household was no exception.

When the police searched their house, they also seized membership card No. 41 issued to Ettore Calabresi by the Provincial Committee in Florence of the *Unione nazionale delle forze liberali e democratiche*. Renata's father had joined in 1925, the year in which Amendola had been physically attacked in Tuscany and which led to his death later in France.[37] Among the young people Nello Rosselli and Marion Cave had also joined the *Unione*, as had Leo's father born in 1871 near Naples, but whose family and wife were from Turin. A file in the name of Guglielmo Ferrero was opened at the Central Political Records Office (CPC) from 1894, exactly as for Salvemini. During the period of Crispi's repression of the socialists, Ferrero had been tried in Turin, and with Claudio Treves, Alessandro Levi's brother-in-law, he had been sentenced to house arrest. An early opponent of Fascism, of the alleged normalization of which he had never had any illusions, in summer 1923 he had been expelled from the Milanese newspaper where he had worked for over 25 years, and had been threatened with internal exile, cautioned, his passport confiscated, and placed under constant police surveillance.[38]

Of Ettore Calabresi it was said that "he is not a prudent person and misses no opportunity to complain about the political situation." His children knew what he was like, and perhaps Massimo resembled him. Leo had a "filial rebellion" against Fascism, seeing the resolute protests of his own father for the rights not just of anti-Fascist, but of a-Fascist, Italians, injured by a government that Guglielmo Ferrero had always considered illegitimate. His son noted the growing difficulties in their lives: *carabinieri* everywhere, even in the garden; the post arrived opened or did not arrive at all; they feared Fascist gangs; there was his father's hurried escape one night; and being forced to give up the opportunity to give lectures in the United States and Mussolini's warnings. They were evicted from their home in Florence whose owner, the musician Alberto Franchetti, threatened to denounce them, in spring 1927 they took a villa in Chianti, where the cook spied for the Fascists; the prefect was hot on their heels because Ferrero demanded passports at least for the 17-year-old Nina and 24-year-old Leo.

> *Papà* began to shout [...]. The truth is that I want my children to go abroad in order not to witness the abominable way in which the present government treats me and with me all honest and intelligent Italians. I want them to go abroad to avoid becoming imbeciles as you want to reduce all Italians. Has paternal authority been abolished? Tell your boss that it is I who want my children to go abroad and that they will, with or without a passport.[39]

They felt increasingly isolated and things went no better for the others. Leo's comment before graduating in January 1927 was: "making a quick calculation, few of my friends have not been to prison."[40] At the university he had by chance escaped the violence of the Fascists who had targeted some students. It was Massimo Calabresi with Bruno Pincherle who got the worst of it, in 1925, at the inauguration of the University of Florence. The details were reported in *Non mollare!*, in which both of them were involved.[41]

Massimo was always in the thick of things. He had joined Matteotti's *Partito socialista unitario* in 1924, signing a document drafted by Salvemini, which recognized the need for struggle; he had joined "*Italia Libera*" led in Florence by a *libero docente* in anatomy, where every "combatant" had the "duty to claim at every occasion, at the cost of any sacrifice, his own dignity and responsibility as a free citizen, and to contribute with all his energy to restore a regime of freedom and justice for the entire country." The headquarters was the Rosselli's home, where a concerned *Signora* Amelia saw "her two sons involved in increasingly dangerous activity."[42] Massimo had ended up in prison for a few days in June 1925, and in good company: Bruno Pincherle from Trieste, his fellow student Carlo Rosselli, Dr. Gaetano Pieraccini, and Prof. Alessandro Levi who recalling the episode in 1947 would praise the two students in medicine, later doctors "very capable and of constant and firm beliefs."[43]

The group also included some women, but they were not much mentioned even by their companions. The sisters Renata and Cecilia were taken to the police station for having paid homage to Matteotti on the anniversary of his assassination, but were kept only for a few hours.[44] At the time Salvemini was already in

prison in Rome, awaiting the Florentine trial for *Non mollare!*, which they all attended in July.

"To our dear professor, very warm greetings from this frozen [mountain] pass": Salvemini who had escaped to France kept their postcard with the snowy mountains, dated August 20, 1925. It was from all three of them "and also from father E. Calabresi." The handwriting was Renata's (although attributed to Massimo in the inventory of papers), who signed for her brother and sister.[45] They knew the exact address in Abbaye de Pontigny where Salvemini was living, and certainly received news of him, directly or through common friends. But when and where would they see him again?

Leaving Florence: A Delusion

After seven difficult years, Renata had almost lost all hope. Every now and then the faculty had reminded the publisher of the terms of the book contract, but even the manuscripts of the Profs Aldo Neppi Modona and Limentani were seriously behind schedule. Renata's book slipped to the last of the series. This was despite the fact that in 1924 the dean Felice Ramorino, the father of their friend Tommaso, had ordered the publisher to proceed swiftly; regardless of the fact that they had confirmed her contract in 1926, and the fact that in 1929 the Dean Guido Mazzoni had confirmed the six months' time-limit agreed on with Prof. Umberto Cassuto. The delegate of the university library complained that the continual delays "hindered the [authors'] careers as teachers and scholars." Paolo Lamanna cited precisely the case of Renata Calabresi, his father-in-law's pupil, and communicated the decision to break the contract with the publisher Bemporad, whose problems would soon increase as a Jew (as his authors cited earlier), and being a Fascist and "exempted" (*discriminato*) was of little help.[46]

In summer 1930 Renata finally had the book in her hands. At the end of August she sent a note to Sig. Padovano from Courmayeur where she was on holiday. She thanked him, and sent her greetings to *Signora* Ada, his wife and the sister of Enrico Bemporad, on behalf of her parents. She then mentioned that for her list of Italian and foreign journals and scholars to whom to send a review copy, she had asked Professor Bonaventura for advice. Was she satisfied? Yes. Therefore she had to buy at least 25 copies, in addition to the 100 paid for by the university, since the book was "of a purely scientific nature [...for] a very limited number of scholars." She proposed a discount, since "without any form of professional income, I find the purchase onerous for me." The rather abrupt reply was: "It is pointless, and do not insist."[47]

There was, however, another piece of good news: after 25 years the ministry had finally announced a national university *concorso* for psychology. Bonaventura naturally applied. If he won he would have had the chair, and after seven years Florence would have again had a tenured professor of psychology. It would also have been possible to reestablish the *libera docenza*, which Renata had not yet taken. The discipline would have some chance to develop and she would have better prospects now that her book was published.

But it did not pan out that way. Bonaventura came second out of three qualified candidates, but he was not appointed either in Florence or elsewhere. Meantime, in December 1930 the faculty had accepted his request for a voluntary assistant of experimental psychology. Since Bonaventura did not belong to the faculty council, it was Lamanna who made a formal proposal on his behalf in April 1930: Alberto Marzi was nominated on November 1. He had just graduated on November 29, 1929, and when proposed as assistant he did not even have a *Perfezionamento* in psychology (taken on June 29, 1930), had not published anything, or taken part in any scientific congress.[48] He was a Florentine born in 1907, the only son of a widowed mother, and thus exempted from military service; his father Dimitri Marzi, superintendent of the State Archive in Florence, had died in 1920. His uncle Eliseo Marzi was a well-placed journalist and the director of *Firenze. Rassegna mensile del Comune*. He wrote about various matters, for example, *Fascism for the Race*, and welcomed contributions by the secretary of the Florentine *fascio* Alessandro Pavolini, son of a professor of *Lettere*. His collaborators included the librarian and musicologist Arnaldo Bonaventura, who was also a Fascist and the father of his nephew Alberto's professor of psychology, who from 1938 would have to sign his articles in the newspaper *La Nazione* with a pseudonym.[49] In these years, Enzo Bonaventura was not yet a member of the PNF. He joined in October 1932 before it became compulsory for all members of the public administration. Alberto Marzi had taken out membership even earlier, as a student in June 1928.[50]

Renata Calabresi had no reason to see him often or to know him well. They belonged to very different worlds. Marzi was eight years her junior, had enrolled in *Lettere* after she had graduated in philosophy; and had never been De Sarlo's pupil. She obviously heard that he had become Bonaventura's assistant in late 1930. It was probably at this point that she realized it was time to move on. If she wanted to continue doing research, in Florence the prospects were almost zero. There was also an increasingly oppressive sense of isolation.

Now no longer students, all the friends had gone their separate ways. Her brother was working as an assistant to Domenico Cesa Bianchi (whose son would become a psychologist)[51] in Milan, where Carlo Rosselli had been assistant to Luigi Einaudi for a couple of years, before ending up again in prison and exile. In spring 1929 Massimo and Bianca had married in Bologna, where her parents Finzi Contini lived. That summer Carlo had made a daring escape from Lipari, but his wife Marion had been arrested in Aosta. Salvemini had unleashed a campaign in the English press to have her released.[52] Nello had been arrested too and taken to Palermo, in the islands of Ustica—where he had already been exiled until January 1928, and then of Ponza. His wife Maria followed him as much as possible: in Rome, where their first daughter was born in the summer of 1928, then Turin, and again Florence, where their second daughter Paola was born in November 1929. For most of the year the Rossellis stayed outside the city at *villa L'Apparita*, while in 1930 the parents of Leo Ferrero had moved from the *villa* in Chianti to Geneva. The *Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales* had offered Guglielmo Ferrero a lectureship in history (Mussolini was finally convinced to give him a passport), and Gina Lombroso had managed to join her husband

thanks to the intervention of the king of Belgium.[53] Leo had gone to England with his sister in 1927, then Rome, and finally Paris for three years but was not yet financially autonomous with his literary activity.[54] They also saw less of Max. He had married; tried to enter an university career by accepting posts in rather out-of-the-way places (Camerino and Cagliari in Sardinia), but had not managed to find a job in Rome where he had passed his *libera docenza* in 1928. Had he "gone into his shell?" Carlo Rosselli from Paris, now completely dedicated to politics, rebuked his friend and others for doing this. Max Ascoli replied in kind that "voluntary exile" was useless, and in the meantime he was trying to recover from a blow to the family's finances; perhaps he would go abroad.[55]

Renata had waited too long. She had even stopped publishing in 1926; but now that her book was finally in print she had to start something new. Bonaventura had preferred a more recent graduate to her, a man of course, and without qualifications. It was a bitter delusion, but it helped to get her moving. Two months later she too became a voluntary assistant and began publishing apace. Not any longer in Florence, but in Rome. In the other two places where psychology had a chair, Turin and Naples, there were always the same figures, who by now were approaching retirement age. In Rome instead there was the newly arrived 50-year-old from Milan, Mario Ponzo, trained by Kiesow in Turin, who had many publications also in international journals. In the Institute of Psychology in Rome he had inherited an assistant who had already been there for a decade.

Ferruccio Banissoni had graduated with Sante De Sanctis in 1921 with a thesis on "Mental Illnesses and the Subconscious"; he had studied in Vienna and had met Freud thanks to Edoardo Weiss, who was from Trieste like him and had just moved to Rome on the suggestion of De Sanctis. Banissoni continued to work on psychoanalysis and Adler,[56] while Professor Ponzo worked on completely different matters, concerning optical illusions and perceptive phenomena. Perhaps he needed a new collaborator with a sound laboratory training?

And Renata Calabresi had that training. She had met Ponzo for the first time as a graduate in 1923 in Florence, at the Fourth National Congress of the SIP where she had presented her experimental research on the duration of psychic time.[57] Banissoni was not there, but now he might be easier to approach, perhaps through Roberto Assagioli who had lived in Rome since 1926 where he had set up the *Istituto di cultura e di terapia psichica*. With his mother and wife, Assagioli frequented the masonic circle of theosophy as did Emilio Servadio and Ettore Rieti, whom Renata had already met at psychology conferences.[58] Her father would certainly have used his many contacts if she really decided to move to Rome. Some other friends had already been settled there for some time: the son of the Ascolis and the son of the Hirsches both from Ferrara, and her friend Maria with Nello and their daughter. Some professors and young scholars from the University of Florence had found positions in the University of Rome where there were more opportunities. There was Alexander Pekelis, the son of Russian fur traders, who had joined them in Italy, and a friend of Nello Rosselli. He was three years younger than Renata and taught legal philosophy in Rome from the academic year 1931/32. He was a Zionist, and anti-Fascist, as Piero Calamandrei would guarantee for his entry to the United States from France.[59]

Prof. Ettore Patini also worked in the institute in Rome. As a young man he had taught free courses of psychology in Florence and had taken part in the debate on the identity of the discipline in the *Rivista di psicologia*. Then, in the 1930s, he held that its "most important [approaches were] Gestalt and psychoanalysis," in which he was also interested, particularly in relation to criminological studies. The ultra-Catholic and Fascist Banissoni entrusted his pupils to Patini, a "professor highly intelligent, of a certain age, one who unfortunately [...] for political grounds, even having won a chair did not manage to take it up because he had no PNF card."[60] Renata would be happy to meet him again. Patini always upheld the memory of De Sarlo, even when everyone seemed to have forgotten him. Perhaps the old maestro, "eminent philosopher and psychologist," member of the Lincei, did put in a good word for her. Perhaps there was no need. In the small world of Italian psychology, master–disciple and personal relationships were soon general knowledge.

Rome: The Party Card and the Oath

In February 1931 it was Ferruccio Banissoni who asked the provost of Rome to nominate a second voluntary assistant of psychology, alongside General Borioni, in the shape of Dr. Calabresi who had presented an application with the certificates of "good and moral character."[61] In just four days the appointment was confirmed (in Florence this had taken months for Marzi). It was an excellent move for Ponzo's Institute. She proved able to adapt to the research needs of the director and immediately set to work on tactile kinesthetic perception, on Poggendorff's illusions; published on average two scientific essays a year, was mentioned in the Honours list of assistants at the University of Rome, and received a special subsidy in 1933 from the Fund of Prizes for Encouragement, all listed in her impressive curriculum for the ECADFS of New York.[62]

In spite of the tense relations between Ponzo and Banissoni, she seems to have been appreciated by both. In October 1934, the committee, with Ponzo as president and Banissoni and Luca Galdo from Naples, promoted her to *libera docente* after a *concorso* that consisted of an assessment of publications and two oral exams, of which one was in teaching. To judge from the report sent to the ministry, Dr. Calabresi had passed with flying colors.[63] The decree of February 28, 1935, qualified her for five years as a *libera docente* in experimental psychology in Italian universities and high schools (where the discipline was no longer taught). In March she was "appointed as organizer to the office of professional guidance at the head office for technical training in the Ministry for Education." She moved to a field considered more suitable for women, professional training for students and educational psychology. She enjoyed teaching and adopted innovative approaches such as film. Using the experimental method she worked on the development of the aesthetic sense among the women students of professional schools. Not far away, Patini was examining how art could transform pain among the patients of the asylum for the criminally insane.[64] Other psychologists in Rome and Milan, and in Florence it was Marzi more than Bonaventura,

focused on applying their discipline to work and above all to the armed forces in order to make psychology useful for Fascism.

It was well known that Ponzo and Banissoni had sided with the *Duce*. In the "greatest of battles undertaken until today by Fascism, the battle for autarchy," as in spring 1939 the professor of psychology in Rome declared, at the start of his course.[65] The same, if not more so, applied to Gemelli at the *Cattolica* in Milan. There is some doubt regarding the growing rapprochement of Bonaventura, who was one of the collaborators of the *Istituto fascista di cultura* in 1935, when De Sarlo had by then abandoned the university.[66] Perhaps the pupil had been automatically associated with the ideas of his *maestro* whose footsteps he had followed for 20 years, but whose political choices he did not share; he did not, for example, sign Croce's *Manifesto*.

In the same way, working alongside a notorious Fascist does not necessarily mean that individuals themselves were Fascist or pretended to be. According to Adriano Ossicini, a Catholic student always "rather allergic" to Fascists, Banissoni "was in no way a factious Fascist, he was a free man. In fact when the racial laws were passed, he fell into a profound crisis and helped many anti-Fascists."[67] This recent judgment is even too benevolent, and affected by a memory of personal gratitude on the part of the senator Ossicini. What is certain is that in Banissoni's sphere there were people whose ideas differed from his own, that he pretended not to know. Yet he did know about Patini, or about the young Ossicini, later arrested for anti-Fascism, and probably about Renata Calabresi who however took the PNF card. When?

Becoming progressively obligatory, registering with the *fascio* or the oath of loyalty are not per se sufficient evidence of wanting to be or to pass for a convinced Fascist. Dates help us distinguish between unnecessary choices and membership of convenience, where a person was forced to conform in order to save their job, and to an even greater extent those who did not have to keep a job, but to find one. From December 1932, PNF membership was obligatory for anyone applying for a *concorso*, including for *libera docenza*. For those who were already *liberi docenti* and held courses, it became obligatory in March 1933.

Renata Calabresi had applied to become a *libera docente* on May 28, 1934, with the required documents that she collected in person on March 4, 1935. Her folder still contains the receipts for the costs debited to her for the expensive qualification (120 lire for the application, 2,000 lire as a deposit for the *per diem*s of the committee paid by Ettore Calabresi, and another expensive installment of 500 lire). On the form, the ministry of education requested "in-depth information on the moral, civil and political conduct" of each candidate from the prefect of the province of residence, who even had to make a remark "on the wisdom of awarding him or her the qualification of *libero docente*." The prefect of Florence had been generously distracted when he declared Dr. Calabresi Renata, daughter of Ettore, born in Florence [*sic*], "to be of good moral and political conduct, without a criminal record."[68] After all, the same occurred when Massimo obtained his *libera docenza*, despite the fact that had been in prison for the Matteotti anniversary. It often took much less to end up in the files of the police: several friends did, but none of the six Calabresi listed in the Central Political Records was from Ferrara or Florence.

As regards the PNF card, in the file on Renata's *libera docenza* is missing, but six months earlier, on November 30, 1933, the administrative director of the university had already requested her to "present a certificate of PNF membership with the greatest urgency [...], without which they could not confirmed her for the academic year 1933/34."[69] Renata submitted it on December 4, 1933; dated (or backdated) November 7th and issued by Bianca Pio di Savoia, the provincial delegate of the *Fasci femminili dell'Urbe*. The provost received it, and on December 12th finally confirmed the appointment as the director of the Institute of Psychology had already proposed: it had been delayed for over two months in comparison with previous years.

Yet membership was not "strictly required" in order to teach without a salary, and therefore in her case they could have done without it. On the contrary Renata was allowed to teach at the university only starting from the academic year 1936/37, that is, when she had already been a *libera docente* for a year and a half. Why so long afterward? There was another obligation that she had not complied with. *Liberi docenti* had to take the oath that had previously been required of professors in 1931: the ministry made it known, replying to the specific query made by a chair holder at the University of Rome, in December 1933.[70] At the time Renata presented the certificate of membership of the *fascio femminile*, as we have seen; but decided to take the oath of loyalty to the regime only on December 21, 1936, year XV *Era Fascista*. In other words, rather late. It was "in the provost's office of the Royal University, with the provost, the administrative director and the secretary" who signed along with her the document for *libero docente*. Only then did she receive authorization to teach her first university course. She had already submitted a formal application to the provost a year earlier, but to no effect.[71]

On January 20, 1937 she started lessons in experimental psychology. These took place in the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia*, not Medicine, and lasted until May. She repeated the course the following year. It was to be her last. The circular declaring the status of *libero docente* "invalidated due to Jewish race," and retroactively effective as of December 14, 1938, was sent to the provost on June 2, 1939. He was responsible for communicating this to each of those involved.[72] The official communication was delivered to her home around ten days later. It was not unexpected.

In the previous six months in fact Renata had done much. She collected all the documents that could confirm her qualifications, teaching and scientific activity. She had already sent her certificates to the University of Rome in 1931 for the position of voluntary assistant: she took them back. On January 19, 1939, she also collected the decree of her *libera docenza*, on authorized notepaper to make it more official. Someone however even questioned whether she had ever graduated. It was absurd, but it did not happen only to her. In addition to being expelled, Jewish scholars had to battle with the state bureaucracy.

On January 23, 1939, the minister of national education sent a telegram to the provost of Florence to know whether "Calabresi Renata of Ettore had been awarded a degree in philosophy on 4 June 1923. Stop. If affirmative, name professor who signed diploma. Stop."[73] The next day Arrigo Serpieri confirmed her

degree and the date with the maximum vote of 110. He explained that it was the practice for the dean of faculty to sign the diploma, but the name was not recorded. He had omitted to verify the minutes where there were the signatures of all 11 members of the committee: first the dean Olinto Marinelli, then her supervisor Francesco De Sarlo, and last the assistant Bonaventura.

The same day on January 24th, dott.ssa Calabresi applied to the University of Rome for "a certificate according to the letter of Prof. Mario Ponzo." It was an unusual request, in fact six days afterward it was Ponzo himself, the director from the Institute of Psychology, who re-presented it at the university office. Immediately, on January 30, 1939, his letter of reference was typed, and signed by the provost and the administrative director.[74]

Applications in the United States and Great Britain

The letter was full of praise. Ponzo recommended his pupil (as he called her), who was not the only Jew in his group of six collaborators. It would be better, Renata reasoned, to have the letter translated into English, and even better to print a pamphlet in English, *Scientific and Didactic Activities of Dr. Renata Calabresi*, with her curriculum vitae, "Report of the Examining Committee for the appointment to a lectureship (*libera docenza*)"—her position sounded better in the translation than it was in reality—"certificate handed over by Prof. Mario Ponzo," a list of her 25 publications, and summaries of 13 of them, half of which had appeared in *Psychological Abstracts* on which she had worked from 1931 to 1935 as editorial assistant. She also included the very positive review of her book published in the *American Journal of Psychology*.[75] It all made a very good impression.

"I was very interested to see this," someone noted for Betty Drury regarding the documentation sent by Calabresi to the ECADFS. Did their archive have "something more with or about the same woman?" Perhaps they could write to her "about Burke?" [*sic*].[76] The psychologist Barbara Burks was the secretary of the Committee for Displaced Foreign Psychologists, which had started to liaise with the EC in October 1938. They were trying to gather the data of every single psychologist fleeing Nazism and Fascism, "who has come to America or who contemplates coming." They had decided to adopt broader criteria, including academics and practitioners (the majority), of philosophical and medical training as well as "miscellaneous cases," women but above all men. Some months later the Italians in the first alphabetical list of 109 names were just three: after Bonaventura Enzo from Florence who was in fact already in Jerusalem, came "Calabresi, Dr. Renata…REF: Prof. Mario Ponzo, dir. Institute for Psychol., Univ. Rome"; and Rieti Dr. Ettore, Genoa Hospital for Mental Diseases, also reported by the London SPSL as with Bonaventura. A Dutch and a German were also reported from Italy, but evidently Italian Jews working in psychology and similar circles had been inaccessible for the APA census in 1938/39.[77]

As usual the Germans prevailed. Not because German psychology was still the most admired in the United States in the 1930s. Indeed, German Gestaltists soon found that they could not "convince their American friends"; their theories

and opinions had no impact on American psychology and on "behaviorese" that Köhler and Wertheimer deplored. The emigration of psychology was something rather different and much more complicated than the emigration of physics or other natural sciences, as Wolfgang Köhler would explain in the postwar period regarding "the cultural migration in America."[78] Yet German psychologists operated as a network recommending each other reciprocally. The Italian ones did not. Among the nine on the APA committee coordinated by Burks there were also emigrants like Kurt Lewin who had turned down the offer of a job in Jerusalem, and Max Wertheimer who was working at the New School in New York.[79]

Yet Italian psychology was certainly not unknown on the other side of the Atlantic. But what were the lasting impressions that they could have of the situation in Italy from which they could import scholars of the psyche fleeing Fascism? It is interesting that in 1937 the Rockefeller Foundation had sent one of its fellows to visit European institutions and research centers in psychiatry and similar disciplines. For some years the Foundation had decided to concentrate on that set of disciplines they called "psychobiology." Italy was certainly one of the countries to keep an eye on, given the importance of its psychiatric tradition from Vincenzo Chiarugi onward, the enormous fame of Cesare Lombroso, the international prestige of Eugenio Tanzi in Florence, and so on. Of the 13 European countries examined, the greatest number of visits was made in Switzerland (9) and Italy (8), where Dr. Aubrey Lewis of the Maudsley Hospital in London was guided by the suggestions of colleagues and by his predilection for psychological medicine more than for neuropsychiatry.

