

«Ferramonti vergessen wir nicht»: Historical and Aesthetical Perspectives on Music in a Fascist Internment Camp 1940-45

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Zusammenfassung

Ferramonti di Tarsia (Cosenza) war das größte faschistische Internierungslager in Italien, in Bezug sowohl auf seine Größe als auch auf die Anzahl der Internierten. Obwohl seine Existenz und die geschichtlichen Ereignisse, die es betrafen - d.h. seine Gründung vor dem italienischen Eintritt in den Zweiten Weltkrieg, seine Befreiung am 14. September 1943 bis zu seiner endgültigen Schließung im Jahr 1945 nach einer Zeit der britischen Verwaltung - ein fast vergessenes Kapitel der italienischen Geschichte sind, waren die musikalischen Aktivitäten, die dort stattfanden, umfangreich und erlauben eine Untersuchung ihrer Charakteristika und Funktionen. Gekennzeichnet durch die Anwesenheit von ausschließlich ausländischen Gefangenen, zumeist Juden, welche vor allem aus Deutschland stammten, oder aus Ländern unter Nazi-Besatzung (insbesondere Polen, Österreich, der Tschechoslowakei), aus dem Balkan (bedeutende Präsenz von Kroaten und Serben) und auch aus den italienischen Mittelmeerbesitzungen (Rhodos und Bengasi), diente Ferramonti als absurder und zufälliger Treffpunkt von Kulturen, Sprachen, Traditionen und Religionen in dem unzugänglichen, von Malaria heimgesuchten kalabrischen Hinterland. Unter den Gefangenen - oft mit einem sehr hohen Bildungsniveau - gab es mehrere professionelle Musiker, von denen einige schon internationale Karrieren in Angriff genommen hatten und andere in den folgenden Jahren nach dem Krieg beginnen würden, wie u.a. Lav Mirski, Kurt Sonnenfeld, Isak Thaler, Paul Gorin, Oscar Klein, Leon Levitch, Ladislav Sternberg usw. Darüber hinaus spiegelte sich die extreme kulturelle Vielfalt in der musikalischen Lager-Produktion wider. In ähnlicher Weise wie in vielen Nazi-Konzentrationslagern, entwickelte Ferramonti eine intensive musikalische Tätigkeit mit vielen Aspekten: Konzerte und Variété-Programme, die in einer als „Theater“ verwendeter Baracke stattfanden; die Einrichtung eines Chores für Gottesdienste, der sowohl jüdische, als auch katholische und griechisch-orthodoxe Rituale begleitete (ein einzigartiges Beispiel nicht nur in der KZ-Musik); musikalische und allgemeine Ausbildung für Kinder und Jugendliche, die die Lager-Schule besuchten, um nur einige der auffälligsten Aspekte zu nennen.

Diese Arbeit untersucht auf Basis persönlicher und administrativer Quellen und Dokumente die spezifischen Beziehungen zwischen einem »non-lieu« der Deportation wie Ferramonti und der musikalischen und menschlichen Erfahrung der internierten Musiker; die Art und Weise, in der die Haft und das Zusammenleben innerhalb des Bereichs eines Lagers von Menschen der verschiedensten Herkunft, die gezwungen waren zu interagieren, in der Tat einen entscheidenden Faktor darstellten, nicht nur für die musikalische Produktion, sondern auch für das Überleben und die Zukunft der meisten der Insassen. Die verschiedenen Formen der Lagermusik werden charakterisiert, mit vergleichbarer literarischer Produktion verglichen und auch aus philosophischer Perspektive eingeordnet.

Abstract

Ferramonti di Tarsia (CS) fu il maggior campo di internamento fascista realizzato in Italia, sia per estensione che per numero di internati. Se la sua stessa esistenza e le vicende che lo interessarono - dalla fondazione all'indomani dell'ingresso nel secondo conflitto mondiale, alla sua liberazione, il 14 settembre 1943, alla sua definitiva chiusura nel 1945 dopo un periodo di gestione britannica - rappresentano un capitolo pressoché dimenticato della storia italiana, non meno importanti furono le attività musicali che si svolsero al suo interno. Caratterizzato dalla presenza di prigionieri esclusivamente stranieri, per lo più ebrei, provenienti in larga parte dalla Germania, da paesi sotto l'occupazione nazista (Polonia, Austria, Cecoslovacchia), dai Balcani (significativa la presenza di croati e serbi) o deportati da possedimenti italiani nel Mediterraneo (Rodi e Bengasi), Ferramonti costituì un assurdo e aleatorio punto d'incontro di culture, lingue, tradizioni e religioni nell'impervio e malarico entroterra calabrese. Tra i prigionieri – sovente dotati di un livello di istruzione molto alto - si trovavano diversi musicisti di professione, alcuni dei quali avevano già intrapreso carriere internazionali o vi sarebbero stati destinati negli anni successivi alla guerra: Lav Mirski, Kurt Sonnenfeld, Isak Thaler, Paul Gorin, Oscar Klein, Leon Levitch, Ladislav Sternberg, et al. D'altronde, specchio dell'estrema varietà culturale fu proprio la produzione musicale che caratterizzò il campo. Similmente e forse ancor più che in molti campi di concentramento nazisti, a Ferramonti si sviluppò un'intensa attività musicale dai molteplici volti: dai concerti veri e propri di cui sopravvivono i “programmi di sala” (una baracca era stata addirittura adibita a “teatro”), all'istituzione di un coro per le funzioni religiose tanto di rito ebraico, quanto cattolico e greco-ortodosso (un *unicum* non solo nell'ambito della musica concentrazionaria), all'educazione musicale rivolta a bambini e giovani che frequentavano la scuola del campo, solo per citare alcuni degli aspetti più sorprendenti.

Sulla base di fonti amministrative e documenti personali, il presente lavoro approfondisce le specifiche relazioni tra un non-luogo della deportazione come Ferramonti e l'esperienza musicale e umana dei musicisti che vi furono internati, indagando in quali modi l'internamento e la convivenza forzata entro il perimetro di un campo da parte di persone delle più disparate origini costituirono un elemento determinante non solo per la produzione musicale, ma per la sopravvivenza e il futuro della maggior parte degli internati.

Il lavoro approfondisce le diverse forme di *Lagermusik* e le loro specificità, offrendo infine un confronto con la corrispondente produzione letteraria e una prospettiva filosofica sul fenomeno.