He submitted his report in 1938. It was not destined for publication, contained very informal opinions, and (given his personal interest in the project) was not impartial even regarding those who were soon to end up in the international list of displaced Jewish scholars or their referees. Lewis could not know it when he met them, but some months later he probably had the opportunity to reconsider his experience.

He began his trip to Italy in Pavia starting with the international group based in the Faculty of Medicine of its ancient university. In Milan he "found little to see." This is why. He "visited Gemelli's laboratory at the *Università Cattolica*, but it is notorious that he does hardly any actual work himself there, is almost entirely occupied in his semi-political activities."[80] Even among his assistants there was not much to report. In Turin, Lewis ignored Kiesow's old institute. Interesting research was being done by the group of Giuseppe Levi, "*au courant* of almost everything physiological and neurological." And what about Lombroso? It seemed that little influence was left. Lewis caught the greatness and the isolation of the elderly Ernesto Lugaro, who explained to him why the chairs of psychiatry and neurology should be separated rather than united to the detriment of psychiatry. In Genoa one of the few Italians trained in psychoanalysis took him around the asylum; Lewis went into detail over the enthusiastic Rieti, on what he could do and his wish to go to New York (where he would remain for the rest of his life) for research in clinical psychology rather than psychiatry.

In Padua the professor of anatomy Tullio Terni (soon to be expelled) introduced him to Musatti, "who is at first a little unprepossessing, but is actually

enthusiastic and intelligent." Interested in Gestalt, a "psychoanalyst although he has never had a personal analysis." Musatti had talked much of himself and even of the "concourse" for the chair in Rome (seven years earlier!): Gemelli and De Sanctis had wanted Ponzo and so he had come second, while the third was "a plodding, dull man." Lewis did not know who this third was (Bonaventura, who had in fact come second); he understood that he worked in Ferrara instead of Florence. However, he reported that Musatti came out with other chilling verdicts:

> Gemelli is now mainly a politician, Galli [his research assistant] is a man without ideas; Ponzo is busy with his applied work and teaching, also is Banissoni who also runs a general medical practice—so psychology is not much cultivated in Italy at present. The philosophers are opposed to it because of the prevalence of Croce's ideas and the trend towards idealism and against anything materialistic and positivistic. Educational psychology has similarly been displaced by semi-mystical and empirical methods of approach.

On the Italians Lewis added: it "is also noteworthy that the difficulties they have in travelling have led to their being ignorant of much that goes on elsewhere."[81] As a result, whoever was as well informed as Giuseppe Levi appeared to him to be an exception. As for his gossipy interlocutor: "if Musatti were given the chance he would probably do good psychological work." Perhaps this was why the SPSL in London would contact him?

Lewis could not mention everyone in his 1938 report, where certain omissions and errors stand out. In Florence he only visited the asylum on the outskirts of the city, met an unknown doctor, and overlooked much of what he really needed to see. Probably no Italian colleague had made specific recommendations there. He confused the situation in Rome; but at least he realized that on the one hand there was the chair with the neuropsychiatrist Cerletti (yet it eluded him that the latter was then presenting his research on electroshock). On the other hand there was the chair of the psychologist Ponzo, "a former pupil of Kiesow and associate of Gemelli." But Lewis had not found him, therefore he had spoken to "an Austrian [*sic*] from Trieste," that is, the Italian Banissoni. He seemed overwhelmed by teaching and limited in research to psychotechnics that "did not strike me as very advanced, though Banissoni himself is very knowledgeable." Lewis did not meet a single female collaborator, and apparently asked nothing about Montessori's famous experiences. He was instead shown the institute of Pende, the theorist of scientific racism, and realized that it was "designed for show rather than any scientifically justified end."

It was now the eve of the racial laws. Nevertheless the 38-year-old Rockefeller Fellow, born in Australia from Jews parents and trained in the United States and Germany, did not say explicitly what the regime's impact was on scientific research and the damage it was causing. It seemed that psychologists, at least in America, were unaware of the fact. A sort of myopia.

For this reason in August 1938 Luton Ackerson, of the Institute for Juvenile Research of Chicago where important Jewish psychiatrists and psychologists

took refuge (from Franz Alexander to Edoardo Weiss), approached the chairman of the Emergency Committee of New York.

> We feel that in the APA, however, there is an influential group of ultra conservative or "Brahminish" psychologists who would resist the intrusion of such a practical consideration in their otherwise placid activities, as was the case [...] when a letter asking aid for German psychologists "laid on the table," upon the motion of one of the "older."

For years it was not understood, or there was no desire to understand it. But finally many were opening their eyes. Ackerson explained to Stephen Duggan that the new president of the APA was "personally very interested in this problem, having considerable acquaintance with Mittel-Europa," and had set up a committee to help refugees from Fascist countries.[82] Prof. Gordon W. Allport was at Harvard University, in a department open to European psychology and in contact with Italian psychology from the time of William James. At his university there was also an Italian professor of history, tireless in "making known the real conditions of Italy under the Fascist dictatorship." It was Gaetano Salvemini.

By the way, it was too early to say if and what they could do to help the Italian psychologist on their list who had sent them her booklet. Her letter to Duggan in February 1939 almost overlapped with the letter sent to him by Walter S. Hunter, director of the psychological laboratory at Brown University and departmental chairman: "Miss Calabresi is Jewish. She has published some twenty-five articles in psychology and education and was highly recommended in 1934 and 1935 by Italian psychologists." He did not say who they were and was talking about previous years, when Renata Calabresi had offered to help with the *Psychological Abstracts* that Hunter had founded in 1927. This is probably how he knew her and why she had written to him.[83] "Isn't she the same one who wrote to us?" asked Burks in the margin of the letter. "Yes." They passed it to each other exchanging questions and opinions, initialed rather than signed.

Usually displaced psychologists who managed to reach the United States were "interviewed by one or more members of the Committee, some of them on several occasions. By June 1, 1939, we were thus in touch with approximately 76 individuals," explained Burks whose list was actually longer.[84] Three years younger than Renata Calabresi, from New York, she had worked on IQ tests for a long time with Lewis M. Terman, whose books were also used at the institute of psychology in Florence and in Rome[85]; married to a Stanford professor and determined to keep her own surname, from personal experience Burks knew how much greater were the obstacles in an academic career for a woman in the United States. She could imagine how hard, if not impossible, it would be for her colleagues escaping from Fascism.

In the meantime Miss Drury decided to reply to the two letters on the case that Duggan had sent her. With Professor Hunter she was more forthcoming with advice. She suggested that Dr. Calabresi contacted Barbara Burks of the Committee of the APA and Dr. Rudolf Littauer of the *Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* (Emergency Foundation for German Scientists

Abroad) in New York. She supplied both addresses as well as those of associations in Milan, Geneva, London, and Paris in aid of academic and professional refugees: this information was aimed at German refugees, perhaps not very useful for Renata. Drury did not even mention it to her. Since Calabresi said that she had applied to several American universities "Yale, Iowa State University, the University of Cincinnati, and Vassar College," Miss Drury informed her of what could not be done:

> The Emergency Committee cannot, because of its regulations, bring the availability of displaced scholars to the notice of colleagues and universities unless asked to do so by such institutions. Upon receiving such a request from a college or university the committee will suggest candidates suitable for position to be filled.

And added that

> because of the number of demands made upon it, the Emergency Committee has been obliged to limit its activities almost entirely to the cases of scholars who have been displaced from university posts where they held the rank of professor or *Privatdozent*. Nevertheless we shall be glad to keep your papers on file so that if we ever have an opportunity to suggest your name for a position, we will have material on hand to support the application, although I feel that I must tell you that because of unfavorable economic conditions there are almost no openings in this country at the present time.[86]

Not only did she discourage her, she seemed to consider her unqualified. But why? Calabresi had already presented her documentation. Her booklet even contained a translation of the very positive judgment of the committee for her *libera docenza*.

> Dear Miss Drury,
>
> I thank you very much for your kind reply to my letter. At the same time I attract your attention upon the fact that I am a *Privatdozent* at the State University of Rome (see the curriculum I sent you, p. 3 and pp. 4–5), and I held courses on Experimental Psychology and Vocational Guidance in the years 1936, 1937, 1938.

It was March 16, 1939. The same day Renata wrote another letter, to the SPSL in London. It was its assistant secretary who had contacted Dr. Massimo and Renata Calabresi, and sent them the SPSL questionnaires to fill in: "We shall do our best to help you to find suitable positions, though conditions are now exceptionally difficult." Not even Miss Esther Simpson wanted to create false hopes: "If you have any contacts in USA we would advise you to get into touch with them without delay, as the prospects in that country are far better than in Europe."

"I have already got in touch with some contacts I have in USA, but without success until now," replied Renata who thanked her and sent back their completed questionnaires.[87]

Quite apart from the different personal styles of the two secretaries, it makes us wonder whether the two organizations used a different approach. Unlike the

New York Committee, the Society in London took the initiative; in 1939, after six years' activity it still contacted the most deserving scholars who were in need of help and also could be an interesting brain gain for science and learning. In the field of Italian psychology the Londoner had singled out someone else, in addition to Renata Calabresi: Ettore Rieti (from the SPSL reported to the APA Committee like Bonaventura); and Emilio Servadio, both from Genoa, who had moved to Rome in 1931 and with Edoardo Weiss (missing in their lists) had worked to relaunch the *Società Psicoanalitica Italiana* and the *Rivista italiana di psicoanalisi* of which he had been chief editor until 1934. That year the Fascist authorities refused to renew the permits necessary for a journal whose collaborators were mostly Jewish, apart from Banissoni and Nicola Perrotti. They would all emigrate.

The SPSL also contacted other psychologists whose names are not in its archive, probably because they did not reply. This is the case of Cesare Musatti. On undated SPSL letterhead paper, the general secretary asked him for information to channel them into a centralized system of aid for displaced scholars. Something Musatti was not, and hence did not need to leave Italy, having procured himself a certificate of Aryan race. The uncompleted questionnaire together with the SPSL circular letter remain among Musatti's papers.[88]

We do not know how the Society in London got in touch with Musatti. Certainly he had been reported to them in some way. In the case of Renata and Massimo Calabresi, the efficient Miss Simpson specified that their names had been given by the British Federation of University Women. Just the day before, she had received a letter from the secretary of the Emergency Sub-Committee for Refugees of the BFUW in London, set up the year before and with which there was close cooperation. Erna Hollitscher, a 42-year-old from Vienna, with a PhD in languages but working as a secretary, had emigrated to England in 1938 as an *au pair*. She knew from her own experience what it meant for a woman graduate not to find a suitable job. She was Jewish and knew what it was to have to flee Nazism. She carried out her role in the committee with great empathy. On March 8, 1939, in a letter to "Dear Miss Simpson" sending her the documentation of both and a Florentine address she explained:

> I understand that the two Calabresis are eminent scientists, especially the brother, and I do not want to tell them that their case is absolutely hopeless until I have tried everything. They would be willing to go to either the USA or one of the Dominions or Colonies, but I am sorry to say that all our effort of trying to find any openings for scientists there were in vain, the only dominion offering some help for refugees being Australia which takes domestic workers.[89]

What could the SPSL suggest for them? Never despair: "It is too much too soon for me to say that their cases is hopeless." The assistant secretary of the SPSL assured that she would write "to them both, and shall try to help them." And so she did.

We do not know what was the first contact between Renata Calabresi and the British Federation of University Women. It had received 226 applications by May 1939 and unfortunately Hollitscher's correspondence with approximately

500 people from all over Europe is not yet available. If the particular difficulties and strategies of women scholars and professionals fleeing Nazism and Fascism remain almost totally in the shadows, yet it emerges again that the chance to relocate professionally elsewhere, with the greatest spirit of adaptation, was linked to their networks predating the emergency. The BFUW was born in 1907 as a rib of the International Federation of University Women set up with North American groups. Similar associations in various European countries became affiliates, including the FILDIS, *Federazione Italiana laureate e diplomate degli istituti superiori*. This had been based in Rome since the early 1920s with branches in the main cities,[90] including Milan and Florence of course, where various initiatives and associations to promote culture among women already existed.

There were many possible occasions in which Renata could have come into contact with them. Through Amelia Rosselli and Gina Lombroso and their ADDI or the Lyceum? Or in Rome, where the group of women academics took part in the FILDIS, which was linked to the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Donne Italiane*? In the 1930s its president Isabella Grassi, with a philosophy degree in Rome, daughter of a famous doctor and a German emancipationist (much less moderate than her), was also president of the Roman Lyceum, where she had organized lectures on psychology given by Roberto Assagioli and Mario Puglisi; and Renata knew both of them from the time when they were with De Sarlo in Florence. In 1935 the Fascist authorities had obliged the FILDIS to "close of its own accord," so that in 1939 it no longer existed as an organization, but nevertheless its international links remained.

Evidently Renata had left no road untried, not even the BFWU in London, for herself and for her brother, while mentioning that their preferred destination was not England. She repeated this in the questionnaire that she filled in for Miss Simpson: the United States, Canada, Australia, and other British dominions were the countries where she would have emigrated. She was willing to go to South America, but not to the Tropics due to the climate, not the Far East for the distance, and not the USSR for the language "and the living conditions, too hard for my mother." Religion: none practiced. No children, unmarried, but with her mother and a sister (with a PhD in literature, she added) to support. She spoke Italian, French, English, and German; could read Latin. She replied to every question: the date when she had been officially dismissed, on "racial" grounds. From where? From the University of Rome, then from the Ministry. What were her "sources of income before dismissal: none at the university, except occasionally, *lire* 15,000 early at the Ministry." This would have lasted until the end of 1939. She had no pension. A PhD in philosophy; *Privatdozent* in psychology, in the experimental and educational field, specialized in "perception; psychology of time; vocational guidance." Would she accept an "industrial or commercial position? Yes, possibly in connection with vocational guidance activity."

Names and addresses of references: she listed eleven professors. Three Italians, Ponzo, Gemelli (whom she defined as provost of the *Università Cattolica* and not as psychologist), and Calò from Florence, that is, the only two chair-holders of her discipline and a pedagogist. The other names were all foreign: G. Révész from Amsterdam, A. Michotte from Louvain, É. Claparède and P. Bovet both from

Geneva, two Americans, W. Hunter of Brown University and M. S. Viteles from the University of Pennsylvania, finally A. Ley from Brussels and F. Baumgarten from Bern.[91] An impressive list. There is no clue that they were really contacted, if all or some, nor by whom or when. With the exception of Hunter, who however took the initiative himself.

Renata Calabresi's questionnaire ended up on Miss Simpson's table on March 21, 1939. Her SPSL file in London stops on that same date (it would be reopened in 1946). On March 16th her ECADFS file in New York was interrupted as well. Eight months later Renata set sail on the *Conte di Savoia* and on November 23, 1939 she arrived in New York.[92]

Anti-Fascist Italians in New York: "They Are All Here"

Unlike her original plans, she arrived alone. In New York she knew that she would find her brother, her sister-in-law, and the children. She took a room at Hotel Raleigh, 115 West 72th, where they lodged. It was a modest boarding house in the memory of her nephew Guido who was then seven years old. How was she going to settle? A few days later, on November 29th, she went to the offices of the ECADFS on 2W 46th for an interview with Miss Drury, who filled in the usual memorandum with the date, name, address, and discipline.

Here are all her "Remarks" on the applicant:

> A nice, bustling little woman; graying hair—friendly, easy manner. English bothers her, but she has a good vocabulary and will get along. Prominent front teeth, grey, intent eyes. She will take a room up around Columbia.

The questions "Subject of Interview"? and "Action to be taken"? remained blank in Miss Drury's memorandum. "Referred to Barbara Burks/National Refugee Service,"[93] that is, the committee coordinator dealing with displaced psychologists, and an association not dealing with academics but that provided financial help. On another sheet of paper, the same date: "Renata Calabresi. Smart looking, alert. Simply but nicely dressed. Grey hair, blue eyes." Nothing else.

Were notes of this sort useful and pertinent? To what end? Knowing that "he looks a little Jewish but is a nice fellow of 28," as the secretary described to Stephen Duggan another Florentine by training—"the physicist recommended by the emeritus Bruno Rossi"—would this help him find a job or an American institution to identify the specialist he needed?[94] One gets the impression that the point escaped the sensitivity of Miss Drury, and of many others, but not all.

From the New School, and not really by coincidence, on several occasions in 1939 the director and dean drew attention to the fact that the institutes that contacted the ECADFS needed another type of information. The secretary excused herself saying that it was against their "rules to attempt to estimate the qualifications of any displaced scholar and we can take no responsibility for the authenticity of this material."[95] Alvin Johnson went ahead on other levels and in other ways, to the point that he was suspected of excessive zeal in grabbing the best scholars for his "university in exile."

However, the Committee had nothing to propose to Renata Calabresi, either before her arrival or afterward. At least until September 1940, when Miss Drury sent her a telegram, but to a wrong address, and then to an address where she could no longer be reached. It was for a "possible position," naturally temporary, in competition with four other displaced scholars, which, however, did not go to her.[96] It was only in autumn 1942, three years after her arrival, that the Emergency Committee gave her financial support, following the request of an institution that already declared an interest in Dr. Calabresi. And how had she got on until then?

On February 7, 1940, she lectured to the students of the Graduate School of the Department of Psychology, Brown University, Providence, where she was possibly invited by Professor Hunter. From February 29th to March 13th she gave a series of lectures for the students of psychology at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York. On May 7th she lectured to the students of Brooklyn College, New York. Useful experience, also to be known in American academia. She put it all in her curriculum vitae.[97] But it was not a job.

She had had the courage to cross the Atlantic. Before doing so she must have counted on having some connections there after her arrival. It is clear that the United States were for her, as for her brother Massimo, the privileged destination. We can see this from her replies to questionnaires, from contacts made, from a thousand small clues. She had learned to look at English and American culture from her years in Florence, when a student following the advice of De Sarlo and Limentani. The primary focus was no longer the Germanic tradition, but the free and less formalistic Anglo-American mode of research. At home she had heard from her father that there was a great interest in the New World among some of the best modern entrepreneurs. For example, at the Fiat in Turin, and Olivetti in Ivrea, where Cesare Musatti and other psychologists would go to work. Ettore Calabresi himself had commercial and other contacts in America. The idealized vision of the democratic republic of the United States as a land of political freedom attracted anti-Fascists like Ascoli, and earlier in the 1900s radical Italians who had experienced the political repression of Crispi before Fascism.[98]

Guglielmo Ferrero and his wife Gina Lombroso were among the first and most emphatic to urge young scholars to go abroad, especially to England and the Americas. After a conference tour in Argentina he had spoken elsewhere on ancient history as early as 1909, on the invitation of the Italian Ambassador to Washington; he had been to the White House to meet President Roosevelt. Gina had published a resume of *Criminal Man* in 1911 for the many American admirers of her father Cesare Lombroso, the reformer scientist, and in 1923 she had published in New York her own *Reflections* on the psychology of women, originally printed by the ADDI in Florence.[99] When the Fascist authorities refused the couple passports, it became headline news that the author of *Ancient Rome and Modern America* was not allowed to travel to Chicago where he was invited.

Guglielmo's brother Felice Ferrero was the New York correspondent of *Corriere della Sera* and married to an American. Leo Ferrero, who had won a Rockefeller Fellowship, decided to remain when his time at Yale University came to an end.

On August 26, 1933, returning from an anthropological mission on the Indians in New Mexico, he had a fatal car accident at Santa Fè. Nello Rosselli wrote a touching memorial of his friend. From Geneva his grieving parents nonetheless continued to help anti-Fascists emigrate, including Nello's widow and mother who also reached New York.[100]

Salvemini taught at Harvard from 1933 thanks to the generosity of an American actress who financed his Lauro De Bosis lectureship in memory of her Italian fiancé, who had crashed into the sea with his airplane during a sensational protest against the regime.[101] From the time Renata was an undergraduate, the professor had always preferred London and America. That was why he had taken English lessons from Marion. He said that in Paris he felt too much like an exile. His first conference tour in the United States had been in 1927, thanks to the connections of the Berensons who lived in Florence. Then Alvin Johnson had invited him to the New School for Social Research in New York, to give a course on "Italy from 1860 to 1922: an experiment in democracy," in January 1929. This was repeated at Harvard, Yale, and elsewhere. By now he was dedicating more energy to political activity than to academia: he lectured, frequented anti-Fascist associations, built up a sturdy network of connections and solidarity.[102] Massimo and Renata would see him again in America, and would keep in contact for years, also to ask for his help.[103]

The one who settled in best of all was Max Ascoli, who had arrived in New York with his wife in October 1931. At the start he had had a Rockefeller fellowship together with Leo Ferrero and Mario Einaudi, and then he learned how to get into the "right" American circles. Ascoli had won the trust of the director of the New School for Social Sciences in New York, an adviser for the Rockefeller Foundation, who gave him a position in the Graduate Faculty. He also became engaged to the divorcée Marion Rosenwald from Chicago, daughter of the philanthropist and extremely rich chairman of Sears, which opened many doors to him and his "cause." He married her on October 5, 1940, after a divorce from the much distressed Anna Maria Cocchetti, and after having formally become an American citizen in March 1939. He felt so, unlike Italian "exiles who live like pilgrims waiting to return to Italy." Increasingly in disagreement with Salvemini he boasted that his own environment was "not made up of Italo-Americans."[104] Nevertheless, Ascoli was always ready to help Italian intellectuals planning to emigrate to the United States and was a key point of reference for the circle to which he, like the Calabresi, was linked from the time of *Non mollare!* and the meetings at the Rosselli's home in Florence.

Some of them met up again in the association set up by "Italian anti-Fascist intellectuals living in America," with Nino Levi, Salvemini's lawyer, engineer Roberto Bolaffio who had lived in the United States since 1923, the critic Paolo Milano, and the Slavist Renato Poggioli of Brown University, he too a former professor of Florence University. They wanted to be a counterweight to the regime's propaganda abroad and the empathy that Mussolini aroused among Italian emigrants in the United States who saw him as finally giving Italians the respect they deserved. The Mazzini Society was born in September 1939. Massimo Calabresi had just arrived, Renata not yet. The name was chosen by Salvemini and

formalized in a document with 18 signatures on December 28, 1939, at the New York home of the art historian Lionello Venturi.[105] In a 1945 letter, Renata gave her own backing for some initiative to Bolaffio, just as the association directed by Ascoli was beginning to dissolve. She also suggested involving other "Italian academics" including the group of physicists and mathematicians, Fermi, Rossi, De Benedetti, Rasetti, the two Segres, and engineer Mario Salvadori. Her letter, which gives the idea of relations among the "illustrious immigrants," ended among Salvemini's papers.[106] Salvemini greatly trusted her judgments about people: "you should ask Miss Calabresi—he suggested to Costanza Ferrara Peters in 1942—because Miss Calabresi [...] is able to give honest information," unlike Ascoli, who "had recommended so many Fascists...only because they were Jews," and Venturi who was simply "too good."[107]

Even before emigrating, the two Calabresi knew other people who were already in the United States or planning to go there. Younger than them and equally anti-Fascist were the cousins and sister of Leo Ferrero. Cesare T. Lombroso was present at the inaugural meeting of the Mazzini Society. At the age of 20 he had left Italy for a study trip to Johns Hopkins and had remained there, where he would become professor at Harvard and one of the "founders of child neurology."[108] In 1939 Cesare T.'s sister Nora also came to the United States with her husband Bruno Rossi, a pupil of the Arcetri school of physics in Florence and one of the greatest experts on cosmic rays, who had lost the chair in Padua while his father-in-law Ugo Lombroso also lost his chair of human physiology in Genoa.[109] Nina Ferrero and her husband Bogdan Raditsa, a Croat diplomat who had studied in Florence, planned to move to the United States after Switzerland, England, and Belgrade.

Maria and Amelia Rosselli, with Marion suffering from ill health, and with all seven children, were advised to do the same. After the assassination of Nello and Carlo in 1937, they had been moving from one country to another—Switzerland because of Gina and Guglielmo Ferrero, France, England, looking for a safe place to live and peace. "We, Jews, anti-Fascists, were terrified by the idea of being picked up [by the Germans]." Fortunately friends even on the other side of the Atlantic "took the trouble to help. The fiancée of [...] a dear friend of dad knew Eleanor Roosevelt well and spoke to her about us, and of our adversities." Nello's daughter would always remember him with gratitude: Professor Ascoli "with his extremely rich fiancée Marion R." came to meet them on the train for New York; and as soon as they arrived the grandmother, the mother, and the aunt were reunited "with Italian friends who had already fled to America, including Gaetano Salvemini."[110] This was the group in August 1940. Marion Cave Rosselli with Ascoli, Salvemini, and others set to work in the Italian Emergency Rescue Committee to save refugees in France that risked falling into the hands of the Gestapo or the Fascist secret police (OVRA), after the German occupation, as Italian ambassador to Washington reported to Rome.[111]

The Rossellis immediately took a house in Larchmont, facing Long Island. It was a modest house without the servants that they were used to in Florence. A courteous neighbor wanting to reassure them that it was a quiet area, confided that "there are no Jews." "But we *are* Jewish," Amelia replied calmly.[112] Yet she did

not hide her disappointment from Gina Lombroso, whom she wrote to in French to avoid problems with the Anglo-American censor:

> You see, one comes to the alleged country of freedom to find all this! [...] there is marked antisemitism everywhere. Here where we are, in the only hotel in the place Jews are not admitted. I am profoundly discouraged, for this and for all the problems we have to face [...] and also for the heartrending sight of all our friends struggling to survive in the midst of formidable competition. I can't tell you how many Italians have come to New York or near by. They are all here![113]

Renata too had arrived a few months before and they met again. She often went to spend time with them and particularly to see her friend Maria. Clues and evidence emerge from the papers, such as a letter to Renata at the Rossellis' address, 9 Concord Avenue, Larchmond, New York.[114] It was from Max Ascoli, or rather, from his secretary, who knew where to find her. His American contacts with Renata and her brother certainly predated the letters found so far. This is clear from their tone and content; more confidential between the two men who had after all known each other from their childhood in Ferrara.

Renata would also appeal to Ascoli several times, like many others arriving in New York and "willing to go anywhere [...] to do God knows what." They certainly did not expect that some American university would have called for them one by one before crossing the Atlantic. The longer they waited the worse it got, and so the "Italian scholars in distress" set sail, "full of good intentions and with ten dollars in [...their] pocket."[115]

Meanwhile in December 1939 Massimo Calabresi received the anxiously awaited news, that the Department of Medicine at Yale offered him the opportunity to do research thanks to a grant that expired in July 1940, made by the Dazian Foundation. There was no promise of a job after that date or any financial commitment by the Department where, they specified, he was not allowed to treat patients.[116] It was not much, given his excellent qualifications, but it was better than nothing. Massimo, Bianca, and the children moved to New Haven where he had to look for another paid position in a few months' time. They left the hotel room in New York and said goodbye to Renata.

She stayed behind still looking for a job. It was no time to be discouraged.

Saturation Point... Too Many Jews?

In December 1938 the director of the Rockefeller Foundation, one of the most important financiers of programs to aid European refugees, announced, "We must recognize that the saturation point was reached [...] with regard to the number of Jews in America."[117] During the Depression, refugees needing to be placed were not generally well thought of, and in American academic life, discrimination or at least ambivalence regarding "Jews or social democrats" was the rule. The officers of the RF were no exception; as early as 1933 the director of the medical sciences division Alan Gregg had warned the vice president: "if too many Jews are introduced into the American university, we shall run a

surprising good chance of creating an uncontrollable amount of [...] illiberal attitude here."[118]

Fortunately there was someone who totally disagreed with this attitude. Alvin Johnson collaborated with RF but had taken a completely different line at the New School for Social Research, set up in 1917 with an innovative mission for the education of adults and a declared academic anticonformism. In autumn 1933 he had created the so-called University in Exile—free of anti-Semitism and democratically oriented—to attract first-class refugee scholars. He believed that the American social sciences needed a strong dose of the European scientific approach, more theoretical and less empirical. European researchers should not be Americanized as was generally expected of them; on the contrary, safeguarding their European character would be to the advantage of American culture. Faced with a second wave of refugees, if American universities could not immediately employ even the best, Johnson guaranteed that the New School would take them at least as research assistants, and suggested that Columbia, Yale, and other universities should do likewise with the ECADFS acting as an intermediary.[119]

For the recruitment of Italian scholars he most certainly referred to Max Ascoli, who had been introduced to him by Felix Frankfurter, Supreme Court judge and advisor to Roosevelt. As dean of the Graduate Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (i.e., the "University in Exile") from 1939 Ascoli was very active, using his personal and institutional connections.[120] He was in touch with the ECADFS to which he had applied for himself in the past, albeit without success. None of the Italian social scientists who were welcomed to the stimulating environment of the New School are listed as grantees of the New York EC, although most of them applied there. By now Miss Drury knew Prof. Max Ascoli and his wife, and sometimes personally met some of those Italians that she had admitted she was at a loss to place.

Paolo Contini was settled. "Now at the New School for Social Research (he is a good man in international law)." The New York committee had not helped him, yet in March 1939, he presented himself at their office to recommend other cases. The secretary of Miss Drury took note: "Roberto [*sic*] Contini his brother" whose name was actually Giuseppe (Gepi); Cecilia Calabresi and her "relative" Renata Calabresi, the librarian Emma Coen Pirani, and the "brilliant student" (she did not specify of what) Franco Modigliani.

Not even he, future Nobel Prize winner for economics, became an ECADFS grantee. He arrived in New York on August 29, 1939, with his wife Serena who was, on his mother's side, the cousin of Bianca Finzi Contini, wife of Massimo Calabresi and Renata's sister-in-law.[121] With the help of his father-in-law Paolo Calabi, the pluri-award-winning Modigliani set up as a book seller and with the recommendation of Paolo Contini—who was also related to the Calabresi family (their respective mothers Paolina and Olga were first cousins on the maternal side)—he obtained a free tuition scholarship to the New School.[122] For Renata too, the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, at 66West 12th, where some 200 scholars in exile passed through,[123] was salvation.

The ECADFS file provides no account of it; presumably the Committee played no part in it. But there are a few notes on a card filled in on the day of

her interview with Miss Drury (the *Remarks* this time were two on her research topics: "children's reaction to aesthetics; vocational training in industrial schools for boys, etc."), and new clues emerge. Names, added later on in a different handwriting, and written across the card: Max Ascoli and his personal address, Alvin Johnson, Theodora Abel, Sarah Lawrence College which was the institution where this American psychologist taught until a few years previously. People to contact for a job for Renata Calabresi? Or who had contacted Miss Drury being in some way interested in the Italian psychologist? There are no dates, and the notes are not necessarily contemporaneous. The contact with Abel, however, was to prove important later on, whereas Ascoli and Johnson intervened earlier, perhaps requested by Contini who was also from Ferrara, like Ascoli and Calabresi.

The New School could offer temporary positions as research assistants, as its director had explained, which would then allow scholars to file for immigration status. On Renata's ECADFS card the name of Alvin Johnson was handwritten next to the item "immigration status: quota." At the Graduate Faculty the new dean Ascoli, and Paolo Contini and other Italian scholars knew her; they could assure Johnson that the psychologist—whether she had "prominent front teeth" was of no interest—was a talented scholar, with many references and abilities, fluent in four languages, and certainly anti-Fascist. She could be a good member of a team in an interdisciplinary social science project at the New School and could also get on well with the group of psychologists coordinated by Wertheimer, who often took part in the discussions of the Graduate Faculty.

The New School's course catalogues only list the teaching faculty. The many research assistants, including Renata, are not named. But other clues help us. In some versions of her *curriculum*, progressively revised, she described her work at the New School from early 1940: "organized and supervised research and field work of students engaged in a Seminar on Conflict of culture and Juvenile delinquency."[124] It was the seminar held in 1941 by the lawyer Nino Levi and Arthur L. Swift Jr., an expert on social group work.

Nino Levi was another person who guaranteed on behalf of Renata Calabresi. He was Venetian by birth, Milanese by adoption, a member of the directive committee of the Milan section of the Socialist Party at the age of 19, then president of the Province of Milan, as well as professor and lawyer. Levi was one of the founders of the *Partito socialista unitario*, which Massimo Calabresi had also joined. Around 1921 he had become friend with the Rossellis, and accompanied Carlo on his study trip to Paris and London in 1923. In Florence in July 1925 he had defended Gaetano Salvemini in the *Non mollare!* trial and had been attacked by *squadristi* when leaving the court. Renata knew him from at least this far back.

He was five years her elder, cultivated, distinguished, and rich. He had been under surveillance and registered in the CPC since 1916; his home was ransacked several times, and in 1926 he had ended up in prison. He had then left several positions but not the direction of the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro*. Professor of law and procedural criminal law from 1931 at the University of Genoa, in 1938 had been expelled with Ugo Lombroso, among others. He had taken refuge in London and then New York with his two children; his wife Eleonora Stecchini

had joined him in September 1939, but not for long. Eleven years older and of "Aryan race," she died in Rome in January 1940.[125]

At the ECADFS Nino Levi is listed as a nongrantee. Yet with Ascoli and Eugenio Colorni he is on the list of "Displaced scholars aided by the Rockefeller Foundation" at the New School. In the Graduate Faculty he ran an intensive teaching program, with courses on criminal sociology, legal sociology, the history of criminal law and a seminar on individualized punishment and the classification of criminals. He also coordinated a seminar linked to a big project, and here he involved Renata Calabresi,

> sponsored by the New School and supervised by an advisory committee of prominent American scholars. The project is a study of cultural conflict and assimilation as found among juvenile delinquents, children of Italian immigrants. The staff consists of a group of Italian and Italo-American specialists in the fields of psychiatry, psychology, social work, education, pediatrics and gynecology.[126]

She could make a positive contribution with her specialization. Admission to the seminar included a compulsory consultation with the instructors, since the participants were "assigned to definite tasks in bibliographical and field research and the seminar is regularly conducted as a research staff meeting in which week by week the progress made and problems encountered are reported and discussed." They analyzed the sociological and psychological methodologies with biographical methods and various types of mental testing. "The psychoanalytical interpretation of family patterns and their implications as a factor of emotional and social maladjustment, and consequently of delinquency, was the object of animated discussions."[127] Calabresi referred the variety of the issues considered and the comparative approach on different immigrant groups. The Domestic Relations Court provided access to the data from its Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, and Queen sections. The direct contact with the community of Italian immigrants was facilitated above all by "Mr Corsi, whose personal experience as an immigrant and a leader are of particular value." This was Edward Corsi, a native of Italian Harlem and close to Fiorello La Guardia, Commissioner of Immigration for 12 years under Roosevelt, vice commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare in New York, who knew the situation of 1,300,000 Italians in New York well, 800,000 of whom were second and third generation, and "the largest number of unemployed in the city, with the exceptions of the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans."[128]

In her detailed report Dr. Calabresi seemed enthusiastic about the work and the interest that it had raised among their Italian and American interlocutors. Some years later, at the "21st Annual Women's International Exposition" in New York, Corsi himself took part as Industrial Commissioner in the Committee for prevention of juvenile delinquency program. The issue was controversial. For decades American criminologists had looked to European science in this area, considering Italian colleagues as their main inspiration. According to Cesare Lombroso, America had more than any other nation "speedily put into practice" his theories of individualized study and treatment of the indicted, especially for

juvenile delinquents, which had to be considered in their social, economic, educative aspects in order to prevent and reeducate.[129]

It is impossible to say whether a discussion of this sort was part of the New School's agenda. Unfortunately, of all their work on "conflict of culture and juvenile delinquency," nothing was published, and the seminar at the Graduate Faculty that from February 7, 1941, should have lasted 15 weeks was interrupted by a tragic event.

On March 25th Nino Levi, 47 years old, died following a horse riding accident. The news immediately reached Italy, since Levi continued to be under surveillance even in New York. In the New School's journal *Social Research*, colleagues remembered him as "a friend of the unprivileged [...] the type of man who succeeds in all circumstances and in spite of all odds; [...] happy over here working for the first time in a free country [...] destined to become a leading figure in his scientific field. His death is a great loss, to his two sons, to the Graduate Faculty and to American scholarship."[130]

For Renata it was a tremendous blow.

An Italian Psychologist in Search of Work

She had hoped to start a new life. Now she had at least to find another job to get by. Her period as a research assistant at the New School was coming to an end. She looked around; friends offered her hospitality, certainly the Rossellis, Rachel and Paolo Milano, a journalist and scholar who taught at the New School (Saul Bellow dedicated a novel to him in 1947).[131] The curriculum vitae that Renata sent out and the few letters that remain contain frequent changes of address.

In summer 1941 she found work as an instructor at Brooklyn College, Department of Psychology, and a part-time post at The Dalton School. Teaching undergraduate evening classes was quite a torment for her, not only for the language. The "obvious differences between the academic world she had been used to" and an American city college made her uneasy, observed an American colleague who had seen her.[132] This happened to many European professors. They were often more competent in their discipline "than the average American college teachers," but with American students they had no success. The general problem was also discussed with Miss Drury. Was it the fault of the displaced scholars? "I fear that the attitude of American educationists is a bit narrow and provincial," said a professor at Brooklyn College, where the situation repeated itself. However, they did not retain her.

Renata looked for something else. In 1942 she was a research worker in Harlem at a Foundation to Further Child Guidance in the field of public education. She also applied for a post of assistant psychologist at the Rockland State Hospital in Orangeburg, New York, where the psychologist Elaine Kinder wanted her, particularly for the children's group. It may have been the clinical psychologist and educator Thedora Mead Abel from Columbia, who put them in touch. Abel had studied psychology in Paris, and from 1940 was chief psychologist for the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene; in that year 1942 she published

with Kinder a book on *The Subnormal Adolescent Girl*.[133] Abel's name was on the first ECADFS card made out to Renata, together with other useful contacts. She was the same age as Renata, and became an important and lasting point of reference for her, so that they would later find the opportunity to work together on a big project.

In the meantime, however, all they could offer to Renata at Orangeburg was "full maintenance" and $25 a month. "Although we realize that this is an inadequate amount, we have been unable to find any way of increasing it," explained the chief psychologist of Rockland State Hospital. "We have been very much interested in Dr. Calabresi's background of training and experience," she stressed writing also on behalf of the superintendent; but they could not place her "on the regular salaried list," because she was not an American citizen. Nevertheless, "it is not impossible that at the end of a year's service, a temporary or provisional appointment in the regular service of the hospital might be arranged."[134]

At the age of 44, and an immigrant of four years' standing, she would obtain a temporary and not particularly desirable post that involved living in a country village, practically without a wage, performing various tasks, which the letter listed, dealing with children and adults in a huge hospital built in 1927 with around 6,000 beds, now overcrowded and with a growing number of psychiatric patients from the war.

To accept those conditions, she needed financing. Rockland Hospital agreed and both knocked on the door of the Emergency Committee. Miss Drury got back into action: a new interview with the "previous" Italian case, another index card with information, and a curriculum updated with her "American experience." Renata thanked her and gave the names and addresses of five referees in New York, only one of Italian origin.

The ECADFS secretary asked for a confidential opinion "about *either* her personality *or* professional qualifications." She wrote to Barbara Burks who was not in the list, and who did not seem to reply. There are, however, other letters of recommendation: from Gardner Murphy, then chairman of the Department of Psychology at the City College of New York; from the eminent Max Wertheimer, who had met Renata at the Graduate Faculty; and from Max Ascoli. Alvin Johnson also stepped in to support her although the candidate had not cited him as a referee. There was a great deal of detailed praise, especially from the German founder of Gestalt psychology Wertheimer, and from the dean of the faculty who could claim to have known her "personally and professionally for many years." Austin Wood, assistant professor of psychology at Brooklyn College, warmly recommended her as person and as a psychologist, although he did not conceal the fact that she had had problems teaching American undergraduates.[135]

The exchange of letters and telephone calls continued. Elaine Kinder of the Rockland State Hospital seemed impatient with the ECADFS: "in writing you recently regarding Dr. Calibresi [*sic*] I fear that I did not make sufficiently clear to you the details." She asked Miss Drury for $35 a month for one year. On their part they guaranteed to provide "room, board and laundry," and $25 a month. "I realized that even with the supplementary salary this amount is less than a person of Dr. Calibresi's [*sic*] training and experienced is entitled to. However,

it is my belief that the clinical opportunities afforded by the institution are such that to warrant her accepting a limited salary."[136]

Dott.ssa Calabresi did not entirely agree. According to the Rockland Hospital she would have enjoyed "an unparalleled opportunity to become acquainted with American methods of clinical psychology." But in order to improve her skills, in addition to the job at Rockland she planned "to do some graduate work in clinical psychology and to attend a research seminar at the Psychiatric Institute in Manhattan. This will involve considerable expenses for tuition and commuting [...] I will find it difficult to get along with the small salary asked by Dr. Kinder," who supported her more realistic request of $60. They penned two estimates on the margin of her letter and asked Calabresi about her personal resources and "whether you have relatives who may be able to assist you financially."

> After having been unemployed for the last three months my saving are about $200,00. Besides I have a war bond of $50,00 after ten years. My only relative in this country is my brother Dr. Massimo Calabresi who is just starting his practice as a medical doctor in New Haven, Conn. He is married and has two children, and he hardly makes his own living until now.[137]

Three days later, the ECADFS approved the application. On September 25th the executive secretary informed Dr. Kinder, specifying that the grant of $600 (120 less than the sum requested) would be paid in two installments, would last a year, was not renewable, and would be cancelled or cut if Dr. Calabresi left the Rockland State Hospital before the agreed date. The successful candidate heard the news after everyone else, when she had already begun work in Orangeburg since the grant was formally paid to the institution for a specified displaced scholar and not to the scholar him or herself.[138]

Something more should be noted: the fellowship for which "Calabresi Renata 1939–1945" appears among the grantees of the ECADFS only turned up at the end of 1942 and not from the committee. As we can see from the application form filed on August 31st, the grant was offered by the Rosenwald Family Association set up in December 1931 just before the death of the patriarch Julius Rosenwald.[139] His five children continued the intense philanthropic activity that the Julius Rosenwald Fund had already exercised from 1917 in scores of directions, in addition to the enormous commitment to help refugees and displaced persons from Nazi Germany (starting with approximately 300 Rosenwald family members).

Marion and Adele undertook work especially to assist children and were in various ways personally close to circles of psychology and psychoanalysis, in addition to artistic circles. In 1927 Adele Rosenwald had remarried, and her second husband was the child psychiatrist David M. Levy. They had met at the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago; her sister Marion was one of the founders of the Institute for Psychoanalysis in the same city.[140]

Perhaps Ascoli not only wrote a letter of recommendation to Miss Drury for Renata Calabresi, but had also spoken about to it with his wife, who obviously knew her. His brother-in-law Dr. Levy had also had an excellent impression of

the *dottoressa*, or at least this is what Ascoli declared in his letter citing his relative who was an expert in the same field.[141]

Renata remained at the Rockland State Hospital from October 1942 to December 1945. At the end of the first year, when her fellowship was about to expire, Miss Drury asked for her news. She politely apologized for not having been in touch: she had little time to come to the city. How had things gone? "The experience I am having here is certainly a very valuable one; and I don't regret the time I spent and I am spending in the hospital, although the salary is not very satisfactory and I don't have much security." Would it be possible to meet for a chat? Perhaps on the Saturday before Thanksgiving? The executive secretary of the ECADFS turned the idea down. It was her free day; a telephone call would be quite enough.[142]

The correspondence resumed a year later. Instead of Betty Drury it was Frances Fenton Park who informed Dr. Calabresi that she had given her name to the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia regarding a "vacancy in another institution." She did not say either which institution or what sort of work. "The salary is $2.400." Was she interested?[143] Of course! At the Orangeburg State Hospital, later an important research center, at the time life was hard, the salary was a pittance, and the position was temporary. But in the Quakers' organization founded in 1917, which had decided to set up a Refugee Division only in 1938, the placement counselor was concerned for the superintendent of Rockland. He did not want to cross him. Rather than "be a party to raids on his personnel," he preferred not mention the Italian psychologist to anyone, as Mrs Fenton Park in total agreement with him explained to Renata.

Instead she disagreed completely. She went to the ECADFS office in New York and convinced the secretary to rewrite to the colleague in Philadelphia: "She does really want another job." And she wanted to know "about the vacancy of which you wrote me, but I did not give her the name of the institution." According to Mrs Fenton Park he would have done better to ask someone from the Committee on Displaced Foreign Psychologists, because in the ECADFS records, as she had already said and repeated, she had no suitable applicants at the moment.[144] But was she able to see them? Perhaps she did not understand who had the required skills and qualifications. The list in fact contained other candidates who were suitable, even another Italian.

Renata was unswervingly tenacious. Without a direct contact and hence only with an interminable triangular exchange of letters, she got an appointment with Mr. Alphonse Miller at the Society of Friends on January 30, 1945. Fifty-seven days had passed since the ECADFS office had received this offer of work. What and where? The mystery was revealed during the interview, we presume. Or perhaps not. In her last note to Mrs Fenton, Renata confirmed the appointment and promised to be in touch. But this is where the correspondence in the file comes to an end.

The Woodbourne Institution for Defective Delinquents, established in 1935, had around 800 male patients but the number of inmates with mental problems was constantly increasing. She did not go, and remained at the Rockland State Hospital where she carried out personality tests on child and adult patients,

worked with cases for the Domestic Relation Courts, practiced therapy in the children's group, and lectured in the school of nursing.[145] Between September 1944 and June 1946—we do not know for how long—she was an instructor in abnormal psychology at the evening school of Hunter College, New York.[146] In the meantime she kept on looking for another job. But she stopped contacting the ECADFS and did not reply to the calls of the SPSL in London, who wanted information on her and her brother, to keep their records up to date after the end of the war.[147]

Instead she kept up with her friends who might be able to help her. She wrote to "Dear Max" first in Italian, and then in English as Ascoli invariably did but through his secretary. In that case she replied "Dear Dr. Ascoli" and he still wrote "Dear Renata." They had known each other and each other's families for a long time. "I am writing to you in your father's house and I find him much better," and in the meantime she sent him the latest version of her curriculum vitae, the copy of an advertisement with her underlinings in pencil and a copy of her application.[148] The United States Civil Service of Washington, DC offered a series of posts, including positions for clinical psychologists throughout the United States in Veterans Administration (VA) hospitals and outpatient clinics and public health service clinics. The managerial level that Renata aimed at (the salary was $4,300) required a PhD in psychology and three years of professional experience in the field; the work concerned the diagnosis and treatment of maladjusted individuals.

> Dear Dr. Calabresi,
>
> Dr Ascoli asked me to drop you a line enclosing this: He mentioned to you that he was going to talk of you to some "big shot" in the Veteran's Service Center. This is the reply he got [missing]. As soon as he knows anything further, he will get in touch with you. If you have anything to ask him, please call him.[149]

The copy is dated February 16, 1946. From April 1945 to January 1946 Renata had witnessed the arrival of prisoners of war at Camp Shank: 800 Germans and 1,200 Italians. They were confined there until they could return to their "homelands." When Renata had moved to Orangeburg, this camp, the biggest staging area and military port embarkation on the East coast of World War II, was about to be built. In autumn 1942, around 300 families learnt that they had to leave their homes, farms, and fields. The following May "the last stop" was ready. From then on around 1,300,000 military, both men and women, left there bound for Europe.[150] It closed in July 1946.