Introduction

The first chapter introduces the reasons and aims of the present research, especially trying to contextualize it in the wider background of studies concerning *Lagermusik*. The state of art is presented with special references both to the German and the Italian context. Some reflections concerning Shoah representations through art – including both art from and concerning Shoah – and especially through music will provide some necessary aesthetical premises and queries which the modern researcher faces while dealing with this theme.

The subsequent chapter (§ 2) discusses the specific sources concerning Ferramonti, currently saved in Archives, Libraries and Museums all over Europe, in the USA, Israel and other countries, especially illustrating the huge variety of primary and secondary literature and types of documents.

Before summarizing in chapter 4 Ferramonti history from its foundation to liberation, its specific features as internment and subsequently DP camp and the main personalities acting there (namely Israel Kalk, President of Delasem and the Nuncio Apostolico Borgongini Duca), a focus is centred on the specific characteristics of internment and racial persecution in Italy, its legislative regulation and the contrasting reaction of the Italian population, which was divided between consensus and opposition and strongly influenced by local besides national propaganda (§ 3). This section, although focusing on historical aspects – rather than strictly musicological ones – appears anyway to be fundamental in order to understand the features of such a phenomenon in an Italian context and to avoid oversimplified parallelisms with NS persecution. Such a difference, besides being crucial from a historical viewpoint, determines different artistic expressions and interpretations as far as *Lagermusik* is concerned.

Chapter 5 goes to the heart of the musicological research, presenting in detail musical activities inside the camp, trying to reconstruct a chronological sequence of performative events through Sonnenfeld's and Lopinot's memoirs and offering

some analysis, comments and comparisons of the most relevant concert programmes from 1941 to 1945.

Chapter 6 illustrates the great number and variety of musical instruments which were brought a few at a time to the Ferramonti camp, materially enhancing musical activities and making them key-events in the life of the camp. A photographic repertoire illustrating, among others, strings, *battente* guitars, mandolins and even a grand piano and a harmonium is also provided: these documents constitute a rare source, since photographs were prohibited in Ferramonti as in any other fascist and NS-Lager. Although it seems plausible that several pictures were shot in the months following the liberation, surely some of them date back to previous months and witness the attendance of fascist servicepersons to public concerts and performances.

Eventually chapter 7 presents some biographical portraits of the musicians interned in the camps. In some cases, they might be defined more as sketches than true biographies due to the lack of complete documentation concerning their previous (and sometimes also future) lives. However, this section is essential not only as a memorial, but especially to provide the reader with an idea about which kind of artists found themselves living side by side in the tight perimeter of the camp, sharing both their material and immaterial sustenance.

In chapter 8, conclusions concerning Ferramonti music as well as *Lagermusik* in general are drafted, especially considering their historical value and querying in which aesthetical light they might be regarded.

The research is concluded by three Appendices, providing the reader with a complete diplomatic transcription of Sonnenfeld's memoirs (App. A) and especially lyrics of Ferramonti Lieder (App. B). In particular, Appendix C reports lyrics and music of the camp's hymn (*Ferramonti Walzer*), whose refrain exactly recites «Ferramonti vergessen wir nicht» – from which the present work takes its title.

1. Subject and Reasons of the Research

1.1 *The State of Art*

The first studies concerning music under Western dictatorships of the XX century started in Germany not earlier than in the '60s, with an evident delay in comparison to similar studies in other artistic fields - the first publication on visual arts under Nationalsozialismus, for instance, dates back to 1949.¹

In Eastern Germany, the musicologist Inge Lammell (1924-2015)² pioneered the research concerning *Arbeiterlieder*, founding and leading the *Arbeitsliedarchiv* at the Universität der Künste in DDR.

Her main concern focused on German-speakers' Lieder repertoires which were sung in Lager. Such a corpus - especially consisting of original compositions, but also including readapted songs - presented no kind of uniformity: by no means they could constitute a genre, also from Lammell's viewpoint.³ Nevertheless they could be distinguished according to their function (for further details, please see § 5.3) or to their content, either connected to work or to anti-fascist resistance.

1 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich*, 1949 Hamburg, Gebr. Mann Verlag.

2 Inge Lammell, born as Inge Rackwitz on May 8, 1924 in Berlin, was a German musicologist primarily concerned with work and political Lieder. She suffered from discrimination and persecution from her childhood. Her father was arrested in the *Reichspogromnacht* and sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp and both her parents later perished in Auschwitz. Inge and her sister Eva travelled to the United Kingdom in 1939 with other Jewish children in a children's transport and were interned as «enemy state aliens». In 1944, she moved to London, where she met German political refugees and in 1946 joined the German Communist Party. She also worked for the *Free German League of Culture* in Great Britain and the *Freie Deutsche Bewegung*.

In autumn 1947, she returned to East Berlin. Inspired by the musicologist Ernst Hermann Meyer, who had also returned from his British exile, she studied Musicology at the Humboldt University in East Berlin from October 1948 onwards. She married in 1950 and took the name of Lammell. She obtained her PhD in 1975 with a thesis on the topic *Arbeitslied*, to which she dedicated numerous publications. She also set up and directed from 1954 to 1985 the *Arbeiterliedarchiv* at the *Akademie der Künste* of the DDR.

3 Cf. Guido Fackler, *Die Lagers Stimme. Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936*, Diss. Univ. Freiburg 1997, Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager (Papenburg): DIZ-Schriften Vol. 11; 2000 Bremen, Ed. Temmen, p.235.

In such a distinction, an ideologically-oriented tendency seems to emerge, more generally influencing the research results in the context of the DDR.

At the same time, as a first contributor to musicological research in Western Germany, the composer and music critic Erwin Kroll (1886 - 1976)⁴ should be mentioned, who with his article *Verbotene Musik*⁵ started a series of works with similar topics published in musicological literature: in 1963, Stuckenschmidt's *Musik unter Hitler*⁶ and Wulf's *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*,⁷ in 1969, Prieberg's *Der Fall Werner Egk: Ein trauriges Beispiel für eine traurig kompromittierte Generation*,⁸ followed by other articles and later by his milestone *Musik in NS-Staat*.⁹ Subsequently, the '70s focused especially on the studies concerning Wagner, his notorious antisemitism and the reception of his aesthetical ideas by the regime, opened by Stuckenschmidt with *Nachruhm als Missverständnis: Richard Wagner*¹⁰ and followed by an increase in publications concerning antisemitism in music. The early editions of songs composed and performed in concentration camps appeared in 1968, when Carsten Linde,¹¹ a colleague of Lammell, published the first collection of *Lieder* composed by Alexander Kulisiewicz,¹² singer, songwriter and key-figure

4 Erwin Kroll was born in Deutsch Eylau (Westprussen) on February, 3 1886. He studied in Königsberg and München Classical Philology and Music. After his promotion in 1909, he studied composition and worked as a pianist, correpetitor, music teacher and conductor. In 1925 he moved from München to Berlin, where he worked for several musical journals and directed the Musikabteilung der Nordwestdeutschen Rundkuntft between 1946-53. He died in 1976. Cf. Bruno Jahn, (edited by) *Die deutschsprachige Presse: Ein biographisch-bibliographisches Handbuch*, 2005 München, de Gruyter Saur.