It was probably living in that zone that brought Calabresi into contact with the many activities of the Veterans Administration. But her application seems to be been stuck for a long time, despite Ascoli and his big shots. It was only in December 1948 that the VA asked him for a reference on her.[151]

And in the meantime? Her contract with Rockland Hospital had come to an end in December 1945, and she was once more without work. She returned to New York, a guest of the Milanos. She heard there was a post for a psychologist which had been vacant for some time in the Department of Family and Child Welfare of

White Plains, capital of Westchester County, New York. The Department had in its care 750 children in foster homes and 250 placed with institutions: "the children in this group are not always the best adjusted. They have come to us because their parents have failed them," explained the director Mrs Helen C. Young.

> Our psychologist, besides giving us a picture of the children's intelligence quotients and achievement possibilities, must help us with the various deviations in ability to learn to make satisfactory adjustments that come in such a group of children. I should very much appreciate your opinion of Miss Calabresi's general ability in her field and in relation to other people. I am particularly anxious to know how much the difference in the cultural background which must have been hers from her years in Italy, and ours enters in her work.[152]

Mrs Young asked the New School where the Italian miss had worked, for references. The results reassured her of Renata's now complete Americanization: "During the years that she has been working in this country, she has succeeded in absorbing completely the methods and orientation of psychology as it is in this country." This was what the lady director wanted to hear, even if psychologists of the Graduate Faculty, the Gestaltists like Wertheimer who died in 1943, would not have agreed. Max Ascoli added: "I do not think that you could make a better choice than by appointing Miss Calabresi to the position at present vacant."[153]

He sounded convincing because she got the job from February 1946. She worked in close contact with the Foster Home Division, examining infants for adoption and children and adolescents. It was teamwork, with a psychiatrist, social workers, and case work supervisors. For her it also meant visiting homes and institutions in that shopping district.[154] The work was certainly interesting, but it only lasted a year or so.

It just needs to be recalled that, generally speaking, for women in the United States a career as a psychologist or in any other profession was beset by obstacles. If émigrée women academics expected that things were better in the land of modernity and freedom, they soon found out otherwise. From 1921 half a century would pass before the APA elected a woman president, who was the Italian American Anne Anastasi from New York. In the same way it was a long time before women appeared in the well-known series of "psychology in autobiography" begun by Carl Murchison in 1930. After the very few first-generation women pioneers, the second generation of American women psychologists—with a PhD obtained before 1945—had not been very visible. Most of them had academic jobs at least for a period, but mostly in women's colleges or teachers' colleges, in marginal and less-well-paid positions. Their work was "individualistic personalistic work that [...] does not lead readily to renown, whereas men usually achieve eminence by research and writing in which they deal with larger generalizations and not with case histories": this is how the experimentalist Boring and his colleague in 1947 tried to explain the female disadvantage.[155]

But it was thanks to women personnel and their placement at less recognized levels that clinical psychology enjoyed a remarkable growth in the United States during and after the war. Women psychologists who immigrated in the

1930s often found more opportunities for work as clinical psychologists in institutions, although they generally came from a background of experimental training, like their male colleagues, and the strong theoretical dimension of European psychology.[156] This was also true for Renata Calabresi in her long and troubled search.

"In spite of all this activity, I was incapable of writing for about ten years after our emigration [...] I had had a sort of inner collapse, just like Karl," Charlotte Bühler spoke of herself and her husband, developmental psychologists and both well known in America even before settling there. This terrible block was not uncommon among displaced scholars.[157]

In 1948 dr. Calabresi finally began publishing again: in her first long essay in a specialized American journal she presented the cases of veterans she had in therapy at the Mental Hygiene Clinic of Newark and illustrated the importance of the Szondi test.[158] For her, the turning point was to finally have the post from the Veterans Administration Regional Office (VARO) in Newark perhaps in December 1947, around two years after having first applied. At the end of 1948 she was confirmed.

She returned to live in New York, which she loved. She had a beautiful apartment in Central Park, where she was joined by her mother Olga in 1949 and later also her sister Cecilia who had lived in Canada for a period. In 1952 Massimo Calabresi became chief of cardiology at West Haven Veterans Administration Hospital and at the same time held a full-time position at Yale. He was nearly 50 years old. From precisely the same age on Renata devoted herself to her career at the higher levels of clinical psychology in Newark. "Besides the regular duties in the field of psychodiagnosis and psychotherapy, and collaboration in the psychiatric team, I carry the major responsibility for the organization of the training program for the psychological trainees assigned to the station."[159] She also did research in VARO programs, also with special projects. As an expert in diagnostic methods "for personality deviations and mental disorders," she continued lecturing in various institutions, including the Postgraduate Center for Psychotherapy of New York. She was a fellow of the Division of Clinical and Abnormal Psychology in the APA, a member of the Rorschach Institute, later the Society for Projective Techniques and Rorschach Institute (from 1939 directed by the German Jew Bruno Klopfer); and even took part in the American Board of Examiners in clinical psychology.[160] She remained in Newark until 1969, when at the age of 70, she retired and still continued to practice as a psychotherapist and to be very active.

At the same age her brother Massimo retired from Yale University School of Medicine in 1973 as clinical emeritus professor; also his wife Bianca Finzi Contini had been professor at the Italian Department of Albertus Magnus College in New Haven. Their children's careers were brilliant and ahead of schedule; their eldest son Paul Calabresi became the first chairman of Medicine at Brown University, and Guido Calabresi, the youngest ever full professor at Yale Law School. It was all very different for the second generation, yet at the same time rooted in the tenacity and the experiences of those who had not given up and had made their own choices whenever it had been possible to do so.

Renata liked what she did. She had no regrets for not having made a university career, which seemed her objective when she was in Italy. In the United States she preferred to pursue other aims. As a young woman in Florence she had proved herself in laboratory research and in early publication. During the years in Rome she had taught educational psychology, a typical female professional niche. In New York she began to work in mental health clinics in 1942, without any medical training.

In Italy this would have been impossible; it was only in 1968 that a law was passed requesting the presence of a psychologist in places of psychiatric treatment.[161] It was not a delay so much as a slow recuperation, and in the face of much resistance. In the early 1900s Italian psychology was affirmed thanks to its "psychiatric soul," as whoever had studied under De Sarlo well knew. Then came idealism and Fascism, the psychotechnics in the service of the regime, the academic subordination of psychiatry to neurology by a decree in 1938 (subsequently annulled in 1975)[162] and the isolation in autarchy, the expulsion of scholars for political activism or for being Jewish, their hasty replacement with others not always of the same caliber. And afterward?

After the fall of Fascism the decline was evident, and no longer denied or silenced. When would things change? And how could the losses be made good? Where would the resources be found?

Giving "No More News of Herself"

Emigrants often seem to have a dual attitude—telling their success stories and recalling with great benevolence their home country. Those who expelled them or have taken their job, or had not even made a gesture of solidarity, now might wash their hands of the matter. In our story, the excuse was that although some had been persecuted, they nevertheless had made their fortunes crossing the ocean, and among friendly countries, rather than fighting. The Jews shouldn't complain. If they returned to Italy they shouldn't ask for the moon; if they had an American passport they had to remember "that their position is thanks to having being Italian first." This is what the liberal Cesare Merzagora—who had replaced the Jewish administrative director Ugo Tagliacozzo in the Pirelli group in 1938—wrote in an article of December 1945, which was republished a year later in a book with a letter-cum-preface by Benedetto Croce.[163]

The rules for the reintegration of the political and racial victims of Fascism existed from January 1944; but applying and even publicizing it was often discretionary. "I am happy to inform you that the decree which in the past invalidated your status as a *libera docente*, hit by the racial laws, has been repealed. Yours respectfully."[164] In September 1944 the Palermitan Giuseppe Caronia—vice-provost and then provost of the University of Rome after the Liberation—had sent this note to all the *invalidates*. Caronia himself had been persecuted as an anti-Fascist, had lost his chair in 1927, had moved to San Francisco for a temporary post, come back to Italy in 1930, and then was reintegrated in the chair of pediatrics in Rome. His note was sent formally also to Prof. Renata Calabresi at

the address that she had left nearly six years earlier, the same to which they had sent the note of June 12, 1939, now annulled.

Even if she had not received it personally, Renata was well enough informed. In the Italian circle of former university professors everyone was quite attentive to what was happening in Italy. It was known that a decree had been passed "to reinstate the civil and political rights of Italian and foreign citizens already declared of Jewish race."[165] The embassies, including the one in Washington, broadcast the information. Those who had been relieved of their duties in 1938 were to be automatically readmitted; for those who had emigrated there was a specific clause on Italian citizenship that meant they had to present an application. Some did, but the outcome was not always positive.[166]

Renata did not give it a moment's thought, even though she was not yet in a particularly good position. In 1944/1945 she was still desperately looking for a better job than the badly paid and tiring one at Rockland, but she was definitely looking in the United States. She was still waiting for American citizenship, which she had immediately taken steps to obtain after having set foot in New York. On February 20, 1940, she had received the first papers that requested a declaration of intent. "It is my intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States of America and to permanently reside there," and to renounce "allegiance or fidelity to a foreign prince, potentate, state."[167] Repudiating loyalty to Mussolini had been a relief, a satisfaction.

After the collapse of Fascism it was even more crucial to have news from relatives or friends who had stayed behind. In December 1944 Massimo Calabresi assured that "we have fairly frequent news from our relatives in Italy: apparently they are all more or less in good health and carrying on in spite of the great difficulty of the general situation."[168] They no longer had to hide. Their sister Cecilia no longer passed herself off as Cecilia Carli, daughter of the deceased Enzo. She had returned to normal life.[169]

They also had news of the university circle that they had left, and of their former colleagues. Renata knew about the national *concorso* in 1947 for the chair of psychology at the State University in Milan and its outcome. She knew of the death of Bonaventura in Jerusalem in 1948. Had the University of Florence at least honored him worthily? She took pen and paper and asked who should be well informed. Alberto Marzi replied with a considerable delay: the commemoration "went extremely well for the size of the public." He boasted that of all the speakers, he had "unhesitatingly said what had to be said on the obstacles encountered by psychology and by poor Prof. Bonaventura in Florence." He thanked her for her congratulations on the outcome of the last *concorso*, regretting that Banissoni came before him in the ranking of qualified candidates, and in turn he congratulated "*signorina* Calabresi" (he never managed to address her as "*dottoressa*") who had again improved her position, as he had learnt from her sister. "If you have some small piece of work—he added—, send it to me for the journal which we now print here."[170]

Big or small, she did not send him anything. Together with Theodora Abel she was working on the Rorschach interpretations of 106 inhabitants of Tepoztlán for a famous book on the *Life in a Mexican Village*. Twenty years after the pioneering

anthropological work by Robert Redfield in 1926, Oscar Lewis, the expert on the culture of poverty, repeated it with a group of specialists to evaluate the social changes that had taken place in the same community, but above all to apply new instruments and methods. He wanted on his team the two women psychologists, experts in personality tests, whose analysis would wind up supporting the conclusion, unlike Redfield's, that the culture of the Mexican village was highly conflictual, individualistic, and not in the least cooperative.[171] The 1951 book became a classic work, which was republished and translated. Who knows whether Marzi or at least some other professor of psychology appreciated Calabresi's original contribution, or whether they had at least seen this or other of her works.

"Dr. Calabresi has given no more news of herself since 1939."[172] Had she been missing? And for 17 years? Before signing such a categorical affirmation, the provost Papi of the University of Rome could at least have asked colleagues of psychology in his athenaeum. He might not know it, but Mario Ponzo, for example, president of the SIP, had even written in a journal that she (the presumed missing scientist) was in the United States and worked there. Ponzo was still at the Rome institute of psychology, although he had reached retirement age in 1952 and his post had been given to Leandro Canestrelli, the third qualified candidate in the Palermo *concorso* in 1950. The latter had also seen Calabresi on and off for years; starting in the 1930s he had been a collaborator of Ponzo and Banissoni, as had Renata.[173] Within the academic community of psychology it would not have been so hard to verify that Calabresi was a member of the APA, if they were not already aware of it. Did no one have her address abroad? Did no one know that she had relatives and close friends in Italy, and that she visited regularly?

The provost Ugo Papi lost no time asking such questions. Instead of looking at the person he looked at the papers. And on December 5, 1956, sent a communication to the Ministry of Public Education: note 2476 of September 26, 1944 had been sent to Calabresi at the time on the revocation of the decree invalidating her status as a *libera docente* on racial grounds, following note 7634 of June 12, 1939, on the decree itself. But the communication of the revocation had never been "delivered to the person concerned because she had moved elsewhere, as is clear from the declaration made by the postman on the envelope."[174] In a note of December 17, 1956, the minister Paolo Rossi "took note of your courteous reply," and thanked the provost for his efforts to locate the impossible-to-find Calabresi.

But what was the point? And why was it suddenly raised then? In November 1956 a new law had been passed "on measures to favor those persecuted for anti-Fascism and racial reasons and their family survivors."[175] The senator and lawyer Umberto Terracini, whom the special Fascist court had sentenced to 17 years of imprisonment and internal exile, had presented it to Parliament in 1952; it had become law in 1955, and was first amended in 1956. It should have offered compensation to the victims of persecution, not only the political victims but also of all Jews, anti-Fascist or not. In this climate, the question of "invalidated" *libero docenti* resurfaced after years of silence that very few had the strength and lucidity to break, given the feeble outcome of the process of purge and the review of chairs assigned "for fame" under Fascism.[176] Almost everything was left unchanged.

It was probably a public administrator or officer who had checked the lists of *liberi docenti*. There were still plenty of gaps in the list of around 200 who should have been rehabilitated. In Florence there were at least 16 in Lettere alone.[177] As regards the specific case, the University of Rome was asked "to explain for what reason *dott.ssa* Calabresi is not in the lists of *liberi docenti* registered at this athenaeum" where she had been awarded her *libera docenza* in 1935, invalidated in 1939 and reinstated in 1944.[178] In 1956 the provost replied citing the last and only piece of information in his possession. In late September 1944—not even three months after Lieutenant-Colonel Pollok and the troops of the Fifth US Army had entered Porta San Giovanni to liberate Rome from the Nazi-Fascist occupation—an unknown Roman postman had noted on the envelope returned to sender: "the porter says the addressee moved out."

And with this, the case of the *libera docente* Renata Calabresi, which had been reopened 12 years after the decree against Jews, was briskly reclosed. To be honest, someone at the ministry tried to discover "what municipality dott.ssa Calabresi had moved to." In January 1957 they asked the mayor of Florence, and in February the mayor of Rome. No one knew how to trace her.[179]

But all of a sudden the missing *dottoressa* reappeared.

Rome, January 10, 1957, on authorized notepaper addressed to the *Magnifico Rettore*, "the undersigned Renata Calabresi requests a certificate attesting that on 28 February 1935 she received the *libera docenza* in Psychology."[180]

The following day the certificate was ready, signed by the "magnificent" Papi.

The irony of fate? or Renata's irony? She already had the certificate she had collected in 1939. She did not need the piece of paper signed by Papi. He was a professor of political economy, appointed precisely in 1938/39 to Rome, where his discipline had almost been destroyed by the racial laws.[181] They had expelled the two full professors Gino Arias and Riccardo Bachi, and the *libero docente* Giorgio Tagliacozzo. The latter had emigrated to New York where he still remained; he had worked with *The Voice of America*, taught at the New School, and continued to publish books and articles. Renata naturally knew him, they had both been to see Miss Drury in 1939, as also Enzo Tagliacozzo who had then gone to Harvard to work as Salvemini's assistant.

In September 1957 Salvemini died at the age of 84. In 1949 he had returned to teach at the University of Florence, leaving Harvard and his American citizenship. The dean of *Lettere* had heard on the radio that the professor would be reintegrated. The news had caused conflicting reactions. Prof. Mario Salmi, who had applied the racial laws and been dean until the fall of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, was particularly alarmed, but the dean Paolo Lamanna had reassured him, expressing his own "hope that Prof. Salvemini remains permanently redundant."[182] Instead, at the age of 76 the exiled professor was reintegrated thanks to the direct intervention of the Minister, who had not even informed the Faculty first, and the provost Calamandrei who strongly wanted him back.

Unlike Calamandrei, the provost of Rome did not show much sensibility toward "political anti-Fascists and the racially persecuted," or toward others whom he should have protected. Rehabilitating the *libero docente* evidently seemed to Papi an irresolvable and in any case an irrelevant matter. He remained in office for

13 years until 1966, when the 19-year-old student Paolo Rossi, a Catholic and a member of *Gioventù socialista*, was killed following incidents provoked by a group of neo-Fascist thugs in the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia*. Provost Papi's astonishing declarations in *Rome Daily American* on the event were contested, and the university was peacefully occupied by students, then by some lecturers and professors. In a letter to the President of the Republic they denounced that in their university city "a tiny minority of thugs who adopted the symbols of Nazism, Fascism, the SS and the concentration camps, are allowed to attack with impunity students and professors who do not share methods and ideas belonging to the most shameful past, and condemned by the laws of all civilized countries." In May 1966 Papi was finally forced to resign.[183]

Probably Renata Calabresi came to hear about the event, which had a considerable impact in the press and in the student protest movement in many Italian universities, including Florence. As regards her own case, the push and pull had continued for a while. In May 1957 at the Ministry, which had just passed to Aldo Moro, someone took the case in hand and invited Papi to have the faculty examine the position of that *libera docente* who should have been reconfirmed. The provost repeated as usual the postman's reply. This time, however, he had to admit that according to a relative who had recently come to the office "it seems that dott.ssa Calabresi [...] had emigrated to America where it seems that she currently lives."[184] The minister of public education replied that "were you able to let us know at least in what part of America she had emigrated to," they would have got the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to trace the actual address. Days passed and "despite the more careful search it was impossible to trace Dr. Calabresi's relative [...], therefore this university cannot specify what part of America the aforesaid *docente* has emigrated to."[185]

The lack of conviction is all too clear. Perhaps Renata was not embittered, or less so than others. No one wondered whether her return, like that of the many others, would have benefitted the university, students, psychology, and Italy's culture in general.

Even the perception of what was lost is missing. And this applies naturally for the very many who did not return, and those whose forgotten or never known stories we still have to seek out.

Notes

Introduction

1. Fermi 1971, 116.
2. Salvemini 1955, 42.
3. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I A. Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi Renata (1939–1945).
4. See BUF, FDS: http://www.sbafirenze.it/fondi_speciali/indice.php?flag=2&tipo=fon&id=172 (accessed February 8, 2014). Some of De Sarlo's books were kept by his son-in-law Prof. Paolo E. Lamanna whose library was donated to two public libraries in his native city of Matera. Unfortunately, it was not catalogued as separate material and hence is not identifiable.
5. See Barsanti et al. 1986, with photos, particularly 103–118.
6. There are many and varied examples. See at least Canguilhelm 1966, especially the chapter on Comte, because his reflections about science and these themes dated to 1943–1944 and are linked to the serious reconsideration raised by Nazism and Fascism.
7. CM, copy from Marzi to Ponzo, May 11, 1945.
8. *Decr. leg. luogotenenziale* n. 159, July 27, 1944, GU, n. 41, July 29, 1944.
9. CM, copy from Marzi to Ponzo, May 11, 1945.
10. See all Geuter 2008. See also Cocks 1985. For a general view on Italian psychology, see Cimino and Foschi 2012 with bibliography.
11. See Grüttner 2008.
12. See Mazzetti 1961; and Arcuri 2014.
13. See *Archivio Storico Liceo Ariosto*, Ferrara: http://www.liceoariosto.it/biblioteca.html?start=4 (accessed February 4, 2014).
14. ASUF, SS, respectively 119, f.2319, Calabresi R.; 118, f.2311, Calabresi C.; 417, 10494, Calabresi M.
15. ACS, MI, DGPS, DAGR, A1, 1935, b. 12, from the prefect Bertini to the MI, December 12, 1926. I would like to thank Renato Foschi for having sent me a copy of these documents.
16. See Miniati 2003, 225.
17. Testimony of Guido Calabresi to the author.
18. ASUB, FS, *Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, f.746, Calabresi R.; ASUF, SS, 118, f 2311, Calabresi Cecilia.
19. ACS, MPI, DGIU, *Professori Universitari*, III s., b. 270, Limentani L., see *Servizio prestato*, March 2, 1922; and Sega 1999.
20. Levis Sullam 2012 and 2002. On the famous mayor, see Levi A. 1927, who also used the Nathan archive, subsequently lost.
21. See Villari 1866; Istituto di Studi Superiori 1920; and Garin 1976.

22. Marrassini 2004.
23. Limentani 1937, 2. On De Sarlo, see, among others, Guarnieri 1991, 2012b; Rancadore 2012.
24. See Murchison 1932, 1080.
25. See Peruzzi 1999; and Brunetti 1933.
26. ACS, MI, DGPS, 1921, 90, f. *Fasci di combattimento*, cited in Gentile E. 2012, 22. Vedi Corner 1975; Onofri 1980.
27. Testimony of Guido Calabresi to the author.
28. ASUF, SS, f. Calabresi Renata, *Esame di laurea in Filosofia*, June 4, 1923.

1 Psychologists "in the True Sense of the Word"

1. See R. decr. September 24, 1889, 6441; and Morselli 1889's comment. For the *scuole normali*, see R. decr. September 17, 1889, 7143, later suppressed by another minister; and another R. decr. September 11, 1892, 689.
2. Garin 1989, 66.
3. Data are taken from the heterogeneous documentation in the series Istituto di Studi Superiori, 1920 and ff. (Università from 1925 on).
4. Kuklick 1977, 581. Psychology was not considered in the series after 1915.
5. Università 1927, 246–247. Women in psychology are not even in Govoni 2009, 216.
6. Kuklick 1977, 590–591; O'Connell and Russo 1990.
7. De Sarlo 1908a.
8. Law 18.2.1989, n. 56, *Ordinamento della professione di psicologo*, GU, February 24, 1989, n. 46.
9. De Sarlo 1905a, 301.
10. See Geuter 2008, 40.
11. See Bühler 1978; Kostylev 1911; De Sarlo 1914a. The seminal work by Husserl 1970 derived from a series of his conferences held in Vienna and Prague around 1935, entitled "The Crisis of European Sciences and Psychology." See Ferruzzi 1998.
12. Geuter 2008, 40–41, with table of the continual increase of members, but from 339 in 1932 it fell to 288 in 1934 because of the expulsion of Jews.
13. Marhaba 1981, 78–82, with the 1911 Statute of the SIP, 80.
14. The list is in the SIP website that contains some errors regarding its history: http://www.sips.it/storia/ (accessed February 10, 2014).
15. Società Italiana di Psicologia, 1928, 4.
16. The Statute is reproduced in Associazione 1920, 210–211.
17. For more psychological journals, see Bongiorno 2010.
18. See Passione 2012; Antonelli and Zocchi 2013.
19. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1903.
20. Geuter 2008, 42–43.
21. From Marhaba 1981, 28–44, to, above all, Ceccarelli 2010.
22. ASPI, FVB, letter from De Sanctis to Benussi, n.d. but November 1922.
23. Boring 1957, 325, 341, 347, 441, 446.
24. ASPI, FVB, 45. This is what Benussi declared in his c.v. for the university of Padua in 1919. See Antonelli 2006, 22.
25. Ferrari 1905a; Chiabra 1904.
26. De Sanctis 1932.
27. Calogero, Coppola, Aliotta, Corso 1935. See Durst 1998, 636–640.
28. Carrara Lombroso 1894. See Dolza 1990.

29. Boring 1928; and Diserens 1934.
30. Murchison 1932, ix.
31. ACS, MPI, CSPI, 1900; Carlo Cantoni cited by Lombardo and Cicciola 2005, 9.
32. Titchener 1921, who cited Chiabra 1904 and Ferrari 1905a, was referring to Saffiotti 1920. In the intervening 16 years, the AJP had only printed a few reviews on Italian psychology.
33. See Intorrella 2008; Sergi S. 1927.
34. Sergi, 1876. See at least Mucciarelli 1987.
35. See Degni 2013; Genna 2001.
36. Saffiotti 1920, 138.
37. Titchener 1902, iv, thanked his friend De Sarlo for the translation by Chiabra.
38. Saffiotti 1920, 138.
39. Patini 1923. Positive reviews by Smith 1908a and 1908b in the AJP.
40. Cited by Saffiotti 1920, 142.
41. De Sanctis cited in Ferrari 1917, 220–221. See *decr. luogotenenziale*, November 5, 1916, n. 1649; the minister of education was Francesco Ruffini.
42. Martinetti 1914, 6. On this particularly problematical *concorso*, see Redondi 2008.
43. Ferrari 1905a, 225.
44. Chiabra 1904, 515; see also Chiabra 1901.
45. Ferrari 1905a, 226.
46. Ibid.
47. See ACS, MPI, CSPI, *Processi verbali*, 1905, May 5, 1905, cc. 112–113.
48. Ferrari 1911, later in Ferrari 1985, 155–156, and note.
49. Garin 1989, 68.
50. Villa 1911, 84–85, 264; Spanish and German translations (1902); English (1903); French (1904).
51. De Sarlo 1898a, particularly xi–xvii: xv.
52. See De Sarlo 1913; De Sarlo 1928a and Brentano 1913 edited and translated from Brentano 1874 by Mario Puglisi; and Puglisi 1924. On this personage, founder of the *Associazione Italiana di liberi credenti* who wanted to involve De Sarlo (as one sees from CDS, letters from Puglisi to De Sarlo, September 14, and September 28, 1924), see Corso 2007. See Albertazzi, Libardi, Poli 1996.
53. De Sarlo 1912. Note that alongside the positive evaluation of James there were the arguments with some Italian pragmatists in De Sarlo 1910.
54. James 1901 and 1904. The list of the Italian editions is in Guarnieri 1985, 135–136. See Florence Pragmatist Club 1905, reprinted in Papini 1934, 67–72.
55. The psychiatrist Corrado Tumiati cited without indicating the source by Babini 2010, 287. See also Lazzari 2003.
56. For the relation between James and Ferrari, see Quaranta 1985 and Quaranta 2006, 119–150, which translates some of James's letters to Ferrari. I deposited their copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, with the permission of Mario Quaranta in autumn 1981.
57. Data on the participants taken from De Sanctis ed. 1905, 18–27, 789–798. See Ceccarelli 2010, 50–51.
58. Psychological Index 1905; Fernberger 1917.
59. Morabito 2000.
60. See Ardigò 1888, and on him, Cavallera 2013 and Pironi 2000.
61. See Guarnieri 1986a, 1988a, and 1983.
62. On the first three sections, see respectively Foschi 2010; Sava 2010; and Guarnieri 2010.

63. Kramer 1988, 15; Foschi 2008.
64. Lombroso 1911a, xi, xix. See also the translation edited by Gibson and Rafter, Lombroso 2006.
65. Kurella 1911; Zimmern 1898, 348; Horton and Rich 2004; Rafter 2009, 281, 283.
66. Guarnieri 2012a and Simon 2006. The attack on the socialist Jewish scientist, as alleged inspirer of the final solution and racism, came from Mosse 1978 and Gould 1981. See Gibson 2002.
67. De Sanctis 1905, 657.
68. Tamburini 1902, 15, 18. See also Guarnieri 1998.
69. See David 1970, Ch. IV, and infra; see also Marzi 1937, 1–2.
70. Società Freniatrica Italiana 1902, 481–483. Bianchi would have been proposed as candidate for a Nobel in 1925, but Mussolini objected.
71. Morselli 1906, viii.
72. Vailati 1905, 17. For other comments, see Ceccarelli 2010, 105.
73. Ferrari 1905b and 1905c.
74. De Sarlo 1905b.
75. See Morselli 1894; and Guarnieri 1988a.
76. Morselli 1906, viii.
77. Croce 1905.
78. Ibid.
79. De Sarlo 1905c, 432.
80. James 1890, vol. 1, 549 and vol. 2, 448. See the Italian ed. by Ferrari e Tamburini, James 1901 and Tarozzi 1911.
81. See Danziger 1994, an historian of psychology of German origin whose family fled Germany for South Africa.
82. Lombroso 1909; Morselli 1886; Guarnieri 1988b and 1990; Taylor 1996, esp. Ch. 4; and Sommer 2012.
83. See Ginzburg 1989.
84. Decr. September 30, 1938, n. 1652, GU, October 29, 1938, n. 248, xvi. While the German Society for Experimental Psychology set up in 1904 became the German Society for Psychology in 1929, the SIP may have had a new attack of insecurity when in 1960, chaired by the psychoanalyst Cesare Musatti, it was renamed *Società Italiana di Psicologia Scientifica*. The redundant term was abolished in 1976, when SIPS became SIPs.
85. See ACS, MPI, DGIS (1897–1910), b. 267, *Concorsi a cattedra*. See Ferruzzi 1998, 673.
86. See Guarnieri 1991 and ASUF, SD, f. 887. Francesco De Sarlo.
87. ASUF, ISS, CAC, 1906, 260, letter from Villari to the Soprintendente ISS, July 18, 1906; and *f. Gabinetto di psicologia sperimentale*.
88. See Guarnieri 2012b, 47–52.
89. ACS, MPI, CSPI, *Processi verbali*, May 11, 1906; Filippo Masci report cited in Lombardo and Cicciola 2005, 20.
90. ASPI, FF, letter from Morselli to Ferrari, February 2, 1906.
91. Stevens 1905.
92. ASUF, ISS, CAC, 1906, 260, letter from the Superintendent ISS to Villari, July 27, 1907.
93. Maccagno 1910, 6. See decr. July 6, 1907, n. 594, for setting up the laboratory, and Di Giandomenico 2003.
94. De Sanctis 1928, 2.
95. On the Fondazione Pellegrini 1906, 3099.
96. See Musatti 1928, 26.

97. ASPI, FVB, letter from Benussi to Papafava, March 27, 1924; his correspondence with the provost of Padua Luigi Lucatello, and the following letters from Benussi to his dean at the Faculty of Philosophy: n.d. but 1919 [December 1921]; November 2, 1922; October 20, 1924; June 1, 1925; December 18, 1926; and also ASPI, FVB, *Documenti del Laboratorio di psicologia*.
98. ASPI, FF, letter from Morselli to Ferrari, Genoa, February 2, 1906, and the previous letter of Belmondo to Ferrari, December 31, 1905.
99. See Berrettoni 1907.
100. Mosso 1896. This is the translation by Kiesow and his wife Emma Lough Kiesow, and she also edited the German translation of Mosso 1899.
101. Luigi Agliardi and Ettore Anchieri translated Wundt 1900 and Wundt 1929, respectively.
102. La Direzione 1920, 2.
103. Kiesow 1930; Ferrari 1932; De Sanctis 1936; Gemelli 1952.
104. Sinatra 1998a, 358. Kiesow took part in *The Wittenberg International Symposium on Feelings and Emotions*; see Reymer 1928.
105. *Scritti di psicologia* 1933 and Sinatra 2000, with bibliography of Kiesow, 343–352.
106. See *Notizie* 1910a. The mixed committee was split: on the one hand, the physiologists Aducco and Patrizi, and on the other, the philosophers Masci and Villa, two neo-Kantian scholars of psychology with whom De Sarlo sided.
107. *I presidenti di SIPS*, http://www.sips.it/storia/ (accessed December 9, 2013). Negative judgment by his biographer Di Trocchio 1982.
108. Colucci 1935, 301.
109. See De Sanctis 1925; he introduced the Binet-Simon tests to Italy, prepared the so-called De Sanctis tests in 1908–1909, proposed *dementia praecocissima* then recognized by Kraepelin. See also Cimino and Lombardo 2004.
110. On Credaro, see Guarnieri 1980 and 1984.
111. Freud 1909, 92. *Die Traumdeutung*, dated 1900 was published a year earlier and thus "almost simultaneously" with De Sanctis 1899.
112. See ASPI, CG, letter from Gemelli to Ferrari, June 28, 1926. On De Sanctis's behavior regarding the new SPI, see Moschetta 2000, 40, 115. Gemelli's papers are at AUC, and partially accessible online from ASPI, http://www.aspi.unimib.it/index.php?id=536.
113. De Sanctis 1929, ix.
114. Ibid., vii and viii.
115. Marhaba 1981, 196. Cimino and Lombardo eds. 2004 do not agree with him.
116. De Sanctis 1912, reviewed by Smith 1913.

2 Neo-idealism and the "Cinderella of the Sciences"

1. See Mantovani 2004, 184–188; Cassata 2006; and De Sanctis 1916.
2. James 1907; in Italian, three years later, James 1910, with *Preface* by Giovanni Papini.
3. Musatti 1924; the most authoritative biography is by his pupil Reichmann 1996–1997.
4. Musatti 1924, 17; see Aliotta 1912.
5. Musatti 1924, 22.
6. Società Filosofica Italiana 1925, 7; list of participants 10–15.
7. See Società Italiana di Psicologia 1925, 1, 8–9.

8. For the discussion on De Sarlo's paper, ibid. 29–33. And see Lugaro 1920, attacked by Gentile 1920b in *La Critica*.
9. See "Notizie" 1923; and "Notizie" 1924. Società Italiana di Psicologia 1925, 29–30.
10. ASPI, FVB, letter from Musatti to Benussi, Florence, October 17, 1923, which referred to the debate with Aliotta and De Sarlo while Benussi evidently had already left the congress.
11. ASPI, FVB, letter from De Sanctis to Benussi, n.d. but actually November 1922 since the sheet of paper contains autographic notes dated November 4, 1922. Musatti held Benussi's papers and over 20 years later took them to the State University in Milan where he had the chair. For Benussi's last significant letters to De Sanctis, see Cicciola and Lombardo 2008, 267–273.
12. FG, AGG, letter from De Sanctis to Gentile, n.d., but mid-July 1922. The civil marriage of his daughter Amalia De Sanctis with Michele Tucci took place on July 26, 1922, as pointed out to me by Leonardo De Sanctis whom I thank.
13. ASPI, FVB, letter from Musatti to Benussi, Rome, October 27, 1924, communicating that he would "be unable to continue to practice this free service" of assistant.
14. CM, letter from Marzi to Ponzo, May 11, 1945, copy.
15. For example, the psychologist and historian of psychology Mecacci 1998, 15.
16. Formiggini Santamaria 1914, 29 and 30.
17. Croce 1958, 443, 450; then Gentile 1954, 84; and see Gentile 1969b.
18. Croce 1903, 3.
19. La redazione [De Sarlo] 1908, 521.
20. Ibid., 522.
21. See Morselli 1895.
22. Tocco 1905.
23. De Sarlo cited by Bonaventura 1933, 1. On the peculiarity of the ISS, see *Relazione della Commissione nominata* 1871; and Rogari 1986. On its faculty of philosophy, Olivieri 1982.
24. Villari 1868, 31.
25. ACS, MPI, CSPI, *Liberi Docenti* 1896–1910, pos. 11, b. 22 De Sarlo, illegible signature, reply to Note of May 6, 1897 to the MPI, Rome, December 13, 1897. On his intellectual biography, see above all Guarnieri 1991 and 2012b, especially 17–45; and Rancadore 2012.
26. "Rendiconto" 1873, 318, presented March 20 by the Committee appointed to draw up the instructions for the study of comparative psychology.
27. BUF, FT, the manuscript of Tocco's *Il trattato,* later ed. by Urbinati 1984. For the discussion with Herzen, see "Rendiconto" 1879.
28. Decr. May 19, 1889, "Fondazione di un Museo" 1889; and Mantegazza 1886.
29. Fanciulli 1913, 5.
30. De Sarlo 1905a, 300.
31. Ibid., 301.
32. Comune di Firenze 1908, 1909, and 1912. See Guarnieri 2004; see also Bruni and Visciola 2003; and Sava 2006 on *Ricerche di psicologia* 1905–1907, the periodical of the Laboratory.
33. De Sarlo 1907e, 54.
34. In CDS 111 letters and postcards to De Sarlo, found in his house in San Chirico Raparo.
35. Aliotta 1946, 23–24. Not far from the mental hospital, then directed by Eugenio Tanzi, see Istituto Toscano per Bambini Tardivi, 1889 and IU, LAC I, May 24, 1905–April 24, 1909, and *Libro Sigg. Soci. Soci Ordinari (1936–1945)*. I consulted the IU

archive in its original location; it is currently deposited in the ASF, not yet open for consultation.

36. De Sarlo 1905b, v.
37. Aliotta 1946, 23.
38. ASUF, ISS, CAC, 1904, 263 and 1906, 260, letters from Tocco, n.d. but 1904, and Villari, July 13, 1906, both to the superintendent. See De Sarlo 1903 and Calabresi 1930, in the series "Pubblicazioni del R. ISS Sezione di Filosofia and Filologia."
39. See the amusing testimony of his cotenant Moretti 1955, 136.
40. See Fanciulli 1913.
41. AAL, pos. 4, *Soci deceduti* (deceased members), b. 8, f. De Sarlo.
42. Croce 1904b on De Sarlo 1903.
43. Gentile 1904, 400; and much more Gentile 1969a, 389–402.
44. See Israel 1993.
45. As De Sanctis 1929, x.
46. La Redazione 1907a, 1907b, and 1908.
47. Papini 1907.
48. Croce 1907a, 168.
49. De Sarlo 1898, xviii. See at least De Sarlo 1901, 163–241, his appendix on contemporary positivism as "the philosophy of simplistic".
50. Croce 1907b, 245, the italics are in the original.
51. Croce 1907d, 416.
52. Letter from Croce to Lombardo Radice, April 22, 1907, in Colapietra 1968, 980–981.
53. Letter from Vailati to Papini, July 23, 1907, in Vailati 1971, 454. De Sarlo 1907a; Croce 1907a; De Sarlo 1907b, 111; Croce 1907b; De Sarlo 1907c; Croce 1907c; De Sarlo 1907d; and Croce 1907d.
54. Aliotta 1904a, with Croce 1904a's reply, and Aliotta's counterreply 1904b.
55. Letter from Croce to Gentile October 23, 1907, in Croce Alda 1981, 263–264. On Calò, see Scaglia 2013 and ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Personale*, III vers., f. Calò Giovanni.
56. Gentile 1907a, 75; 1908a; Calò 1907.
57. Letter from Croce to Gentile, March 19, 1907, in Croce Alda 1981, 240; and letter from Gentile to Croce, March 22, 1907, in Giannantoni 1976, 48–51. This referred to Croce 1907a. There are three postcards dated February 3, March 8, March 14, 1907, from De Sarlo to Gentile in FG, AGG, out of five postcards and one visiting card between them (1904–1907).
58. Gentile 1906; 1908b; 1907b.
59. De Sarlo's note in Calò 1908, 503.
60. Croce 1907b, 245.
61. Ibid.; the italics are in the original.
62. See Belardinelli 1988 and AAL, Pos. 4, *Soci deceduti*, b. 8, f. De Sarlo. The other awards mentioned were for Calò 1906; and De Sarlo and Calò 1909.
63. Letter from Gentile to Croce, April 29, 1911, cited by Turi 1995, 206, 269.
64. See Gentile 1969a, vol. 2, 230–507.
65. See Società Filosofica Italiana 1907, 58, with De Sarlo 1907f; and Enriques 1907.
66. Enriques 1908. For the critique by Croce 1914, 49; and Croce 1940, 194.
67. See Guarnieri 1981; and Di Giovanni 2006.
68. See Viano 2008.
69. Levi A. 2002 [1947], 134; and 1928; see also Campos 2002, 249.
70. Turi 1995, Ch. 3.

71. FG, AGG, postcard from De Sarlo to Gentile n.d. but 1906. Nominated senator on November 5, 1922, see ASSR, Senato del Regno, *Gentile Giovanni*: http://notes9.senato.it/web/senregno.nsf/All/042456EA674EC8A74125646F005C1B04/$FILE/1093%20Gentile%20Giovanni%20fascicolo.pdf (accessed September 20, 2013).
72. See Turi 1995, 206. On Della Valle, Gentile 1911a; and Cambi 1989.
73. FG, AGG, letter from Gentile to Lombardo Radice, April 5, 1911.
74. This was the neo-Kantian Giacomo Barzellotti; for the *concorso* in Messina, see Turi 1995, 120.
75. Marchesini 1910, cited by Turi 1995, 120.
76. Letter from Gentile to Pintor, Castelvetrano, June 30, 1911, in Gentile 2004, 285. See Gentile 1911b, on the contrary the issue dedicated by the Florentine group to *L'opera di Felice Tocco* 1911.
77. CDS, letter from Capone Braga to De Sarlo, August 8, 1923. See Chiogna 1975.
78. CDS, letter from Limentani to De Sarlo, August 23, 1924.
79. Assagioli 1909 and "Notizie" 1910b.
80. Assagioli 1912b, 62.
81. Evans and Down Scott 1978. See also: Claparède 1910; Myers 1924; International Congress 1927 and 1930.
82. Fernberger 1917 and 1926. All these data should be read with great care. The Italian data suffered from a lack of a national representation on the editorial board of the *Psychological Index* and the Italian series results not strictly correlated to influential events of the time, unlike other national series. All this raises doubts as to its reliability. The quantification does not reflect the situation of psychology in Italy, yet it contributed to its representation and reputation abroad.
83. See "Avviso" 1917, on the issue of October–December 1917, but the date of publication was March 31, 1918.
84. See its indexes: http://bib03.caspur.it/ojspadis/index.php/lacritica/issue/archive (accessed February 25, 2014).
85. Gentile 1920; Croce 1920; and Nazzari 1920.
86. See *supra* and Saffiotti 1920.
87. See ASSR, Senato della Repubblica, *Gentile Giovanni*: http://www.archivionline.senato.it/scripts/GeaCGI.exe?REQSRV=REQPROFILE&ID=1796679 (accessed February 13, 2014).
88. "Al lettore" 1920.
89. "Ai lettori" 1915.
90. "Circolo di studi psicologici" 1913. On Assagioli, see Berti n.d.; and http://www.psicosintesi.it/psicosintesi/roberto-assaglioi (accessed on December 21, 2013).
91. Letter from Jung to Freud, July 13, 1909, in McGuire 1974, 240–242. For reviews of Freud, see Tanzi 1897, 1899a, 1899b.
92. Letter from Freud to Jung, January 2, 1910, and Jung to Freud, June 17, 1910, in McGuire 1974, 281–284, 328–330.
93. See Assagioli, Papini, Prezzolini 1998; Romanò 1960; and Frigessi Castelnuovo 1960.
94. See, for example, Albertazzi 1994, 268.
95. Mackenzie 1913; Assagioli 1912a; and "Notizie" 1912. See Guarnieri 2012b, 66–71.
96. Assagioli 1912c. See Assagioli 1910a, 1914, and 1915; Adler 1914.
97. See Formiggini Santamaria 1914.
98. See Fanciulli 1914; Ferrari Pietro 1914; and De Capitani D'Arzago 1914. See Di Pasquale 2007, 407 ff.
99. See De Sarlo 1914b and 1915; Bonaventura 1916; Renda 1912; Assagioli 1913.

100. See Freud 1912, translated by Assagioli; and Morselli 1912, to whom Assagioli 1912c replied polemically.
101. IP, AS, autographed notes by Assagioli: https://www.dropbox.com/s/3cgx5virqp79qqq/Seconda%20riunione%20psicanalitica%20di%20Norimberga%201910.pdf (accessed December 9, 2013); and Assagioli 1910b.
102. See Baroncini 1908; and Modena 1908. Nearly 50 years later, David 1970 is still the most reliable work even with its imprecisions and with the preferences of the author who is a literature scholar; it is almost 40 years old Carotenuto 1977, which starts from 1903. The contributions in Jervis 1999 and Ranchetti 1980 and 1989 are also useful.
103. De Sarlo 1893; and Tocco 1893. For example, the ASP sessions about dreams of November 28, 1915, with Patini; and December 12, 1915, with Assagioli 1915.
104. See David 1970, 373–440.
105. Rieti 1933, 192. See Accerboni Pavanello 1985; and Corsa 2013; Weiss 1931.
106. Letter from Freud to Weiss, January 23, 1926, in Weiss 1990, 57–58. See Morselli 1926, 1, 1–19; Weiss 1926.
107. Among many, Jervis 1977, 9; see also Bonaventura 1938.
108. Berneri 1934 and 1935; his autographed copy for De Sarlo is in BUF, FDS. See Cavaglion 1982, 190; and Salvemini 1960, especially 103–104.
109. Assagioli 1927 and 1965. His second wife Nella Ciapetti was a follower of theosophy as was Assagioli's mother.
110. CDS, Bonaventura's wedding invitation to De Sarlo, September 14, 1921.
111. Ferrari 1919a, 1919b, and 1920a.
112. ASPI, FF, letter from Gemelli to Ferrari [s.l. 1920ca].
113. Gemelli 1914, 24. On the "*venerabile*" Necchi, see Guarnieri 2013.
114. Ferrari 1920b.
115. ASPI, FF, A. Gemelli, "*Illustre Signore*. . . ," Turin, February 21, 1920; not yet accessible online. I thank Paola Zocchi for having helped me with the consultation.
116. ASPI, FF, letter from Gemelli to Ferrari [s.l. 1920], from which we learn that "Italian" in the title had been chosen by Gemelli and disputed by the other two.
117. ASPI, FF, letters from De Sanctis to Ferrari, Rome, December 29, 1918, on the addition of "experimental" in the title, and Bologna, June 12, 1919, as regards the cover.
118. "Al lettore" 1920. See Perussia 2008.
119. FG, AGG, letter from Gemelli to Gentile, December 10, 1924. The *Università Cattolica* became legally entitled to award degrees in a state university system, with decr. October 2. 1924. The minister was Casati, but the agreement was between Gentile and Gemelli. See Raponi 2000; and Bocci 2003, 63.
120. De Sarlo 1922.
121. Tarozzi 1921a, 2, 5; 1921b; and 1921c.
122. Tarozzi 1921d, 166, was in response to Lombardo Radice and Santino Caramella who had attacked him in *Educazione nazionale* on May 15, 1921. Tarozzi 1936's collection is particularly interesting.
123. ASPI, FF, letter from Bonaventura to Ferrari, March 8, 1920.
124. ASPI, FF, letter from De Sarlo to Ferrari, May 19, 1922. See Marzi ed. 1937.
125. See "Notizie" 1913. De Sanctis 1913a; and De Sarlo 1913.
126. "Seduta del 15 febbraio" 1914, 102, with Circular and Statute of ASP, 101–104 and the ASP executive committee, "Seduta del 29 Marzo" 1914, 221.
127. Papini 1914.
128. De Sanctis 1913b.