5 Erwin Kroll, "Verbotene Musik" in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 7 (1959) 3, p.310-317.

6 Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, "Musik und Hitler" *Forum* 9, n. 108 (December 1962), p.510-513; *Forum* 10, n.109 (January 1963), p.44-48.

7 Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*, 1998 Berlin, Ullstein.

8 Fred K. Prieberg, *Der Fall Werner Egk: Ein trauriges Beispiel fuer eine traurig kompromittierte Generation*, *Die Zeit*, 25. April 1969.

9 Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 1982 Frankfurt a.M. 1982, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

10 Stuckenschmidt, "Nachruhm als Missverständnis: Richard Wagner" in *Die Musik eines halben Jahrhunderts 1925-1975. Essay und Kritik*, 1976 München/Zürich, Piper, p263-272.

11 Carsten Linde, *KZ-Lieder: eine Auswahl aus dem Repertoire des polnischen Sängers Alex Kulisiewicz*, [1972 ?] Weiden, Sievershütten: Verlag Wendepunkt.

12 Aleksander Kulisiewicz (1918-1982) grew up in Krakow where he learned to play the piano, as well as violin and accordion, besides studying Law. In occupied Poland, Kulisiewicz worked as a journalist and was a member of the Polish Democratic Youth League (ZMPD). As a consequence to his article entitled "Heil Butter! - Enough Hitler!", he was arrested in 1939 and deported to the

for the musical life in the Sachsenhausen camp, whereas *Lieder* from DP-camps, as for instance Bergen-Belsen, began to appear already after the war in two monographs concerning the camp, although no critical and musicological apparatus was provided.¹³ Simultaneously, first studies concerning Nazim and pedagogy started developing from the '60s.¹⁴

However, the first publication about music explicitly involving the term 'fascism' appeared not earlier than 1984 – Klein's *Musik im faschistischen Deutschland*,¹⁵ while the year 1988 is generally regarded as the "pivotal year", as the fiftieth anniversary of the *Kristallnacht* and the very first to be celebrated in both Western and Eastern Germany, revealing also an international awareness and concern for the memorialisation of the Holocaust.

In more recent years, Guido Fackler's doctoral dissertation, *Die Lagers Stimme. Musik im KZ: Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936*,¹⁶ provided scholars with a large-scale collection and critic analysis of Lagerlieder, dealing with specific cases on the basis of archival research, reports and interviews with contemporary witnesses and focusing on different forms and ambivalent meanings of music in the concentration camps. Although presenting a

Sachsenhausen by the Gestapo. He quickly became known there as a singer and joined the imprisoned composer Rosebery d'Arguto. Besides his own compositions – which include ca. fifty songs, a hundred thirty poems and some texts of different authors set to music, he also managed to learn by heart several *Lieder* from many inmates of different languages and nationalities. He survived the custody and, after the liberation in 1945, began to document all these songs, by dictating them to his nurse during his stay in the hospital of Krakow.

After the war, he worked as an internationally renowned interpreter to conserve the memory of KZ-Lieder and their authors alive: "the singer from hell", appearing in KZ-uniform on stage and singing with a fragile voice, became quite popular in Germany, Italy, in the USA, but had little recognition in communist Poland. He also travelled through Eastern European countries, getting in contact with other survivors and collecting an extensive archive.

13 The British captain Derrick Sington, commander of the psychological warfare unit, wrote two monographs: *Belsen Uncovered*, 1946 London, Duckworth and *Die Tore öffnen sich. Authentischer Bericht über das englische Hilfswerk für Belsen*, 1948 Hamburg, Hamburger Kulturverlag.

14 Cf. for instance Prof. Dr. Ulrich Günther (1923-2011), emeritus Music-pedagogue at Universität Oldenburg. In the '60s he brought to the attention the fascist influences on his discipline.

15 Hanns-Werner Heister, Hans-Günther Klein, *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, 1984 Frankfurt, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

16 Cf. n. 3.

comprehensive biblio- and mediography for further developments until 1945, Fackler's work is centered on a pre-war period (till 1936). Moreover, the ethnographic, sociological and psychological perspectives adopted, does not always appear convincing, often involving rigid definition of concepts and categories such as "culture" and "cultural values", "normality", "humanity/inhumanity" asf.

Perhaps it is not by coincidence that in the '80s a revival of researches concerning interment and deportation camps arose also in Italy. The first two historical studies concerning Ferramonti, for instance, were published in 1987 and in 1989 respectively,¹⁷ consisting in a chronological narrative of the camp history between 1940 and 1945 and in a collection of archive sources, respectively. Such studies, representing important sources for the present work, will be discussed in the § 2. What should be pointed out with reference to the Italian research is the absolute rarity till that moment of studies concerning internment phenomena and the exclusively historical perspective adopted in deepening the question of Jewish persecution: facts and figures are abundant and precisely reported since 1961 in essays like *Storia degli ebrei italiani* by Renzo De Felice,¹⁸ but very scarce studies paid attention to specific cases, everyday life as well as direct witnesses and oral reports. If the victims' voices were hardly listened to, the interest for their musical and artistic expressions were considered even less relevant and just mentioned sporadically as a mere accidentality.¹⁹

17 Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti, un Lager di Mussolini. Gli internati durante la guerra*, 1985 Cosenza, Brenner e Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Ferramonti. La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo d'internamento fascista (1940-1945)*, 1987 Firenze, La Giuntina.

18 Renzo De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*, 1961 Einaudi, Torino (I ed.); 1963 (II ed); 1972 (III ed.).

19 The most recent publications by Italian scholars concerning music during the fascist period frequently deal with degenerate music and relationships between music and politics: e.g. Maurizio Disoteo, *Musica e nazismo. Dalla musica bolscevica alla musica degenerata*, 2014 Lucca, LIM; Gioachino Lanotte, *Mussolini e la sua orchestra. Radio e musica nell'Italia fascista*, 2016 Civitavecchia, Prospettiva; Stefano Biguzzi, *L'orchestra del duce. Mussolini, la musica e il mito del capo*, 2003 Torino, UTET – the latter on the footsteps of Fiamma Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nell'Italia fascista*, 1984 Scandicci, La nuova Italia and Harvey Sachs, *Music in the fascist Italy*, 1987 London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson – and Silvia Del Zoppo, "Estetizzazione della violenza, processi mitopoietici e riti del consenso nel contesto musicale italiano (1922-1939)" in *Gilgameš – Rivista del dottorato in Scienze del Patrimonio Letterario, Artistico e Ambientale*, Università degli Studi di Milano, n.1/2016, pp. 191-205.

Specific attention to *Lagermusik*, although only in the German context, is paid for instance by

1.2 Lagermusik

The most extensive definition of «Lagermusik» was probably provided in recent years by Francesco Lotoro in the first volume of his encyclopaedic project «Musica Concentrationaria» (2012):²⁰

Concentration Camp music is the musical corpus (symphony, opera, theatre, oratorio, chamber music from duo to nonet, instrumental solo, vocal and choral; cabaret, jazz, religious, traditional and popular songs, parody, fragmented and uncompleted works, music under compulsion, works reconstructed after the War) created in prison, transit, forced labour, concentration, extermination Camps, military prisons, POW Camps, Stalag, Oflag, Ilag, Dulag opened by both the Third Reich, Italy, Japan, The Italian Social Republic, État français (Vichy regime), other countries of the Axis and Great Britain, France, U.S.S.R. and other countries allied in Europe, colonial Africa, Asia and Oceania from 1933 (when the KZ Dachau and Emslandlagern were opened) to 1945 (when the War ended in the European Mediterranean and Atlantic area on 9.5.1945 and in the Pacific area on 2.9.1945) by musicians characterised by different artistic and professional backgrounds as well as by different national, social and religious context, who, in that period, suffered discrimination, persecution, wrongful imprisonment and were deported, killed or survived (Jews, Christians, Sinti and Roma and other groups belonging to Romanè people, Euskaldunak or of the Basque people, Sufi, Quakers, Bibelforscher, communists, disabled people, homosexuals, civil and military prisoners).

Though evocative and clearly associable with the general understanding of such a phenomenon, Lotoro's definition does not sound consistent in its deep musical meaning. Several doubts concern such an impressive variety of genres, styles,

Lorenzo Lorusso, *Orfeo al servizio del Führer. Totalitarismo e musica nella Germania del Terzo Reich*, 2008 Palermo, L'epos and Silvia Del Zoppo, "Entartete Kunst e musica concentrazionaria: due volti della musica perseguitata nella Germania del 'Terzo Reich'" in Stephanie Klauk et alii (edited by) *Musik und Musikwissenschaft im Umfeld des Faschismus*, Saarbrücker Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 2015 Sinzig, Studio Verlag.

20 Francesco Lotoro, *Thesaurus Musicae Concentrationariae. Enciclopedia della Musica scritta nei Lager durante la II Guerra Mondiale*, 2012 Barletta, Rotas, pag.32. The definition avoids mention of the DP-camps and camps in the USA, like Fort Ontario (see § 4.6): temporary collocations for ex-inmates of Nazi camps who were deported again to the US and kept prisoned for several months before being freed. Evidences of musical activities emerged also from such realities.

authors, compositions, performances asf, especially with regard to the effectiveness in identifying them exclusively through their shared place of occurrence.

The musicological understanding of such an object seems indeed anything but clear.

It should be preliminarily pointed out that even the space of its taking place is not homogenous by any means: *NS-Lager* were differentiated according to their aims (*Internierungs-, Durchgangs- and Konzentrationslager*), their management (run by either local or central authorities), extensions, number of prisoners and several other factors, all of them subjected to modifications from the establishment of the first camp Dachau to the capitulation of the last one in 1945 (for further details, see § 5.6). When moving the perspective to Italy, fascist camps presented very different features prior and after September 1943 and had completely different purposes and geographical collocations.²¹ Furthermore, camps in occupied or colonial lands could present specific features according to specific circumstances.

Therefore, such a definition provides a gallery of hardly comparable case studies and Lotoro self seems to be aware of its provisional and unstable character:²²

Concentration camp music is the music created in captivity or in a condition of extreme deprivation of the fundamental human rights [...] the music written in Camps is not a different music; it is currently defined as concentration camp music for the sole purposes of intellectual and geographical research [...] one day it shall be called just music; mediocre, good, great as music in general, it will no longer need any additional geopolitical or historical specification such as World War II, civil and military deportations, Shoah.

21 Essentially, before and during the first month of war, the fascist regime looked for remote places where undesired people could be confined. These areas were often identified in the Centre and South of Italy. After September 8, 1943, the establishment of the Salò Republic in the North as a shadow state of the Third Reich involved the adoption of drastic measures against Jews, including the camps destined only for deportations to NS-Lager.

22 Lotoro, *Thesaurus Musicae Concentrationariae*, p. 12.

However, disconnecting the nature and the intrinsic value of such a repertoire from its context of production appears inappropriate and contradictory.

Such an assertion, indeed, would seem certainly consolatory and encouraging; unfortunately, it cannot be based on scientifically argued considerations and presents a lack of effectiveness: in contrast, according to Fakler, it is exactly the «*Lageralltag*» - as he defines it – the everyday life with its rules, value systems, communication and behavioural forms to deserve more attention from all the possible - human, social, cultural - viewpoints to allow a comprehension of the phenomenon.

Furthermore, Lotoro's assertion introduces directly a second order of queries concerning the reasons and the aims of its studying: why should such a music production - occasional, arranged, incomplete, lost and not supposed to survive or to be listened to outside the boundaries of the camps - be taken into account by scholars? Is such a music performed for «people already dead»,²³ just a curiosity, a paradox opposing the common sense or has it a stronger meaning, which may turn to be helpful - hopefully a key-point - with regard to the historical reconstruction of fascist internment policies and the philosophical understanding of the Shoah?

As a further point, a methodological issue obviously arises: under which aesthetical criteria should such a miscellaneous repertoire be considered? Where does the value of such a music lie and which are the suitable means at researchers' disposal in order to bring it into the light?