129. These papers were, respectively, by Assagioli 1920 and Bonaventura 1920; see Associazione Studi Psicologici 1920.
130. Assagioli 1912b.
131. Unpublished accounts by students; see CDS, letters from C. Antoni to De Sarlo, August 26, 1926, and letter from T. P. Castiglione to De Sarlo, October 9, 1925.
132. Bonaventura 1914, 417.
133. Fanciulli 1913.
134. See De Sarlo 1918 and BUF, ISS, FF, *Verbali*, November 27, 1920; and May 31 and June 7, 1921.
135. ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Personale e insegnanti*, II vers., I s., b.11, Benussi V., with the letters of reference from Meinong, December 26, 1918; G. E. Muller, January 9, 1919; Stumpf, January 15, 1919; De Sanctis, May 19, 1919; and De Sarlo, May 29, 1919. See Albertazzi, Jacquette, and Poli 2001; Antonelli 2006; Antonelli and Dazzi 2009; Benussi 1932.
136. Cited by Sinatra 1998b, 476n. See Benussi 1922, 47.
137. Koffka 1915.
138. *La successione* 1919, 358. See ASPR, FDS, letter from Ferrari to De Sanctis, Imola, July 12, 1919. For the inventory of the FDS, see Cicciola 2008.
139. FG, AGG, letter from De Sanctis to Gentile, Rome, September 9, 1919.
140. Musatti 1928, 26.
141. Antonino Anile, deputy of the *Partito popolare* and anti-Fascist, slightly younger than De Sarlo, wrote to him: "Dear professor and friend, I am at your disposal." CDS, note from Anile to De Sarlo, August 4, 1921.
142. I refer to the title and interpretation of Emilio Gentile 2012.
143. Galdo 1923, with also the agenda, 51–52; and Bonaventura 1928.
144. De Sarlo 1923. On the reform, see Charnitzky 1996; Turi 1995; and Tarquini 2009, particularly Chapters 1–2.
145. Weiss 1925; also Calabresi 1925; and De Marchi 1925. See also Bonaventura 1928, 18.
146. Società Filosofica Italiana, 1925, 5–7 for the *Circolare*, dated June 1923 and signed by its president De Sarlo; and for the list of the 174 participants, 10–15.
147. De Sarlo1925a, 276.
148. Account of the inaugural session, in Società Italiana di Psicologia 1925, 1.

3 Fascistization, Discrimination, and Persecution

1. BUF, ISS, FF, *Verbali*, November 6, 1923, 515–516.
2. ASUF, ISS, CAC, 1923, b. 50, "*Il Gabinetto di Psicologia*"; see Guarnieri 2012b, 97–103.
3. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, June 27, 1923, 490, 498; then LF, intervention by Pistelli, May 23, 1925, 75–76.
4. Pardini and Mainardi 1991.
5. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, December 7, 1923, 521; and March 20, 1924, and ASG, FB, letter from Ramorino to Bemporad, March 31, 1924. See also Calabresi 1930.
6. Guarnieri 2012b, Ch. 3.
7. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, February 17, 1923, 403–410.
8. Letter from Gentile to Pintor, Castelvetrano, June 30, 1911, in Gentile 2004, 285.
9. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, February 17, 1923, 404–405.
10. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, 408.
11. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, 406.

12. ASUF, ISS, CAC, 1923, 10c, note from the MPI to the Superintendent of Florence, March 15, 1923, n. 5202, transcribed in a note of the Superintendent, March 17, 1923.
13. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, June 27, 1923, 479.
14. *Dove va il mondo?* 1923, 69. See Gentile, Emilio, 2012, 263–271.
15. Salvemini 2001, 370–71; 1960, 5.
16. ASUF, ISS, CAC, 1923, 10c, note from the MPI to the Superintendent of Florence, October 22, 1923, n. 11716, transcribed in a note of the Superintendent, October 27, 1923.
17. See Guarnieri 2012b, 83–90.
18. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, November 6, 1923.
19. Salvemini 2001, 404–406, 396; 1960, 5–6.
20. CDS, Gentile's decision was reported by Lamanna in the letter from his guest Calò to De Sarlo, September 14, 1923.
21. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, December 7, 1923, 519.
22. De Sarlo 1925c. The text of the agenda was approved unanimously by the SIP 1925, 34.
23. Palla 1978, 119–120.
24. "Sottomettersi or dimettersi" 1923, cited by Gentile, Emilio 2012, 270.
25. De Sarlo 1898b.
26. Ferrari 1922; FG, AGG, letter from Ferrari to Gentile, August 14, 1925.
27. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, intervention by Pistelli, May 23, 1925, 75–76.
28. De Sarlo 1923, 1.
29. De Sarlo 1924, then the abridged version in *Il Mondo*, March 1, 1924.
30. Spadafora 1997; Guarnieri 1986b with bibliography.
31. CDS, letter from Levasti to De Sarlo, September 15, 1925.
32. Salvemini 2001, 184.
33. For example, CDS, letter from Calò, Lamanna and E. De Sarlo to F. De Sarlo, September 14, 1923.
34. De Sarlo 1925b, 4.
35. Ibid., 318. On Italian idealism, see Peters 2013.
36. Garin 1989, 70.
37. For the list of signatories to the respective *Manifesti*, see Boatti 2001, 41–44, and note.
38. CDS, letter from De Robertis to De Sarlo, September 18, 1925.
39. Ibid.
40. CDS, letter from Orestano to De Sarlo, Rome, October 19, 1925.
41. CDS, letter from Limentani to De Sarlo, Dolo (Venice), September 8, 1925, and letter from Levasti to De Sarlo, Florence, September 15, 1925.
42. CDS, letter from De Ruggiero to De Sarlo, Rome, August 31, 1925.
43. De Ruggiero 1925. See Peters 2013; and De Felice 1991.
44. CDS, letter from Bonaventura to De Sarlo, September 4, 1925.
45. Ferrari 1922, 145 and 160.
46. FG, AGG, letter from Gemelli to Gentile, December 10, 1924; see also Gemelli 1925.
47. De Sarlo 1947[1926], here quoted from the 2008 ed., 38.
48. Gobetti 2000. Gobetti 1924, republished in several editions; see Gobetti 1994.
49. ISRT, AS, typewritten n.d. but 1924. I would like to thank Prof. Luigi Pepe of the *Comitato Salvemini* for his authorization. On the Waldesian Jahier, see Izzi 2004.
50. Salvemini 1960, 10.

51. Salvemini 2001, 174–175.
52. Ibid., 175; his role was clarified in 1947 by Levi A. 2002, 73–74.
53. See executive, speakers and topics in the pamphlet *Delitto e castigo,* n.a. [1925], 1–4, of which Salvemini had a copy (in ISRT, AS). See also Calamandrei 1955, 74–75; and Levi A. 2002, 74.
54. Levi A. 2002. Ibid., 74–75.
55. Resolution by the prefect of Florence, January 5, 1926, reproduced in *Delitto e castigo* 1925, 8.
56. *Delitto e castigo* 1925, 7.
57. "All'insegna del manganello" 1925; and "L'inaugurazione dell'Università" 1925.
58. Calamandrei 1955, 99–100, also cited by Salvemini 1960, 13.
59. "I fascisti all'università" 1925. See "Salvemini non deve" 1925.
60. In Pietroforte 2011.
61. Salvemini 1955, 15.
62. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, June 8, 1923.
63. Levi A. 2002, 75–77.
64. Memories of the event do not coincide completely. In addition to Levi, Rossi 1955, 65n. See also Pugliese 1999, 74.
65. "Gli arresti" 1925; "Il processo contro" 1925.
66. ISRT, AS, Salvemini, typescript on the trial, n.d., 23, then with changes in Salvemini 1955, 18, where the entire history of the underground publication is provided.
67. Levi A. 2002, 78–79.
68. Lombroso G. 1946, 10–12.
69. Pistelli 1925.
70. CDS, letter from Lamanna to De Sarlo, Coreglia, August 24, 1925, and from Calò to De Sarlo, August 6, 1925.
71. Calò 1925.
72. Biancofiore alias Marion Cave to Salvemini, Florence, October 10, 1925, in Salvemini 1985, 3, 443.
73. Palla 1978, 142–166.
74. Salvemini 1960, 31 and 11; Boatti 2001, 14–28.
75. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, November 10, 1925, and December 5, 1925.
76. Calamandrei 1955, 107–109.
77. Salvemini 1960, 70; and Signori 2009, 20–21.
78. L. December 24, 1925; GU, January 4, 1926.
79. Salvemini 1960, 11. See Bobbio 1986, 254, on Trentin, Francesco Saverio Nitti, Arturo Labriola, Enrico Presutti.
80. Boatti 2001, 21.
81. Sapori 1946, 70. See also the accounts by Luigi Russo, Luigi Einaudi, Concetto Marchesi cited by Turi 2002, 359n.
82. Letter from Salvemini to the provost, London, November 5, 1925, and Paris, December 2, 1925, in Calamandrei 1955, 107, then in Salvemini 1960, 32–38.
83. CDS, diary 1926, partially published in De Sarlo 2011, 363.
84. Cited in Boatti 2001, 258.
85. Cited in ibid., 260.
86. Cited in ibid., 260–264; from the point of view of Bonaiuti's pupils; Niccoli 2011, 574.
87. Agazzi 1969.
88. Gentile 1926, 3.
89. CDS, De Sarlo's diary 1926, March 30, of which also the ff. citations in the text.
90. CDS; the other testimonies are cited in Boatti 2001, 264; and Turi 1995, 369.

91. Zino 1926. See also "Dopo il convegno di Milano" 1926, which is an example among many.
92. Boatti 2001, 284–286, cites several, from Irene Boni in *il Ponte* 1951, to Remo Cantoni and Piovene in *La Stampa* 1963 and 1965, to Padovani in *Giornale di metafisica* 1950, and Bobbio 1986. See also Turi 1995 and Riva 1996.
93. Gentile 1926.
94. Ibid.
95. "La seconda giornata" 1926; and Bonaventura 1928, 19.
96. La Società italiana di psicologia 1926.
97. Bonaventura 1928, 19; Leproux 1965, 816; Marhaba 1981, 81; and on the SIP website http://www.sips.it/storia/ (accessed April 22, 2013).
98. In 2013 Francesco De Sarlo Jr. donated a copy of De Sarlo 1947 to the *Biblioteca Umanistica* of the University of Florence. Here I am referring to Limentani 1924, and to Lamanna (ed.) 1938, already in "Appendix" of his manuals for *licei*.
99. De Sarlo 1947 [1926].
100. CDS, diary, March 31, 1926.
101. CDS, diary, April 8, 9, 10, 11, 1926.
102. ACS, MPI, DGS, I, *Prof. ordinari*, II, b. 48, f. F. De Sarlo, "reserved note," May 10, 1926.
103. Scalabrella 1988 says nothing on his first dispensation. But see Turi 1995, 369–370. See also Fiori 1999.
104. Carlini 1934.
105. "Una lettera di G. Rensi" 1926.
106. GU, October 8, 1931. See Boatti 2001; and Goetz 2000. On dissensus/consensus, see in particular Corner 2012.
107. CDS, diary, April 10, 12, 13, 15 and May 7, 8, 10, 11, 1926.
108. De Sarlo 1931; 1928a; 1928b.
109. Guarnieri 2012b, 118–122. ACS, MPI, DGS, I, *Prof. ordinari*, II, b. 48, f. F. De Sarlo; ASUF, SD, f. 887, *Stato di servizio*. See also, CDS, diary May 10, 1926.
110. ACS, CPC, b. 2778, f. Levi Alessandro, *Prefettura* of Parma to MI, DGPS, January 11, 1933; he was warned on December 3, 1926.
111. ACS, CPC, b. 2787, f. Limentani L., various papers in 1935 from and on Mario Favilli.
112. ACS, CPC, b. 2778, f. Levi A., *Prefettura* of Parma, July 14, 1932; MI, DGPS, December 15, 1932, and Ministero Affari Esteri, March 9, 1937.
113. ACS, CPC, b. 2778, Levi A., letter from MEN, DGIS to the provost of the University of Parma, August 26, 1938.
114. ACS, CPC, b. 2778, f. Levi A., *Prefettura* of Parma, February 6, 1933.
115. ACS, CPC, b. 2778, f. Levi A., MI, July 21, 1934, and July 22, 1934. See also ACS, CPC, b. 4551, f. Salvemini G.
116. Levi A. 2002, 73.
117. Francovich 1961, 130.
118. Geuter 2008, 5, 9.
119. Gemelli 1925, 46–47, who deliberately muddied the waters on Florence and Milan.
120. De Sarlo 1925a, 28; the italics are mine.
121. Cited by Boatti 2001, 259.
122. Redondi 2008.
123. ASPI, FUST, letter from Kiesow to Gemelli, Turin, January 17, 1922 [but 1923]; then FG, AGG, letter from Gemelli to Gentile, December 10, 1924.
124. Cosmacini 1985, 193 and 304. See ACS, MPI, DGIU, *Concorsi,* b. 298–299, f. 723. See also, Foschi, Giannone, and Giuliani 2013.

125. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza*, letter from Gemelli to De Sanctis, November 28, 1927. The documents belonged to Agostino Gemelli and are kept in the AUC but there is not only a single archive. Some are accessible with a sort of "virtual inventory" on the ASPI (http://www.aspi.unimib.it/index.php?id=536); for relative cataloguing, see AUC.
126. Musatti 1987, 69.
127. Letter from Benussi to De Sanctis of November 24, 1927, reproduced by Cicciola and Lombardo 2008, 273.
128. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza*, letter from Gemelli to De Sanctis, and respectively to Kiesow and Ferrari on the same date, November 28, 1927.
129. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza*, letter from Gemelli to Kiesow, April 7, 1928; among the previous letters, January 5, 1928, February 9, 1928, February 15, 1928; and letters from Kiesow to Gemelli of January 6, February 7, February 18 and April 1, 1928.
130. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza,* letter from Gemelli to Kiesow, April 7, 1928.
131. The *concorso* for the chair in Cagliari in GU, July 7, 1924, that is, five days after the nomination of the liberal Casati to replace Gentile in the MPI.
132. FGG, AG, letter from Guzzo to Gentile, November 11, 1924.
133. ASPR, FDS, letter from Gentile to De Sanctis, June 18, 1921.
134. Letter from De Sanctis to Bignami, February 2, 1924, cited in Bignami 1989, 578.
135. ASPR, FDS, letter from Bonaventura to De Sanctis, October 21, 1930, and letter from Ponzo to De Sanctis, December 6 and 21, 1929.
136. ASPI, FM, letter from Musatti to Ponzo, n.d. but 1931, copy.
137. Musatti 1987, 87.
138. BUF, LF, *Verbali*, May 26, 1933. The earlier proposals on November 12, 1931, May 2, 1932, and June 22, 1932.
139. De Sarlo, 1935. The oath was imposed by the Statute of the *Accademia dei Lincei*, r. decr. October 11, 1934, n. 2309. Elected member on July 15, 1904 during the presidency of Pasquale Villari, De Sarlo was "invalidated" on January 28, 1935. I thank Giovanni Aloisio and Rita Zanatta of the AAL for this information.
140. AUC, CG, b. 47, f. 65, sf. 622 copy of the invitation of Calò and Bonaventura, June 14, 1933, evidently sent also to Gemelli, who did not join. The parchment gift of Francesco De Sarlo Jr. in 2012 is now on display in the former Department of Psychology at the University of Florence.
141. Di Bello 2006.
142. FG, AGG, letter of Gemelli to Gentile, June 24, 1927. Italics are mine.
143. ASPI, FUST, letter from Kiesow to the CNR, Turin, October 20, 1929.
144. Ponzo 1926, 128. See Cattell 1930.
145. Fernberger 1936 and 1946, 286.
146. See Paoloni and Simili 2001. See in particular Canali 2001; and Mecacci 2001.
147. ASPI, FUST, letter from Kiesow at the CNR, Turin, October 20, 1929; Bonaventura and Canella 1931, 9.
148. Canella 1940 against the Jews, 173–174 and 1941. See Volpato 2001.
149. Ponzo 1939, 285; and Società Italiana di Psicologia 1936.
150. Ponzo 1939, 286.
151. Gemelli 1937; and 1939.
152. "Il Centro sperimentale di psicologia" 1941, 11, 14.
153. ASPI, FM, *Commissione per l'orientamento professionale*, minutes, January 9, 1935 (the italics are mine).
154. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza,* letter from Gemelli to Musatti, copy, December 11, 1935, also to Colucci, Gatti, Bonaventura, Ponzo and Banissoni, regarding r. decr. November 28, 1935, n. 2044, GU 76, December 6, 1935; see Marhaba 1981, 53.

155. See Turi ed. 1994; and Malatesta ed. 1996. Studies on specific professions in Italy do not include psychologists; but see again Geuter 2008.
156. See L. 56, February 18, 1989. Ossicini 2002.
157. See Gundlach 2010; Marzi 1941.
158. Ossicini 2002, 87. Banissoni is an interesting figure, but missing even in the DBI and ASPI. See also Canali 2001 and ACS, MPI, DGIU, *Prof. ordinari*, III, b. 33, f. Ferruccio Banissoni.
159. Gemelli 1939; Banissoni 1939; Gemelli and Banissoni 1941.
160. Landra, Gemelli, and Banissoni 1940, 400–403 ff.; see Gillette 2002.
161. Banissoni 1939, 427.
162. Galbani 1991. See also the careful reconstruction by Sarfatti 2001.
163. Sarfatti 2001, 36, who also cites the French *Temps* of February 10, 1938.
164. "Gli ebrei nelle università italiane," 1938, R. decr. l. September 5, 1938, n. 1390, GU, September 13, 1938, 209, converted into Law on January 5, 1939, n. 99, GU, February 7, 1939, n. 31.
165. Finzi 1996, 61–62.
166. ASUF, CAC, 1939, 8B. A series of private circulars of the MEN, DGIS, between July and September 1939. See Fabre 1998.
167. ASUF, CAC, 1939, MEN circular, July 4, 1939.
168. Calamandrei 1949. See Morbidelli 1993, who also cites Bice Cammeo's letter to Calamandrei, October 29, 1949, 55.
169. Limentani 1937. His grandson Francesco De Sarlo Jr. has confirmed to me the forbidden funeral.
170. ASUF, CAC, 1939, from Serpieri to MEN, June 21, 1939. See ASSR, *Senatori del Regno*, Serpieri A. http://notes9.senato.it/web/senregno.nsf/All/05C2B604C350DB6C4125646F00608C14/$FILE/2074%20Serpieri%20Arrigo%20fascicolo.pdf (accessed March 20, 2014).

4 The Zionist Network and Enzo Bonaventura: From Florence to Jerusalem

1. Momigliano 1987 [1933], 237, on Roth 1930, and Momigliano 1985. See Molinari 1991, 39, that quotes Nello Rosselli at the Fourth Jewish Youth Meeting, Livorno, November 2–4, 1924.
2. Cavarocchi 1999, 435.
3. ASUF, CAC, 1938, 9A, *Processi verbali*, minute, October 7, 1938.
4. From the Federal administrative secretary of the PNF, *Federazione Fasci di combattimento di Firenze*, cited in Mecacci, 2014, 441 note, who emphasizes how Garin's PNF membership is never considered.
5. Turi 2000, 244.
6. Murchison 1932, 1080.
7. Torrini ed. 2007, 86, 115.
8. ACS, MPI, DGIU, I, *Professori ordinari*, s. 3, b. 270, f. Limentani L., and ACS, CPC, b. 2787, f. Limentani L.
9. BLO, ASPSL, "Files of correspondence relating to individual refugees who were not funded by, or registered with, the Society," MS SPLS, 519/1, Limentani, SPLS letter to Limentani, February 23, 1939. The SPLS papers at BLO have been reproduced by kind permission of CARA. For Limentani's contacts with Frances Yates and others, see the papers (1938–1939) cited by Bassi 1995, and Bassi 1999.

10. Torrini 2007, for example, see 48–50.
11. ASUF, 1938, b. 2/A, f. *Professori ordinari*, letter from Limentani to the provost, October 18, 1938.
12. Cavarocchi and Minerbi 1999, 477. Art. 14 r. decr. l. 1728/1938. A "*discriminato*" Jew could still perform service military in peacetime and in war; exercise the role of tutor or guardian of minors or the unfit not belonging to the Jewish race; be owner or manager of particular types of enterprises and firms; own land with a value above a given figure; own urban real estate above a specified taxable value; have parental authority over children belonging to different religions where this means teaching an education not corresponding to their religious principles or for national ends; work for banks of national interest.
13. ACS, MPI, DGIU, I, *Professori ordinari*, s. 3, b. 270, f. Limentani L., letter from MEN to MI, DGDR, September 14, 1940, in reply to letters from MI, DGDR, February 12, 1940, and July 24, 1940.
14. See Longo Adorno 2003, 50; Ghidetti 2011; and NYPL, ECADFS, s. I.B, Non-grantees, b. 96, f. 47, Momigliano Attilio. For the ECADFS Records, see O'Shea 2007, https://www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/archivalcollections/pdf/emergency.pdf (accessed June 25, 2014).
15. Tasso 1946, commented by Momigliano, vii–viii.
16. See Bonavita, 2004, 153–154.
17. ACS, MI, DGDR, *Divisione razza* (1938–1944). Enzo Bonaventura's f. is empty but the outcome "*discriminato*," and the grounds "*Croce M.G.*," that is, for war merits, are noted on the cover.
18. Letter from Bonaventura to the provost, November 3, 1938, cited by Marrassini 2004, 87, with no indication of the source.
19. BUF, LF, *Verbali*, November 17, 1938.
20. ASUF, CAC, b. 17/E, hand-delivered letter from the provost Serpieri to Bonaventura, October 13, 1938.
21. The nomination of Bonaventura as assistant in the laboratory of psychology was requested by De Sarlo, BUF, FF, *Verbali*, June 22, 1914, and December 1, 1914.
22. Provost's letter of November 22, 1938, was the same for all temporary lectures. The copy addressed jointly to "Dr. Bonaventura and Dr. Clara Bergamini di Capua" is in ASUF, CAC, b. 2/B, 1938.
23. BUF, LF, *Verbali*, October 27, 1938. ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Libero docenti*, s. 3 (1930–1950), b. 310, f. Marzi Alberto, "Application for the *libera docenza*" and "Certificate of the *Federazione Fiorentina dei Fasci di Combattimento*," June 26, 1936. ASUF, SLD, *Libero docenti*, f. Bonaventura Ezio [*sic*], "Atto di giuramento," November 30, 1931, and PNF membership.
24. For the first two letters Gori-Savellini 1987, 42–43. See also BLO, ASPSL, L. 471/3, f. Bonaventura E.; NYPL, ECADFS, I.A. Grantees, b. 4, f. 1 Bonaventura E. 1939–1944, "File Memorandum," March 17, 1939; and s. III, APA 1938–1941, b. 163, f. 4.
25. See O'Shea 2007, s. I, 1–8. Duggan and Drury 1948.
26. See Marzano 2003. At the same time, from 1931 Leo Levi from Turin had organized Jewish camps in Italy and was looking for guides to transmit "the feeling of the intimate beauty of Jewish life," he asked Pacifici and Bonaventura, see L. Levi to Pacifici, Turin, July 12, 1931 (in CAHJP, P-172, s. X, b. Levi L.), reproduced in Marzano 2003, 197; see Marzano 2013.
27. "Il primo viaggio" 1924a; and 1924b; and the accounts by Pacifici 1924/25.