On the one hand, by adopting expressions like «*musica concentrazionaria*» or «*Lagermusik*» the risk is creating a category so vast as to result actually undefined. On the other hand, by denying the specific context of production, would it make a point analysing such a repertoire simply through standard musicological methods? According to Fakler:²⁴

23 «The already-dead» («i già-morti») is Distaso's definition of the inmates in Terezín in his essay «Opera incerta e opera disperata» in Leonardo Distaso, Ruggero Taradel, *Musica per l'abisso. La vita di Terezín. Un'indagine storica ed estetica 1933-1945*, Mimesis, Milani, 2014, pp. 89-164.

24 Guido Fakler, *Die Lagers Stimme*, p. 9.

Zu eindimensional ist das Bild von der tatsächlich vielschichtigen Innenwelt eines Lagers, zu undifferenziert das Wissen über die komplizierte Rangfolge der verschiedenen Häftlingsgruppen und zu wirkungsmächtig die idealisierte Vorstellung einer kontext-unabhängigen, absoluten, autonomen und zweckfreien Musik. [...]

Eventually, the topic of the present work is restricted to a specific case of music performance and production in an Italian internment camp: how should it be regarded in comparison to the context which it stands against?

1.3 Shoah Representations Through Art

The extreme problematicity of treating the Shoah, especially referring to its representations in contemporary art, has not eluded scholars - like Jeroen van Gessel,²⁵ according to whom the main risk run by most of the treatises on this subject, both in a research field (articles, essays, etc.) as well as in artistic one (movies, music pieces, paintings, etc.) is falling in the same aesthetical categories of their representation object, so far identified by Saul Friedländer²⁶ as 'Kitsch' and 'Death', respectively defined as «the cult of symbols' purity» and «the (almost) religious glorification of giving life for a cause».

As far as the Ferramonti case study is concerned, the category of 'Death' does not seem to be so relevant, since violence in Southern-Italian camps surely played a less dramatic role than in most other European camps, and death was definitely not present except as an ordinary accidentality.

Therefore, the second of Friedländer's categories might be more effectively replaced, in the Italian case, with 'Trivialization': because the characters of violence and death appeared to be lacking, the reality of Ferramonti through its past or

25 Jeroen van Gessel, "Holocaust compositions from recent decades: Between 'imagined victims' and the quest for being 'virtually Jewish'". In B. Rásky (Ed.), *Partituren der Erinnerung: Der Holocaust in der Musik/ Scores of commemoration: The Holocaust in music*, Beiträge zur Holocaustforschung des Wiener Wiesenthal Instituts für Holocaust Studien, 2015, Wien, New Academic Press, Vol. 1, pp. 41–57.

26 Saul Friedländer, *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death*, 1984 New York, Harper & Row.

contemporary artistic representation may be perceived as consolatory or even pleasant, unfortunately not only in general perception, but also in some scholars' understanding. Many modern representations and narratives connected to Ferramonti so far ended up with mystifications of the reality²⁷ – either due to carelessness or to spectacular purposes to meet mediatic needs – which refuse the idea that in Ferramonti's, as well as in many other contexts of persecution «die Gleichzeitigkeit von Kunst, Kultur und Barbarei nicht einem Tabubruch gleichkame».²⁸

The conclusion is that the main risk of the art connected to the Shoah – i.e. different forms of distortion of memory – may eventually lead to its own destruction, paradoxically enough in the very moment of its pretended taking place. In this direction, it should be also kept in mind that often Shoah art - here intended as both postmodern art dealing with the Shoah and the study and reproduction of art from the Shoah itself - «is not about accurately representing facts, but an attempt to come to terms with how these facts continue to affect us».²⁹

It should furthermore be recalled, as Gilbert does in *Music of the Holocaust*,³⁰ that «distortion» occurs not only as an intentional attitude to pursue dishonest purposes,³¹ but also and more insidiously as a means to make a phenomenon «assimilable and easier to bear».³² In other terms, interpretations through art may happen to be an unconscious process of normalization particularly when facing incomprehensible or unbearable phenomena.

27 Cf. Mario Avagliano, “Ferramonti di Tarsia e la Memoria stile agriturismo” in Moked – il portale dell'ebraismo italiano, Published on 16.10.2012. Available at: <http://moked.it/blog/2012/10/16/storie-ferramonti-di-tarsia-e-la-memoria-stile-agriturismo/> (01.10.2017).

28 Fakler, *Die Lagers Stimme*, p. 9. Italics by the author.

29 Norman Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry. Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish suffering*, 2002 London/New York, Verso books.

30 Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*, 2005 Oxford, Clarendon Press.

31 This aspect will be discussed later, in the recollection of historical tendencies when analysing persecution and internment fascist politics.

32 Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, p. 1-20.

Remarkable evidence can often be found in witnesses' memoirs: astonishingly enough, their reconstruction of reality often seems to edulcorate historical facts, as in the case of many survivors of Ferramonti.³³

In this perspective, *Lagermusik* may assume the features of a «redemptive narrative»,³⁴ in a double respect: both for the victims, who are assumed to contrast and defeat mistreating or dehumanization processes through musical art, considered as a vehicle of dignity and defence of humanity and also for the post-Holocaust generations, who, by managing to impose meaning to suffering, escape the terrifying doubt that actually suffering might be meaningless. These perspectives, ranging from comforting and uplifting to heroic and mythicizing ones and definitely playing with the symbolic meaning of this art, just detect the incapability to accept the phenomenon as it is and prevent its understanding.

Another problem affecting the modern representation of Shoah art is the attempt to complete, recreate *a posteriori* and eventually invent *ex novo* some elements or facts to remedy the lack of information. This becomes even truer when studies about a topic start remarkably late, as in the case of Ferramonti. With this regard, memories and witnesses may turn to be the most dangerous weapon, as some scholars and writers underlined.³⁵ Though essential to a reconstruction, on the other hand direct sources such as the ones presented in § 2 cannot be uncritically assumed and the specific methods of oral history should always be taken into account.

In § 6.1 an emblematic example is quoted, concerning how an acritical adoption of non-verified witnesses has led to a tendentious reconstruction of the musical life

33 Cf. The interview to Peter Silberstein, son of the singer Elly Silberstein, on 13.07.2012 by Lauren Taylor (TPS1). The transcription of the interview is available at: http://www.campifascisti.it/scheda_testimonianza_full.php?id_tst=32 (01.10.2017).

34 Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, p. 1-20.

35 Cf. Primo Levi: «Parlano perché, recita un detto Yiddish, “è bello raccontare i guai passati”; Francesca dice a Dante che non c’è “nessun maggior dolore/che ricordarsi del tempo felice/nella miseria”, ma è vero anche l’inverso, come sa ogni reduce: [...] così subito cede all’urgenza del raccontare, davanti alla mensa imbandita, Ulisse alla corte del re dei Feaci. Parlano, magari esagerando, da “soldati millantatori”: [...] così facendo, si differenziano dagli “altri”, consolidano la loro identità con l’appartenenza ad una corporazione, e sentono accresciuto il loro prestigio». From the ch. «Stereotipi» in *I sommersi e i salvati*, 1986 Torino, Einaudi, p. 121-136, p.121.

in Terezín, which in some respects differed from how it has been described for decades.³⁶ Following Peduzzi's scrupulousness as an example, similar mystifications in studies concerning Ferramonti have been identified and rejected. Furthermore, van Gessel also claims about an «effort to recreate or reinvent Jewish culture, especially in places where Jewish life has been obliterated by the Holocaust», coming to define it as the invention of a «virtual Jewishness». The same remark could be extended to all the religions and cultures present at Ferramonti, where obviously shadow zones did exist, especially considering interactions among different communities: Jewish, Catholic and Greek-Orthodox, German- and Serbian-speaking peoples and other linguistic minorities, the internees and the military authorities and so on. If it can be assumed that theoretically each one of them could live and practice collective religious or cultural rituals in a relatively free way, the tendency to homologation should be avoided. Although social tensions could result weaker than anywhere else as far as Lager are concerned, both cooperative and competitive society models have taken place in Ferramonti depending on different historical circumstances and availability of essential goods. Music life was naturally involved in social balance and imbalance, in the same way as in other camps musical performance was never 'neutral'.

It is enlightening for instance how Shirli Gilbert, in her analysis of different musical performances in the context of both Ghettos and Lager,³⁷ assumes that music was especially a means of remarking and ensuring different social status, rather than levelling them, as one might think. This occurred intensively in the Warsaw Ghetto, as the scholar argues, as a direct consequence of a pre-war and even XIX c. model of society, where different manifestations of music involved different sectors of the community: from high society's music café, to public theatres and soup kitchens, private house concerts offered by musicians and eventually to begging in the streets while singing or playing an instrument.

³⁶ See § 6. *The instruments in the camp*, p.142, fn. 176.

³⁷ Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, p. 21-195.

On the contrary, such aspects were less marked in the Vilnius Ghetto, but could be found in concentration camps like Sachsenhausen and Auschwitz.

It may be generally assumed that in the reality of Ferramonti, where one of the aims of community leaders was surely for keeping the cohesion and functionality of the community alive, shared culture, art and music may have represented the strongest means to achieve this goal and under particular circumstances - as for instance food and water crisis, winter, i.e. when essential goods were lacking - it might have involved contrasts or stressing difference and hierarchies, rather than erasing them. Although exceptions are documented, one should avoid oversimplified assumptions of inmates' solidarity, paying rather attention to the inmates' multi-faceted understanding and expression of their condition, with regard to both inhomogeneity of communities and individual human nature and behaviour. In conclusion, to deny any sort of idealism, it is doubtless that «in atrocities, where people were exhausted, diseased, freezing and dying of starvation, music could simply no longer flourish».³⁸

1.4 Looking for Meaning

Pushing forward the reflection on aesthetical categories as far as Lager music is concerned, in order to answer the question concerning its meaning, it might be very helpful to deepen Giselher Schubert's distinction of two opposite aesthetic criteria, namely those of (so-called) 'substance' and those of 'function':³⁹

³⁸ Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, p. 10.

³⁹ Giselher Schubert, "The Aesthetic Premises of a Nazi Conception of Music in Music and Nazism" in Michael Kater, Albrecht Riethmüller (edited by), *Art under Tyranny 1933-1945*, 2003 Laaber, Laaber Verlag, p. 64-74, p.64. The two criteria are introduced by the author to demonstrate how, by defining "deutsche völkische Musik", the Nazis may have attempted to introduce criteria of "substance" to found such a concept, whereas this does not exist *per se* as an aesthetic one, but exclusively as a political one. In simpler words, «For clearly there is neither a universal, generally accepted, unequivocal and unmistakable aesthetic of National Socialist music, nor do we know any work composed during the period in which National Socialist Germany spontaneously recognised itself».

A distinction ultimately based in turn on the question of whether music as such, or even a particular example of music, has inherent meaning, or whether it only obtains meaning relative to a particular context, however broadly or narrowly conceived.

These two categories may actually help in the attempt to define *Lagermusik* and its understanding, and allow us to reformulate the question, moving the focus from its 'essence' to its 'sense'. Does Lager music have an inherent meaning, or it acquire a meaning only through its context? And in the second case, which context: the one of its taking place (coeval) or the context of its memory (contemporary)?

Borrowing the term «unthought knowledge» from Christopher Bollas' *The Shadow of the Object*, as Gabriele Schwab herself does, this may be employed to literally identify «a dimension of the unconsciousness that emerges from experiences that have been lived but never fully known».

As Schwab argues, the expression is relevant not only in pre-linguistic phases of life, but also for events characterised by lack or impossibility of verbal description, namely traumatic experiences.⁴⁰

In order to make the trauma accessible, a form needs to be found that translates into language or symbolic expression an experience that is only unconsciously registered and left as a mere trace on the affective and corporeal levels. Literature and arts can become transformational objects in the sense that they endow this knowledge with a symbolic expression and thereby not only change its status but also make it indirectly accessible to the others.

The author concludes therefore that the relationship between music and Nazism can be exclusively read one-way: «The music politically desirable for the Nazi was German music, and not the other way around, German music would have become politically desirable». The second order of consequences which can be derived from such a one-way-implication is that the aestheticizing of politics was achieved only at a cost of degrading aesthetic elements to merely functional ones.

40 Gabriele Schwab, *Haunting Legacies. Violent history and transgenerational trauma*. Columbia 2010 New York, Columbia University Press, p. 8.

In this meaning, arts and especially music may act as a privileged means of transgenerational transmission of an «unthought knowledge». Consequently, if Lager music was understood as such a «transformational form» provided with a symbolic meaning and being the access-key to the sharing of traumatic experiences, the attempt to disconnect the symbolic representation (referent) with its meaning (reference) would result absurd.

It should be however taken into account that, on the one hand, *Lagermusik* coeval to the Shoah cannot be understood as merely ‘symbolic’ of personal or collective experience in the same way as contemporary art can evoke it; on the other hand, it cannot be assumed as purely ‘functional’, either in the meaning of useful to the persecutorial system or in the sense of consolatory.