28. For news on Bonaventura's talk at the *Circolo*, see "Da Firenze," 1924. I would like to thank Anna Teicher for the previous reference. See also program dated November 14, 1924, and the members of the executive committee in *Delitto e castigo*, 1925.
29. Tsur 1968, 129, or. ed. in Hebrew 1965. See Jaffe 2007, 166.
30. See, inter alia, Dell'Era and Menozzi 2009; Rigano 2008; Germinaro 2009; Sarfatti 2000; and Mazzini 2009.
31. See Salviati 2007.
32. Funaro 1990.
33. Testimony collected by Longo Adorno 2003, 57.
34. See Longo Adorno 2003; and Foa 2009, English translation http://www.primolevicenter.org/Essays%26Interviews/Entries/2011/12/26_Eighty_Years_in_Print__The_Rassegna_Mensile_di_Israel.html (accessed August 25, 2013).
35. ACS, MI, DGPS, DAGR, Cat. A1, 1934, b. 9, f. Bonaventura Enzo. Penned notes and official stamp in the *nulla osta* of the Ministero Affari Esteri, July 11, 1934, requested by MEN for the participation of Bonaventura to a congress in Prague.
36. ACS, MI, DGPS, DAGR, notice from Prefettura to MI, "*Convegno studi ebraici*," March 29, 1938, cited in Longo Adorno 2003, 40–42.
37. *Informazione diplomatica* n. 14, February 16, 1938, in De Felice 1988 [1961], 276.
38. Confidential report to the Zionist Executive 1937, reproduced in Longo Adorno 2003, 162–165.
39. Marzano 2003, 93. Bidussa 1998 makes a distinction between emigrants by choice or for necessity.
40. Marzano 2003, 363–379 gives the list of names and dates of leaving by city of origin.
41. Roth 1961.
42. Ibid.
43. HUCA, f. 2278, letter from Bonaventura to Weizmann, November 8, 1938; reproduced in Italian without any archive reference in Gori-Savellini 1987, 43.
44. Ibid. See Weizmann 1949; and Frazer 2009.
45. HUCA, f. 2278, letter from Bonaventura to the provost of the HU Jerusalem, October 7, 1938, It. trans. in Gori-Savellini 1987, 42.
46. Levi L. 1944, 24–26, quoted with Primo Levi by Cavaglion, 2003, xxi–xxii.
47. BLO, ASPSL, 471/3, f. Bonaventura E., "General information," December 12, 1938.
48. BLO, ASPSL, 471/3, f. Bonaventura E., letter from Simpson to Bonaventura, December 15, 1938. See Medawar and Pyke 1996, Simpson and Cooper 1992.
49. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 4, f. 1, Bonaventura E., "File Memorandum," March 17, 1939.
50. Ibid. See Lowe 2006.
51. NYPL, ECADFS, s. V, b. 174, f. 9, APA 1938–39, 1944, letter from Burk to Duggan, September 28, 1938.
52. NYPL, ECADFS, s. V, b. 174, f. 9, APA 1938–39, 1944, letter from Drury to Rasovsky, October 8, 1938, "Interview memorandum," n.d., and various letters with B.S. Burk, September 28 and 30 and October 3, 18, 25, 1938, with Guide.
53. King, Golden, and Wertheimer 1996; Dallenbach and Evans 1982.
54. NYPL, ECADFS, s. V, b. 174, f. 9, APA, 1938–39, 1944.
55. BLO, ASPSL, "General information," December 12, 1938, 471/3, f. Bonaventura E., SPSL. His c.v. in English is reproduced in Gori-Savellini 1987, 47. On his interest in the psychology of the newborn, see now Caroli 2014, 331–340.
56. "Una lettera inedita," 1989.

57. NYPL, ECADFS, s. V, b. 174, f. 9, APA, Committee on Displaced Scholars, October 18, 1938.
58. NYPL, ECADFS, s. V, b. 174, f. 9, APA, "Confidential memorandum to members of the APA issued by the APA Committee on displaced foreign psychologists," n.d., but March 1929.
59. HUCA, f. 2278, from Bonaventura to Weizmann, November 8, 1938, cited in Gori Savellini 1987, 42.
60. NYPL, ECADFS, s. V, b. 174, f. 9, APA, Committee on Displaced Scholars, Katz, Professor David, APA Committee list, "Displaced Psychologists and Scholars with Psychological Background in Related Fields." On his removal, see Geuter 1992, 53; see Miller 2007.
61. Letter from Lewin to Judah Magnes, provost of the Hebrew University, March 12, 1934, cited in Bargal 1998, 59.
62. Letters of Lewin, December 29, 1937, and February 5, 1934, in Bargal 1998, 65 and 58. On Magnes, see Gartner and Efron 2007.
63. Letter from Freud to Magnes, December 5, 1933, cited in Rosenbaum 1954, 317. On Max Eitingon, see Wulff 1950; Wilmers 2009: 233–242; and Bargal 1998, 56.
64. Alexander Dushkin influenced the modernization of Jewish education in both the United States and Israel; see Dushkin 1918.
65. HUCA, f. 2278, letter from Roth to Weizmann, November 17, 1938, cited in Gori-Savellini 1987, 44.
66. After 1965 Roth was renominated correspondent member of the *Accademia La Colombaria*, and in 1969 became *commendatore* of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic for his services to Italian culture. See Lipman 2007.
67. Letter from Enriques to Fraenkel, November 11, 1938 (in French), partially in Gori-Savellini 1987, 43.
68. See Capristo 2003. Levi Civita died in 1941; Enriques, who had continued to publish under the Aryan pseudonym of Adriano Giovannini, was reintegrated after the war and died in 1946. On the great Italian school of mathematics hard hit by the racial measures see Goodstein 1984.
69. HUCA, f. 2278, Bonaventura E. J., HU Executive Committee Minutes, April 27, 1939, par. 4, extract; and letter from Dushkin to provost Fraenkel, April 27, 1939 on the Committee meeting of January 18, 1939 that gave an account of all the documentation.
70. See Katsh 2007; and Bergman and Meir 2007.
71. HUCA, f. 2278, Bonaventura E. J., M. Buber, report, December 22, 1938. He referred to Bonaventura 1930, Spanish trans. 1932.
72. HUCA, f. 2278, Bonaventura E. J., report from the committee to the provost A. H. Fraenkel, April 27, 1939; Ital. trans. in Gori-Savellini 1987, 48–49 (but wrongly dated).
73. HUCA, f. 2278, Bonaventura E. J. The administrator was D. Werner Senator; see Loewenstein 2007.
74. Testimony of Elio Toaf, then a student at the university in Pisa, who saw his older brothers Renzo and Cesare to leave, in Duranti 2011, 167; also see Marzano 2003, 367.
75. Marzano 2003, 366.
76. Letter from Senator to Bonaventura, October 9, 1939, on the courtesy of Odelia Liberanome, who translated from Hebrew the copy provided to her in 1987 by Gori-Savellini.
77. Bargal 1998, 65, understandably preferred Lewin and belittles Bonaventura's publications as "curricular material and textbooks for teachers and educators." On Bonaventura in Jerusalem, see Telkes-Klein 2004, 4; and Ormian 2007.

78. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 4, f. 1, Bonaventura E., copy of *Excerpts from the News Bulletin on the Hebrew University in Jerusalem*, by the AFHU, January 1940.
79. The name is misspelt as Racah Guiseppe [*sic*], exactly as in NYPL, ECADFS, Non-Grantees, b. 104, f. 35; but it is Giulio Racah (1909–1965) of the Jewish Community in Florence, who emigrated to Palestine on September 3, 1939, a great physicist whose loss for the Italian university caused great concern. See Amaldi 1990, 116 ff.
80. Marzano 2003, 373, and NYPL, ECADFS, I.B. Non-Grantees, b. 123, f. 7, Tedeschi Guido, 1936 ca.
81. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 4, f. 1, Bonaventura E., from E.M.M. Warburg, EC chairman of AFHU, to ECADFS, March 25, 1941. Edward Mortimer Morris Warburg graduated from Harvard University in 1930. Not active in the family's banking business, he was a founder of the MOMA in New York, chairman of the American Patrons of the Israel Museum, and assistant on cultural affairs to the governor of New York. Jewish philanthropic leader, he was chairman of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which provided assistance to Jews and Jewish communities throughout the world outside North America.
82. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 4, f. 1, Bonaventura E., and the letters from Drury, October 19 and 26, 1943; January 14 and 26, 1944.
83. Telkes-Klein 2004, with a biographical dictionary of professors 101–348; and *The History of HU* 2013.
84. Bargal 1998, 62.
85. Bonaventura 1935, and 1937.
86. Bonaventure's papers in Hebrew conserved in HUCA, f. 2278, Bonaventura E. J. include: "Research Proposal," n.d. but 1939; letter from Bonaventura to the HU provost, May 10, 1945, "Report to the dean of Faculty," October 28, 1945; "Research carried out in the Department of Psychology" 1941–1946, July 15, 1946; Report 1947; and July 1957. See Choshen-Hillel and Yaniv 2012.
87. Wollman 1946; *Protocols for Professional Guidance* 1945; and Bonaventura 1947.
88. Bonaventura 1944, 11.
89. Ibid.
90. See Miccoli 1997.
91. Sarfatti 2000, 225, also for the Allied Military Government, *Proclama* 7/1943.
92. R. decr. L., January 20, 1944, n. 25. *Disposizioni per la reintegrazione*… ("Measures to reintegrate the civil and political rights of Italian citizens and foreigners previously declared of Jewish race or considered of Jewish race"), GU, s.s., February 9, 1944, n. 5. "Reintegration will take place automatically for former State employees within a period of a year from when this decree comes into force" (art. 4). See Pelini 2001, and on the Bologna case Gagliani ed. 2004. Also Arangio Ruiz 1985.
93. ACS, MPI, DGIU, I, *Professori ordinari*, s. 3 (1940–1970), b. 392, f. Racah Giulio, letter from Racah, August 2, 1945. On him and Franco, see Pelini and Pavan 2009; on Tedeschi, see Cianferotti 2004, 28.
94. CM, letter from Marzi, copy, to "*Illustre e caro professore*" [unidentified], December 17, 1944.
95. Cited by Marrassini 2004, 100, "Letter to professors," August 11, 1944.
96. BUF, LF, *Verbali*, September 29, 1944.
97. Marrassini 2004, 99.
98. Ibid., 102, 85. See Bonavita 2004, 152–153.
99. Marrassini 2004, 102. *Decr. leg. Luogotenenziale*, July 27, 1944, n. 159, and decision by the *Senato accademico* confirmed by the provost in his letter, January 22,

1945. On British and American ambivalence about prosecuting the Fascists, see Domenico 2011.

100. See De Sarlo 1947 and supra ch. 3.
101. Garin 2007 [1946], 163. Torrini 2007 reconstructs the events in his Introduction.
102. Garin 1990, 130.
103. As it appears in ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Concorsi a cattedre* (1924–1954), s. 2, b. 299, f. Musatti Cesare.
104. Musatti 1984, 12; but the identification is in Reichmann 1997, 378–379.
105. CM, copy from Marzi to "Carissimo Professore" [Bonaventura], December 23, 1945. The CM are not in order and until now Bonaventura's letters are missing, among which those he wrote in December 1939 and November 1945, except for a short note of December 2, 1946, to recommend a Palestinian student to Marzi.
106. CM, copy from Marzi to Bonaventura, January 31, 1946.
107. CM, copy from Marzi to Bonaventura, December 23, 1945.
108. See chapter 1 in this volume. On the position in Milan, see his c.v. in ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Concorsi a cattedre*, s. 2, b. 299, f. Musatti.
109. CM, copy from Marzi to "Eccellenza e Molto reverendo Padre" [Gemelli], n.d., but early 1946, and copy March 28, 1946.
110. AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, b. 179, f. 309, sf. 2240, letter from Gemelli to Bonaventura, April 3, 1946. In the period 1946–1948 between the two scholars only five items, two of which are missing. For the list of their protocolled correspondence (much larger than the existing one), see http://www.archiviapsychologica.org//fileadmin/storage/Gemelli/Tabella_definitiva_da_pubblicare.pdf (accessed May 15, 2013).
111. AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, b. 197, f. 352, sf. 3552, letter from Bonaventura to Gemelli, December 1, 1947, and reply to Gemelli and Bonaventura, December 2, 1947.
112. CM, letter from M. [Canella] to Marzi, Ferrara, December 19, 1947.
113. ASUF, SD, f. Marzi, minutes Faculty, October 11, 1948. This confusion dated from 1940 when the provost of Florence had awarded Marzi the permanent role of assistant to the chair alongside his appointment as the temporary teaching substitute of the chair itself. The nomination was declared by *concorso* in some papers in the cited folder, but the evidences are missing.
114. Bonaventura 1948. Almost identical to the title of his lecture in Milan, see AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, 197, f. 352, sf. 2552, letter from Bonaventura to Gemelli, Florence, December 1, 1947.
115. Several times Ponzo asked Marzi for precise news on the Faculty of Florence, Bologna and so on; see CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, March 30, 1948, and February 1949. See Marzi's c.v. in ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Concorsi a cattedre*, s. 2, b. 299, f. Marzi Alberto.
116. CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, May 25, 1947.
117. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza*, letter from Gemelli to Musatti, April 29, 1947.
118. CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, February 23, 1947.
119. CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, October 7, 1947.
120. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza*, letter from Musatti to Gemelli, November 29, 1947.
121. CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, June 27, 1947.
122. "Relazione della commissione" 1948, 4002. CM, Ponzo announced to Marzi, in a letter of December 7, 1947, as "the best news" that Trabattoni and Zunini, priest and Gemelli's collaborator, had withdrawn.
123. ASPI, CG, *Corrispondenza*, letter from Gemelli to Musatti, October 25, 1949.
124. CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, April 19, 1947, and their correspondence until March 30, 1948, when the *concorso* was already closed.

125. The expression is used in a letter of anonymous Catholics, January 20, 1939, AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, b. 86, f. 136, sf. 1244, cited by Bocci 2003, 441n.
126. Bressan 2007, 614–615, with bibliography. Based on other incomplete documentation, Franzinelli, 2012, 125–129. The book of the historian of the Università Cattolica is defensive, see Bocci 2003, part IV, 373–415, 690–691.
127. Letter from Bonaventura to Gemelli, December 15, 1935; and Gemelli to Bonaventura, October 24, 1935, are partially in Gori-Savellini 1987, 40–41.
128. [Gemelli] 1924a and 1924b.
129. Calò 1948, 99. Italics are mine.
130. Ibid.
131. See "Relazione della commissione" 1948.
132. Lamanna 1948, 101.
133. Ibid., 102.
134. Ibid.
135. Marzi 1948, 109.
136. Ibid.
137. Finzi 2004, 22.
138. F. Modigliani 2001 (Ital. ed. 1999).
139. CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, July 14, 1947.
140. ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Concorsi a cattedre*, s. 2, b. 298, High Council, record of the vote count, October 14, 1947.
141. I would like to thank Prof. Ilan Yaniv, Dept. of Psychology & Center for Rationality at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem for having pointed out to me the plaque in Hebrew in Enzo J. Bonaventura Street.
142. On the attack, the victims and the accused see Oz 2005, 353–354.
143. Letter from P. Cividalli to her parents, Jerusalem, April 15 [1948] in Cividalli 2005, 128–129, with biographical notes, 327–342.
144. Letter from Cividalli to his daughter Paola, Tel Aviv, April 17 [1948], ibid., 130; from this and from his letter of January 5, 1948, ibid., 78, the ff. quotations in the text. The Arab inhabitants of Deir Yasin, the village-cum-suburb in West Jerusalem, had good relations with the Jewish population in the nearby districts. The attack by the Zionist military organization on April 9 caused 100–110 victims and the led to the flight of the Arab population.
145. "Enzo Bonaventura" 1948. Sources disagree on the number of victims.
146. Letter from Codignola, the director of *Civiltà moderna* and editor of La Nuova Italia Publ. to Casini the director of the Italian press, June 29, 1938, cited by Fabre 1998, 88.
147. There were various lists, that of authors to ban at school already in September 1938; for libraries, see *Circolare Ministero della Cultura Popolare* n. 1485, of March 23, 1942; see Fabre 1998, 475.
148. Letter from Ponzo to Bonaventura, April 20, 1932, cited in Gori-Savellini 1987, 40.
149. CM, letter from Ponzo to Marzi, April 20, 1948.
150. Ibid. and Ponzo 1948.
151. Marzi 1948, 109. The cited publications are the following: Bonaventura 1929; 1930; and 1938.
152. I would like to thank Manuela Carmignani of the BUF for having checked this claim. I could see the photocopy of Bonaventura's publications in Hebrew with the label and shelf mark of the Library of the Institute of Psychology in Florence, thanks to Odelia Liberanome, who had it from the now deceased Simonetta Gori-Savellini, professor at this institute; the bibliography by another former professor

of psychology in Florence lists seven works in Hebrew by Bonaventura, see Sirigatti 1967, 77.

153. Cfr. Marzi 1948 and his revised version 1950, particularly 19.
154. Bonaventura 1950, 22. This new revised edition was edited by A. Marzi, but in fact the revision had been done by the author. See Bonaventura 1950, 23–25.
155. Ponzo 1948.
156. ASSR, Senato della Repubblica, *Serpieri Arrigo*, http://notes9.senato.it/web/senregno.nsf/All/05C2B604C350DB6C4125646F00608C14/$FILE/2074%20Serpieri%20Arrigo%20fascicolo.pdf (accessed September 21, 2013).
157. Interventions by Morino Abele and Lazzeroni in Gori-Savellini (ed.) 1987, 11 and 15 reiterate Gemelli's presumed help to Bonaventura; Gori-Savellini 1987, 42, also refers to Marzi 1948 for the nomination procedure.
158. Some psychology colleagues in Florence interviewed by me told me that in her stay in Jerusalem Prof. Simonetta Gori-Savellini had not found anything interesting. On the contrary, see Gori-Savellini 1987.
159. See his biographer Bocci 2003, 517, who cites several letters asking for help and advice. There is broad agreement on Gemelli's anti-Semitism. See inter alia, De Felice 1988 [1961], 372–373; Cosmacini 1985, 235–237; Israel and Nastasi 1998, 21.
160. Signed letter "7 Cattolici di Torino" to Gemelli, January 10, 1939, immediately after his speech, cited in Bocci 2003, 441n.
161. "Significativo discorso…" 1939; and "La dottrina della Chiesa…" 1939.
162. [Farinacci R.], 1939. For a less benevolent reading of the relation between the Church and Fascism regarding Jews, see Kertzer 2014.
163. AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, b. 93, f. 152, sf. 1350, letter from Bonaventura to Gemelli, December 15, 1938. The italics is mine.
164. Bocci 2003, 518 and n. 202, 549.
165. AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, b. 94, f. 153, sf. 1353, letter from Bonaventura to Gemelli, February 10, 1939; and also letters from Krauss to Gemelli, February 2, 1939, and Gemelli to Krauss, Milan, February 22, 1939 (draft in Italian and German translation).
166. AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, b. 94, f. 153, sf. 1355 and b. 88, f.140, sf. 1272, respectively, letter from Gemelli to E. Bonaventura, March 22, 1939, and letter from Arnaldo Bonaventura to Gemelli, Florence, June 5, 1939. On the musicologist and librarian, see Pannella 1969. I thank Maurizio Romano of the AUC for having confirmed that Fraenkel is not in these papers.
167. See Zangwill 1976.
168. AUC, CG, *Corrispondenza*, b. 167, f. 299, sf. 2172, letter from Gemelli to De Gasperi, May 22, 1945, cited in Bocci 2003, 545n.
169. Luccio 2000, 27.
170. "Relazione della commissione" 1948, 4008.
171. ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Concorsi a cattedre*, s. 2, b. 299, f. Musatti Cesare, c.v., July 8, 1947.
172. Romano and Sigurtà eds. 2000, 27, 35.
173. See Davi 2010. I would like to thank Mariarosa Davi for the information provided; see also Ventura 1996, 183–190, and Reichmann 1997, 2, Ch. 12.
174. Musatti 1987, 42.
175. ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Concorsi a cattedre*, s. 2, b. 299, f. Musatti Cesare, c.v., July 8, 1947.
176. For the exact date, see Ranchetti 2000, 59.
177. Damousi and Plotkin 2012, 18–20.
178. Musatti, 1949, vol. 1, xiii and again in ff. eds, as 1970, 7th ed., Turin: Boringhieri, xiii.

179. Weiss 1939.
180. See Reichmann 1997, 287.
181. CAHJP, Bonaventura, *Varia*, letter and bills from the *Società italiana degli autori ed editori* (SIAE), May 21, 1954, to his widow Matilde Bonaventura.
182. The various lists referred to here are in Fabre 1998, 444, 474–481.
183. Musatti 1943a, 1943b, 1943c, 1943d. On Pende's anti-Semitism, see *Israel* 2010, particularly 185–193, 240–256 and the historiographic review by Dell'Era 2007 (accessed June 21, 2014).

5 The Anti-Fascist Network and Renata Calabresi: From Florence to Rome and New York

1. For a quantification and identification of untenured Jewish *aiuti, assistenti*, and so on in 20 Italian universities, see Ventura 2013, particularly 104–111, 172–178; for a list of Jewish tenured professors, see Finzi 2003, 147–151.
2. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, b. Calabresi R., it seems a standard communication from the provost of the University of Rome, February 3, 1939.
3. Ventura 2013, 108, 173, 176.
4. She was 12th on the inexact list cited by Lowe (see here chapter 4); there is a copy in NYPL, ECADFS, s. I A., Grantees, b. 9, f. 1, Bonaventura E., "File Memorandum," March 17, 1939.
5. *Scienza a due voci. Le donne nella scienza italiana dal Settecento al Novecento* and discrepancies using filters of research: http://scienzaa2voci.unibo.it/biografie (accessed November 2, 2014). Ventura 2013, 176, correctly places the psychologist Calabresi in Rome. See ASUR, FD, AS 1554, f. Calabresi R. and ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Liberi docenti*, s. III, 1930–1950, b. 85, R. Calabresi. On Enrica Calabresi, the zoologist who committed suicide after her arrest in January 1944, see Ciampi 2006.
6. NYPL, ECADFS, b. 88, f. 17, Levi G., letter from Lambert to Drury, November 28, 1938, and b. 90, f. 57 Ugo Lombroso. On the last two cited, see Accademia nazionale dei Lincei 2005.
7. For the numbers of those helped, see O'Shea 2007, v–vii; see also Krohn 1993, 30. On Italians, particularly physicists, see Gissi 2010 and 2008.
8. Fleck 2012, 149–150.
9. For a not only historical perspective, see Messina 2004. See also Gabaccia 2006; and De Clementi 2014.
10. Letter from Drury, October 1938, is cited in Italian by Pontecorboli 2013, 66, which draws on the NYPL, ECADFS, but without giving the full references.
11. See O'Shea 2007, *ad vocem*.
12. For the French, see Loyer 2005. For other groups, see Fleck 2010; and Camurri ed. 2012.
13. See Camurri ed. 2012, 173–177.
14. ASUR, FD, AS 1554 f. Calabresi R., letter from Banissoni to the provost, Rome, February 3, 1931. For the other unpaid assistant, see ASSR, *Senatori del Regno* (1848–1943), *Regio Esercito Italiano*, Boriani Giuseppe, "*Stato di servizio*," October 26, 1939: http://notes9.senato.it/web/senregno.nsf/All/867551D74A936D9F4125646F005938F1/$FILE/0307%20Boriani%20Giuseppe%20fascicolo.pdf (accessed July 14, 2014).
15. ASUR, FD, AS 1554 f. Calabresi R., certificate of the provost De Francisci and administrative director Righetti, Rome, December 20, 1938; letter from the provost to Banissoni, February 7, 1931, and the annual confirmation.