2. Sources

Direct sources for the research present a meaningful diversity concerning both kind, language, content, origin. Besides, an exiguous number of historical monographs and articles represent the only secondary literature about Ferramonti⁴¹ today available. Primary sources may include witnesses, interviews,

41 Concerning the history of Ferramonti and its internees, see especially:

- Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Ferramonti. La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo d'internamento fascista (1940-1945)*, 1987 Firenze, La Giuntina; Id., "Ferramonti-Tarsia: perché duri la memoria", in *Città Calabria*, a. III/1984, n. 3 Rubbettino ed., Catanzaro; Id., "The internment camp of Ferramonti-Tarsia, in The Italian Refugee. Rescue of Jews during the Holocaust" in I. Herzer (edited by), *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Boston 6-7 novembre 1986*, 1989 Washington, The Catholic University of America Press; Id., "L'internamento degli ebrei stranieri ed apolidi nel giugno del 1940: il caso di Ferramonti-Tarsia", in *Italia-Judaica IV. Gli ebrei nell'Italia unita 1870-1945*, Ministero per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali, 1993 Roma - Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Siena 14-16 giugno 1989; Id., "Il campo di concentramento di Ferramonti", in T. Matta (edited by), *Un percorso della memoria. Guida ai luoghi della violenza nazista e fascista in Italia*, 1996 Milano, Electa; Id., "Dal campo «per stranieri nemici» alla Fondazione «per l'Amicizia tra i Popoli». La memoria di Ferramonti e la riscoperta dell'internamento civile italiano", in *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, Vol. LXVI, n. 3, September-December 2000; Id., "La memoria di Ferramonti e la riscoperta dell'internamento civile fascista", in *Horizonte. Italianistische Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaft und Gegenwartsliteratur*, n.5, Stuttgart, 2000; Id., "L'entrata in guerra dell'Italia e l'internamento degli ebrei stranieri: il campo di Ferramonti", in C. Di Sante (edited by), *I campi di concentramento in Italia. Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940-1945)*. Atti del Convegno Teramo 23-24 marzo 1998, 2001 Milano, Franco Angeli; Id., "Ferramonti", voce lemmatica del Dizionario dell'Olocausto, a cura di Walter Laqueur, Edizione italiana a cura di A. Cavaglion, 2004 Torino, Einaudi;

- Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti. Il Campo, gli ebrei, gli Antifascisti*, 2009 Cosenza, La Scossa; Id., *Ferramonti: in Lager di Mussolini. Gli internati durante la guerra*, 1985 Cosenza, Brenner; Id., *Ferramonti? Un misfatto senza sconti*, 2004 Cosenza, Brenner; Id., *Calabria democratica 1943-1946*, 1992 Cosenza, Brenner; Id., *Ebrei destinazione Calabria 1940-1943*, 1988, Palermo, Sellerio;

- Israel Kalk, "I campi di concentramento italiani per ebrei profughi: Ferramonti di Tarsia (Calabria)", in FOA, Paolo et al., *Gli ebrei in Italia durante il fascismo. Quaderni della Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia*, 1961 Sala Bolognese, Forni Editore, pp. 63-71;

- Mario Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia. Voci di un campo di concentramento fascista 1940-1945*, 2009 Milano, Mursia;

- Francesco Volpe (edited by), *Ferramonti: un Lager del Sud. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 15-16 maggio 1987*, 1990 Cosenza, Orizzonti Meridionali Ed.;

On specific aspects related to the camp:

- Luca Irwin Fragale, "Ferramonti di Tarsia, il lager dei bibliofili: Bernhard, Brenner, Kalk e Prager" in *Giornale di storia contemporanea: rivista semestrale di storia contemporanea*, June 1999 – Gruppo Periodici Pellegrini V.18 n.2 (2015), pp.127-134;

- Massara, Katia, "Il campo di internamento di Ferramonti di Tarsia nella corrispondenza della Santa Sede in Rivista storica calabrese" in *Deputazione di storia patria per la Calabria* n.1(1996), pp. 353-370;

- Rose, Dario - Lupi, Aurelia, "Un approccio archeologico allo studio topografico del campo di concentramento di Ferramonti (CS)" in *Bollettino dell'Unione storia ed arte*, 2012, pp.139-156;

- Enrico Tromba et alii, *Il Kaddish a Ferramonti: le anime ritrovate* 2014 Castrovillari, Prometeo Ed.

oral reports, physical objects. Since the language families of the internees were considerably different, the sources stemming from the internees include documents in Italian, German, Croatian, Polish, Dutch, Yiddish; the official documents and the correspondence with the state offices in Rome are of course in Italian, the diary of Pater Lopinot⁴² is in French, although the *Relatio*⁴³ written by him in the *Analectica Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum* is in ecclesiastical Latin, the official language of the Catholic Church. Moreover, part of the documentation concerning Ferramonti after September 1943 is in English, since the camp went under Allies' control and it is currently preserved at the Imperial War Museum in London.

The most important direct sources are however collected in the Kalk Archive, which eng. Kalk started grouping and cataloguing in the '50s till his death in the '80s and which is now saved at ACDEC – Archivio del Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea in Milano.⁴⁴ Considerable photographic materials prior or subsequent to the liberation of the camp are now part of the collections at USHMM – United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington and at Yad Vashem – The World Holocaust Remembrance Centre, Jerusalem.

About music, sources regarding single musicians interned in the camp are available at their own place of work or living, at Universities or Conservatoire libraries all over the world and naturally in private collections. Some examples are sources about Lav Mirski, at Osijek Theatre, Leon Levitch's composition at UCLA - University of California, Los Angeles, Uri Sternberg's music collection at Be'er Sheva Conservatoire Library, Kurt Sonnenfeld's compositions and memoirs at Conservatorio "Giuseppe Verdi" Library in Milano asf. However, very few

42 Callisto Lopinot (1876 – 1966) - Cf. n. 93.

An Italian translation of his diary, "Diario 1941-1944. Ferramonti-Tarsia", was realised by Rose Marie Reiner with notes by Luigi Intrieri is available in F. Volpe (edited by), *Ferramonti: un lager del Sud: atti del convegno internazionale di studi 15-16 maggio 1987*, 1990 Cosenza, Orizzonti meridionali, p156-207.

43 Callisto Lopinot, "De Apostolatu inter Hebraeos in publicae custodiae loco cui nomen v. «Campo di Concentramento Ferramonti di Tarsia (Cosenza)». Relatio" in *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum* n.60 (1944), p.70-75 and n.61 (1945) p. 41-46.