16. Archivio UCEI, declaration of race, n. 17290, p. 119. See decr. law November 17,1938, n. 1728.
17. NYPL, ECADFS, I.A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2 Calabresi R. 1939–1945, letter from R. Calabresi to Duggan, Rome, February 4, 1939; and from Drury to R. Calabresi, February 28, 1939.
18. See Ventura 2013.
19. ACS, MPI; DGIS, *Liberi docenti* (1930–1950) b. 85, Calabresi R., Comune di Firenze, Anagrafe, to MPI, DGIS, January 19, 1957.
20. NYPL, ECADFS, I A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., Institute office Memorandum, March 13, 1939.
21. ASUF, 1926, 119, *Concorsi per aiuti, assistenti e tecnici*, Massimo Calabresi's application to the provost of the University of Florence, August 10, 1926, and the proposal for his nomination. He graduated in medicine and surgery on July 9, 1926; see ASUF, SS, 417, f. 10494, Calabresi M.
22. NYPL, ECADFS, I.B. Non Grantees, b. 48, f. 40, Calabresi C., declaration by the director of the Institute Giuseppe Gabetti, January 19, 1939.
23. *Scientific and Didactic* [1939], 4–5. A copy is in her ECADFS folder, and another copy in BLO, SPSL, MS, 343/7–12 Calabresi R.
24. NYPL, ECADFS, I B., Non Grantees, b. 48, f. 40, Calabresi C. The note with the error of relationship is dated March 5, 1939.
25. Testimony of Guido Calabresi to the author.
26. Calabresi 1923; and 1925.
27. BUF, FF, *Verbali*, December 7, 1923, 521.
28. Turi 2002, 69. Gentile expressed himself in this way in 1918, 1929, and 1933; see Gentile 1988, 276, 343.
29. ASUF, SS, f. Calabresi R., application, December 31, 1923; and for teaching, see CC, R. Calabresi, N.Y., c.v., March 1947.
30. FR, AR, M1406, poster of the play "*I fiori*" by Alvarez Quintero, with Carlo and Nello Rosselli, R. Calabresi, D'Ancona, Cividalli and others, May 1921: http://www.archiviorosselli.it/User.it/index.php?PAGE=Sito_it/archivio (accessed May 28, 2013).
31. On the Rosselli home in Florence there is a commemorative plaque; the boarding house of the Calabresi sisters is reported in ASUF, SS, respectively 119, f.2319, Calabresi R.; 118, f 2311, Calabresi C.
32. There are clearly various sources for the evidence of the contacts among people cited earlier and others. In addition to the respective biographies, see http://www.archiviorosselli.it/User.it/index.php?PAGE=Sito_it/archivio_cronologia (accessed May 28, 2013) for the usefulness of the chronology and the research of the papers.
33. Operti 1946, xi.
34. Ciuffoletti ed. 2012; Audenino ed. 2009.
35. ACS, MI, DGPS, DAGR, Cat. A1, 1935, b. 12, Calabresi Ettore, from the Prefect Bertini to the MI, Ferrara, December 12, 1926; and from the DAGR to the Prefect of Florence, December 23, 1926.
36. "Contro la massoneria" 1925. The article of October 3, 1925, is cited by Salvemini, 1955, 23. See Isastia 2003; Fedele 2005; and Conti 2006, and ed. 2007; on the other side, see Bianchi, 2013.
37. ACS, MI, DGPS, DAGR, Cat. A1, 1935, b. 12, Calabresi Ettore, *Unione nazionale* card of Calabrese [*sic*] Ettore, 1925.
38. ACS, CPC, b. 2033 Ferrero G. (1894–1943), but also b. 2034 Ferrero L. (1928–1937). See Treves 1997, and Cedroni ed. 1994.

39. Ferrero 1946, 182.
40. Ferrero 1946; and Lombroso G. 1946.
41. "I fascisti all'Università" 1925; see here chapter 3; and Lombroso G. 1946, 8.
42. Rossi 1955, 64, which reproduces the program of *Italia Libera*, 46–47, and the names of its most active members 51–52, with Massimo Calabrese [*sic*].
43. Levi A. 1947, 76. See Coen 2008. Pincherle could not practice the profession of pediatrician and was placed in a concentration camp, then freed and subsequently rearrested.
44. For example, Rossi 1955, 65n. gave the names of the women who took part, including the Calabrese [*sic*] sisters; Levi did not.
45. ISRT, AS, *Corrispondenza*, box 78/2, from R. Calabresi to Salvemini, *Passo dello* Stelvio, August 20, 1925; see Becherucci ed. 2007, 84.
46. ASG, FB, f. *Università degli studi di Firenze*, b. *Filologia e filosofia 1919–1930*, with a copy of the contracts of 1919 and 1926, the letter from Ramorino, March 31, 1924; letters from Lamanna, June 1, 1932 and September 21, 1932, and various others.
47. ASG, FB, f. Calabresi R. 1930–1931, among the correspondence cited, August 27, 1930, from Calabresi to Padovano, September 6, 1930, to publisher, September 18, October 17, November 14, and unsigned letters to Calabresi, September 24, 1930; September 30, 1930, and February 28, 1931.
48. ASUF, SD, f. Marzi Alberto, University of Florence, service certificate, May 28, 1953, and the certificate May 6, 1968. A copy of his thesis in BUF, FTS, Faculty of Lettere, 456 and 457.
49. See Pannella 1969, 11, with bibliography; but no entry on his son Enzo. For articles in *Firenze*, consult http://wwwext.comune.fi.it/archiviostorico/documenti/indici/Rassegna_1932-1943.pdf 9 (accessed August 10, 2014); where Marzi E., 1933.
50. For the date of joining the PNF, see ACS, MPI, DGIS, I, *Liberi docenti*, s. III 1930–1950, b. 310, f. Marzi Alberto, application for *the libera docenza*, June 26, 1936, and certificate issued by the secretary of the *Federazione fiorentina of the fasci di combattimento*, June 26, 1936; ASUF, SLD, f. Bonaventura E., "member of P.N.F. from 29 ott. 1932." See Sarfatti 2000, 86–87.
51. APICE, AS, AP, UP, f. Calabresi Massimo, the documentation referred to here, and his request for a certificate, from Calabresi M. to the provost, n.d., but postmarked September 21, 1928.
52. Salvemini 1960, 116.
53. See Treves 1997.
54. See Kornfeld 1993; Cimmino 1997.
55. Taiuti 2011, 221–223; and for various links between friends and places, see Camurri (ed.) 2012, part I, on the Italian period, exp. Mantovani 2012.
56. See ACS, MPI, DGIU, I, *Professori ordinari*, III versamento (1940–1970), b. 33, f. Banissoni Ferruccio, his service certificate and his MEN certificate, October 5, 1939. On Weiss in Rome, see Corsa 2013.
57. R. Calabresi 1925; see also Ponzo 1925a, 1925b.
58. In Florence at the Congress of Psychology with De Sarlo, see Weiss 1925; and Assagioli 1925.
59. Calamandrei 1997, 90–91; see Ascoli 1947; Mastrogregori 2002; and Pekelis C. 2005.
60. Ossicini 2002, 31, 35. See Patini 1939; 1953.
61. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, f. Calabresi R., the certificates cited in the text, respectively, January 27 and January 23, 1931.

62. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., from the provost to Calabresi, February 24, 1934, registration in the *Albo d'onore* and a grant of 2,000 lire; see *Scientific and Didactic* 1939, 3. See also R. Calabresi 1931, 1933b, 1933c.
63. ACS. MPI, DGIS, *Libero docenti,* s. III, 1930–50, b. 85, Report of the examining committee, Rome, October 19, 1935; and all the documentation indicated in the text.
64. R. Calabresi 1933a, and 1934; Patini 1930.
65. Ponzo 1939, 298.
66. Marrassini 2004, 88n., which cites the *Istituto Fascista di cultura. Bollettino mensile,* 1935, 4.
67. Ossicini 2002, 30. See ASSR, Senato della Repubblica, XIII Legisl., *Ossicini Adriano* (online).
68. ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Libero docenti,* s. III, 1930–1950, b. 85, Calabresi R., receipts for payments, May 30, 1934; October 2, 1934; February 9, 1935; letter from Calabresi Ettore to MEN, August 24, 1934, and MEN registered letter to the prefect, June 19, 1934, and the prefect's reply, Florence, July 2, 1934.
69. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, f. Calabresi, circular letter from the administrative director to all unpaid assistants, Rome, November 30, 1933, and all the papers indicated in the text with respective dates.
70. I would like to thank Gabriele Rigano for the precise suggestions on this aspect; see Rigano 2005 who also cites ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Miscellanea divisioni diverse*, b. 22, letter from MEN to the director of the Engineering School in Rome, December 22, 1933, in reply to his note of July 4, 1933.
71. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, f. Calabresi R., Record of taking the oath, December 21, 1936, and *R. Università di Roma*, *Libretto delle lezioni.* R. Calabresi, 1936/37 that began on January 10, 1937; a formal request from Calabresi to the provost to teach in academic year 1935/36, n.d. and with notes of the office. The 1936/37 course was her first, as confirmed by subsequent certificates and in *Scientific and Didactic* 1939, 3.
72. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, f. Calabresi, note from MEN, DGIS to the provost of the University of Rome, June 2, 1939. Her brother too enrolled in 1933, in July, and in November obtained the long-awaited post of tenured assistant, see APICE, AS, AP, UP, b. Calabresi M., certificate of the *Fasci di combattimento* Province of Milan, September 30, 1933, and service certificate signed by the provost of the University of Milan, November 25, 1936.
73. ASUF, CAC, 5. E. 1939, telegram from MEN to the provost of the University of Florence, January 23, 1939, and telegram of the provost to the minister, January 24, 1939.
74. See ASUR, FD, AS1554, f. Calabresi R.
75. See Diserens 1934. The abstracts of Calabresi's publications in *Psychological Abstract* are numbered as it follows: 1931, 5, 3589 (signed by V. D'Agostino); 1932, 6, 26289 (M. Ponzo); 1934, 8, 45 (R. E. Schwarz); 1934, 8, 807, 808, 2880 (F. Banissoni); 1935, 9, 1305 (S. Lawrence). Her publications were listed also in ASUR, FD, AS3965–1, f. Ponzo Mario, "*Elenco suppletivo di pubblicazioni del prof. Mario Ponzo e dei suoi allievi dal 1931 al 1934*" and "*Elenco suppletivo ecc. dal 1934 al 1937.*"
76. NYPL, ECADFS, I. A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi, E.L. note to B.D[rury], n.d. referred to *Scientific and Didactic*, 1939.
77. NYPL, ECADFS, s.V, b. 174, f. 9, APA, 1938/39, 1944, "Displaced psychologists and scholars with psychological background in related fields," n.d. but March 1939; "Report of the Committee on Displaced Foreign Psychologists," July 19, 1939; see here ch. 4.
78. Köhler 1953.

79. See Wertheimer and King 1994.
80. Lewis 2003 [1937], 97, and on Italy 95–105; see Angel, Jones, and Neve 2003.
81. Ibid., 105.
82. NYPL, ECADFS, V, b. 174, f. 9, APA, 1938–39, 1944, letters from Ackerson to Duggan, Chicago, August 10, 1938; September 22, 1938, and all the *General correspondence*.
83. NYPL, ECADFS, I. A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., letter from Calabresi to Duggan, February 4, 1939, received on February 21, 1939; Hunter to Duggan, February 21, 1939, received on February 23, 1939.
84. NYPL, ECADFS, V, b. 174, f. 9, APA 1938–1939, 1944, "Report of the Committee on displaced foreign psychologists," July 19, 1939; "Displaced psychologists and scholars with psychological background in related fields," n.d.
85. In the BUF, Library of Psychology, copies of Terman 1919 and Terman and Merril 1937. See Burks et al. 1930.
86. NYPL, ECADFS, I A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., letter from Drury to R. Calabresi, February 28, 1939, and her reply, Rome, March 16, 1939, received on March 24, 1939.
87. BLO, SPSL, MS 343/7–12 Calabresi R., letter from E. Simpson, March 10, 1939 to R. Calabresi, and her reply, March 16, 1939, received on March 21, 1939. For the others, see MS 405/5–410/1 Calabresi M.; MS 347/1–6 Rieti Ettore and Servadio Emilio; MS 471/3 Bonaventura E.
88. ASPI, FM, *Carteggio*, SPSL, letter and questionnaire from Thomson to Musatti, n.d.
89. BLO, SPSL, MS 343/7–12 Calabresi R., letter from Hollitscher to Simpson, March 8, 1939, and Simpson's reply, March 10, 1939. On their relations, see Cohen 2011 and 2010.
90. See Dyhouse 1995; Taricone 1992.
91. BLO, SPSL, MS 343/7–12 Calabresi R. The questionnaire, in English and German, is the same as that filled in by Bonaventura.
92. NYPL, ECADFS, I A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., interview form by Drury, November 29, 1939.
93. NYPL, ECADFS, I A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., Interview memorandum by Drury, November 20, 1939; note "Renata Calabresi," November 29, 1939. See also s. III, b. 168; f. 7, National Refugee Service, "Report of the Executive Director," August 1939.
94. Drury's note to Duggan on Sergio De Benedetti is cited by Gissi 2008, 157n.
95. NYPL, ECADFS, b. 148, f. 4, NSSR, letter from Drury to Johnson, February 16, 1939, in reply to Johnson, February 14, 1939, and letter from Drury to Colm, October 17, 1939.
96. NYPL, ECADFS, I A., Grantees, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R.; B. Drury telegram to R. Calabresi, September 11, 1940; and other four notes regarding the address. The potential position seems to have been for a female refugee lecturer at Wellesley (see Memorandum, September 16, 1940); and it is not in the very detailed curriculum of R. Calabresi, n.d. but 1942.
97. CC., R. Calabresi, c.v., typed copy, n.d.
98. See Vezzosi 2001.
99. G. Lombroso 1923, and subsequent editions.
100. Rosselli N. 1933.
101. See Origo 1984; see Salvemini 1960, 113.
102. Audenino ed. 2009, 16. See Killinger 2002; Salvemini 1960, 105–114.
103. ISRT, AS, II, b. 30, f. 45, letter from M. Calabresi to Salvemini, December 3, 1941.

104. Letter from Ascoli to Salvemini, 1941, cited by Camurri 2010, 652.
105. ISRT, *Giustizia e Libertà*, VI, f. 1, b. 13, the Mazzini Society, report by the temporary secretary Renato Poggioli, December 28, 1939, with the presence of Cesare Lombroso Jr. See also Tirabassi 2009; Cannistraro 1999; Luconi 2003.
106. ISRT, AS, b. 69, X.8.7. Letter from R. Calabresi to Bolaffio, March 21, 1945. See also Fermi [Capon] 1968, who despite writing a great deal on psychoanalysts and psychology does not mention Italian scholars in that field.
107. Salvemini 2015, 357, letter from Salvemini to Costanza Ferrara Peters, November 5, 1942.
108. I would like to thank Mario Carrara for the news about his relative Cesare Thomas Lombroso (1917–2013), on whom see Ashwal 1990, 767–774.
109. See Clark 2000; Bonolis 2011. On the Florentin school of physics, see Bonetti and Mazzoni 2006; Leone 2006.
110. Rosselli S. 2008, 70.
111. Report by the Italian Ambassador in Washington, March 26, 1941, cited in Paparazzo 2004, 15.
112. Rosselli S. 2008, 76.
113. Letter from A. Rosselli to G. Lombroso, September 13, 1940 [postmark], in Calloni and Cedroni 1997, 217–219.
114. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f.1, Ascoli's secretary to R. Calabresi, February 16, 1946. There are only around ten letters from March 1945 to February 1946 and one of 1948. A few more with Massimo Calabresi, b. 185, f. 6. I would like to thank Renato Camurri for having pointed out to me the existence of these letters, since the Calabresis do not yet appear in the HGARC list of Ascoli's correspondents.
115. NYPL, ECADFS, s. II, b. 148, f. 4 1936–39, NSSR, letter from Ascoli to Chamberlain of Columbia University, January 21, 1939, referred in particular to Enzo Tagliacozzo.
116. CC., Francis G. Blake to M. Calabresi, December 19, 1939.
117. Letter from Fosdick to Rockefeller II, December 1938 and Freeman to Rockefeller, July 18, 1940, both cited in Rutkoff and Scott 1986, 94–95, 130. For the RF investments, see Gemelli G. and Macleod eds. 2003; and Gemelli G. ed. 2000. For anti-Semitism in the United States and the Italians, see Luconi 2007.
118. Letter from Gregg to Applegate, June 13, 1933, cited in Rutkoff and Scott 1986, 95.
119. See Rutkoff and Scott 1986, 130–131; Johnson 1952.
120. See Camurri 2010.
121. NYPL, ECADFS, I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., "Institute office memorandum," March 13, 1939.
122. I was able to reconstruct this family network thanks to the testimony of Guido Calabresi. See Modigliani 2001; and Contini and Contini eds. 2012; also Woolf 2013.
123. See Camurri 2012, 117; and Krohn 1993, 59–86.
124. CC, R. Calabresi, c.v., March 1947, typed. In New School Archives and Special Collections Digital Archive there is nothing on R. Calabresi (accessed February 12, 2015). When I consulted the papers at the New School in New York, the digital archive was not yet active, but much documentary material had not been conserved. I would like to thank Carmen Hendershott of the Archival Reference at the New School Library for her generous help.
125. See ACS, CPC, b. 2779, Levi Nino, particularly the note from the Rome Questura of April 15, 1940, who defined Eleonora Stecchini as "anti-Fascist," and Prefecture of Milan note on "Levi[...]Socialist Jew" to MI, April 15, 1941. For his academic career MPI, DGIU, I, *Professori ordinari*, III, b. 267, f. Levi Nino. And see Isola 1977.

126. *Curriculum The New School* 1940 *ca*., 39. For the courses cited, see New School 1939, 21–22 and its ff. catalogues. See also NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 88, f. 21, Levi Nino, with various lists of RF grants, n.d.
127. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., "Cultural Conflict and Delinquency. Summary. Seminar in Social Research [n.d.], submitted by Renata Calabresi."
128. SUL, ECP, b. 31, f. "Writings Speeches," Corsi Edward, "The Italians in New York," n.d. but ca. 1941, and "Child Labour in New York State," November 16, 1944 (typewritten and ms). See Federal Writers' Project 1938, and Meyer 1999. I would like to thank Elisabeth Messina for having helped me to identify Mr. Corsi; and Stephen Smith of the Balch Institute of Ethnic Studies Library, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
129. Lombroso C. 1911a [but 1909], xix; and Simon 2005/6.
130. "Nino Levi" 1941. Guido Calabresi has a recollection of his aunt's grief at the time.
131. See BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f.1, R. Calabresi, the address c/o Milano's in her c.v., January 1946. Emigrated to Paris and New York, Milano returned to Italy in 1957; see Belleggia 2000.
132. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., letter from Wood to ECADFS, October 13, 1943, and b. 135, f. 41, Brooklyn College, from White to Drury, February 16, 1940.
133. See Abel and Kinder 1942; and Weidman 2005.
134. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., letter from Kinder to ECADFS, August 29, 1942.
135. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., all the papers mentioned in the text, from September 4, 1942; letters from Drury to Burks, September 8, 1942, and to Drury the following from R. Calabresi, September 5, 1942; Ascoli, September 5, 1942; Murphy, September 9, 1942; Johnson, September 10, 1942; Wertheimer, n.d. but received on September 12; from Wood to ECADFS, October 13, 1943.
136. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., letter from Kinder to ECADFS, September 5, 1942, then Calabresi to Drury, September 11, 1942, and Kinder to Drury, September 23, 1942.
137. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R.; letter from Calabresi to Duggan, September 20, 1942, in reply to his, draft, September 14, 1942.
138. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., letter from Calabresi to ECADFS, October 4, 1942, and earlier from the Executive secretary to E. Kinder, September 25, 1942, copy.
139. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., "Application for New Scholar under Rosenwald Family Association plan," September 23, 1942 (date of application: August 31).
140. Ascoli P. 2006, 389–390. See also Heise 1990.
141. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f.1, Calabresi R., from Ascoli to Young, January 30, 1946.
142. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., from Calabresi to Drury, November 18, 1943, in reply to Drury's letter, November 11, 1943, and from Drury to R. Calabresi, November 19, 1943.
143. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., the letters referred to in the text are the following: from Fenton Park to Miller, December 4, 1944, to Calabresi, December 5 and 8, 1944; to Miller, December 8, 1944, and January 16, 1945, to Calabresi, January 23, to Miller January 26, 1925; from Miller to Fenton Park, December 6, 1944, January 22, 1945; from R. Calabresi to Fenton Park, January 25, 1945.
144. NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R., from Fenton Park to Miller, December 4, 1944, December 8, 1944, and January 16, 1945.

145. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f.1, R. Calabresi, c.v., January 1946.
146. CC., R. Calabresi, curriculum, March 1947, cfr. her c.v. January 1946, and c.v. January 1960.
147. BLO, SPSL, MS 343/7–12, unsigned copy, but from Esther Simpson to R. Calabresi, November 9, 1944.
148. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f. 1, R. Calabresi, letter from Calabresi R. to Ascoli, February 4 [1946] with the *Announcement* n. 405, October 24, 1945, which is quoted in the text here.
149. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f. 1, R. Calabresi, from Ascoli's secretary to R. Calabresi, February 16, 1946.
150. For a map and pictures of Camp Shank, see Maresca 2012.
151. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f. 1, R. Calabresi, from Hosiosky to Ascoli, December 30, 1948; he was the treasurer of the New School who had received the request for references from VA and sent it to Ascoli.
152. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f.1, R. Calabresi, letter from Young to Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, January 21, 1946.
153. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 174, f.1 R. Calabresi, letter from Ascoli to Young, January 30. He apologized for the delay with which her letter had been delivered to him.
154. The description of that work is in CC., R. Calabresi, c.v., January 1960.
155. Bryan and Boring 1947, 11. See the data of Johnston and Johnson 2008.
156. See Ash 2002.
157. Bühler quoted by Ash 2002, 246.
158. Calabresi R. 1948.
159. CC, R. Calabresi c.v., February 1958.
160. Ibid. See R. Calabresi, 1959.
161. Law, March 8, 1968, n. 431, "Measures for psychiatric care," GU, April 20, 1968, n. 101.
162. Law, April 29, 1975, n. 238, about the autonomy of psychiatry and neurology teaching, which modified tab. XVIII of the decree September 30, 1938, n. 1652, GU, May 15, 1976, n. 128.
163. Merzagora 1945 and 2001, 131–134, with a *Preface* by Croce. See Finzi 2011, 81–123.
164. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., letter from the vice provost of the University of Rome to Calabresi, September 26, 1944. On Giuseppe Caronia, see Pavan 1988.
165. R. decr. L. January 20,1944, n. 25, see here chapter 4.
166. See Pelini 2001.
167. See NYPL, ECADFS, s. I, b. 5, f. 2, Calabresi R. The information on her "first papers" is in an ECADFS form signed by R. Calabresi on September 3, 1944.
168. BU, HGARC, AP, b. 185, f. 6, Calabresi Massimo, from Calabresi M. to Ascoli, December 12, 1944.
169. CC, postal ID card n. 411101 in the name of Carli Cecilia.
170. CM, copy from A. Marzi to R. Calabresi, June 12, 1948.
171. Abel and Calabresi 1951, Ch. 13.
172. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., copy from the provost of the University of Rome to MPI, DGIS, December 5, 1956, in reply to the note of MPI, DGIS to the provost, November 26, 1956.
173. Canestrelli edited both Banissoni 1934; and Ponzo 1947.
174. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., copy from the provost of the University of Rome to MPI, DGIS, December 5, 1956; in the same file the 1944 envelope with the postman's note; and the reply from MPI, DGIS to the provost, December 17, 1956.

175. Law, November 8, 1956, n. 1317, GU, November 29, 1956, 302 amending Law 96/1955. See Corradini 2012; and Pelini 2001.
176. See Montroni 2010.
177. See Marrassini 2004, 99–100. See also Finzi 1988.
178. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., copy letter from MPI, DGIS to the provost of the University of Rome, November 26, 1956.
179. ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Liberi docenti*, s. III, 1930–1950, b. 85, Calabresi R., from MPI, DGIS to the mayor of Rome, February 15, 1957, citing the earlier note to the mayor of Florence, January 16, 1957, and his reply, January 19, 1957. Ibid, also the correspondence with the provost of Rome.
180. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., request on the behalf of R. Calabresi (illegible signature) to the provost, January 10, 1957, and certificate issued by the provost, January 11, 1957.
181. See Gioli 2014, who does not specify whether Papi substituted an expelled professor.
182. BUF, LF, *Verbali*, November 13, 1948, and his actual return, October 15, 1949.
183. Among others, see Crainz 2003, 213–215; and Soldati 1966; and Scalfari 1966.
184. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., from MPI, DGIS to the provost of the University of Rome, July 15, 1957, and the provost's reply to MPI, DGIS, August 8, 1957.
185. ASUR, FD, AS 1554, Calabresi R., letter from MPI, DGIS to the provost of the University of Rome, August 28, 1957, and his definitive reply, September 18, 1957.

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Index