44 ACDEC Milano - Fondo Israel Kalk, b. 2: "Ferramonti di Tarsia". See § 4.3.2.

compositions have survived: at the present state of research, only the *Ferramonti Walzer*, the Lager-hymn of Ferramonti, is attested (see Appendix C), together with texts of some Lieder probably circulating in the camp (Appendix B), preserved in the Kalk Archive. A reasonable number of concert programmes could be found: not exhaustive with reference to the whole musical life in Ferramonti, but suitable to put together an idea of the variety of repertoires and musical activities. From the programmes themselves it has been possible to obtain the names of the main personalities dealing with music and entertainment.

As far as secondary literature is concerned, it has already been pointed out that the historical research concerning Ferramonti started with considerable delay. Curiously enough, the first publication in 1952 was actually the German romance entitled *Ferramonti* and written by an author hidden under the pseudonym of Peter Geörg.⁴⁵ The story is set in the camp and some of the facts reported match the historical reconstruction. The narrative is however strongly fantasised and the aim of the author was far from a plausible report – the names of the characters are also fictitious, as well as many other details. In the category of fiction might be included also the short diary of Rita Koch, *Una lontana estate: diario da Ferramonti di Tarsia*.⁴⁶

Anyway, it is only at the end of the '80s that two local historians dedicated the first two essays to the subject: in 1985, the monograph *Ferramonti: un Lager di Mussolini. Gli internati durante la guerra*⁴⁷ by Francesco Folino, is a collection of documents related to Ferramonti, mainly acquired from the Archivio Centrale di Stato in Rome, where the materials concerning “Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza – Divisione Affari Generali E Riservati Del Ministero Dell'interno” and the related

45 First Italian translation Peter Geörg, *Ferramonti*, 1952 Firenze, Valmartina Ed.

46 Rita Koch, “Una lontana estate: diario da Ferramonti di Tarsia” in *Calabria sconosciuta*, n. 27-28 (1984), Reggio Calabria, Chiaravalle Centrale, p. 67-70.

47 Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti: un Lager di Mussolini*. See n. 40.

subcategories represent the main part of the official historical sources concerning Ferramonti.⁴⁸

The 1987 monograph *Il campo di concentramento di Ferramonti di Tarsia 1940-1940* by Carlo Sartaco Capogreco,⁴⁹ recalls in chronological order the most relevant phases of Ferramonti history, whose times and moments were largely articulated by the arrivals of new prisoners – often organised in ethnical groups - by special events - like the two visits of Eng. Kalk, the presence of the Rabbino Pacifici and of the Mon. Borgongini Duca – and by war developments – like the withdrawal of the Germans in September 1943 and the subsequent taking possession by the Allies.

A restricted number of documents are saved in the Fondazione Museo Ferramonti,⁵⁰ a museum appeared in the same place where the camp was established – although most buildings are modern reconstructions as the entire camp was destroyed after the war and used as a country field for decades, before being crossed by the motorway connecting Salerno to Reggio Calabria.

However, as it has been already argued, a deplorable attempt of manipulation occurred within the establishment of the Ferramonti Foundation, by trying to emphasize the presence of Italian anti-fascist prisoners, who actually arrived to the camp only in the last phase of the war, to the detriment of foreign Jews, who were the majority since the opening of the camp.⁵¹ Moreover, both Capogreco and Folino dedicated several papers and books to the case Ferramonti, listed in the

48 Especially the subcategories: “M/4 – 16 Mobilitazione civile” (envelopes from 1 to 25) and the subclass “Ferramonti” (envelopes from 24 to 28); “A/C Ariani internati in campi di concentramento” (envelopes from 1 to 154); “A/I Ariani internati in località d’internamento” (Envelopes from 1 to 75); “E/C Ebrei internati in località d’internamento” (envelopes from 1 to 24); “A/4 bis Stranieri internati durante la II Guerra Mondiale” (envelopes from 1 to 384); “A/16 Sorveglianza stranieri” (envelopes from 1 to 107) and the “Casellario Politico Generale”.

49 Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Ferramonti. La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo di internamento fascista. 1940-1945*. 1989 Firenze, Giuntina.

50 Museo Internazionale della Memoria – Ferramonti di Tarsia was founded on April, 25 2004. A virtual exhibition Museo Virtuale Ferramonti can be accessed at: <http://www.museoferramonti.org>.

51 Cf. Mario Rende, “Ferramonti di Tarsia: origini e peculiarità del più grande campo di internamento per Ebrei dell’Italia fascista” in *Studi Umbri. Rivista digitale indipendente di cultura, ricerca e dibattito locale e internazionale per l’Umbria*, n.10 [s.d.], available at: <https://www.studiumbri.it/memoria/ferramonti-di-tarsia-origini-e-peculiarita-del-piu-grande-campo-di-internamento-per-ebrei-dellitalia-fascista/> (23.10.2017).

Bibliography. On the one hand, their work is an unavoidable recollection and precious starting point for further research: on the other hand, however, their viewpoints do not seem to develop along the years and consequently between the first publications in the '80 and the latest around 2009 few differences can be remarked. Although they often point out relevant sources for scholars, sometimes their approach seems to be amatorial and naive.

Another historian for passion, Mario Rende – who is actually a professor for Medicine at the University of Urbino - published in 2009 *Ferramonti. Voci e Suoni da un campo di internamento fascista*.⁵² the slant is in this case original, as the perspectives adopted in the three chapters composing the book are of the first director of the camp, Paolo Salvatore, of Pater Lopinot and a reconstruction according to the Allies' documents preserved at the Imperial War Museum in London. Although belonging to non-academic literature, Rende's work offers a stimulating insight into everyday life of the camp at three different levels and contributed to finding new unpublished materials about Ferramonti – the diary of Paolo Salvatore, several photos, reports and even a video of the Allies came to light as a result of his intensive research.⁵³

Eventually, as far as the Archive of eng. Israel Kalk at CDEC – Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea, Milano, is concerned, it should be underlined that, apart from the vast collection of materials concerning Ferramonti, the collection includes also several documents about other camps: consequently, comparisons between Ferramonti and other Italian camps especially in the South of Italy, are considerably facilitated thanks to the Kalk Archive.⁵⁴

Furthermore, the reconstruction of many prisoners' moving to and from Ferramonti is enabled through the meticulous work of Anna Pizzuti, who realised

⁵² Mario Rende, *Ferramonti*. See n. 40.

⁵³ Multimedial materials concerning Ferramonti are constantly updated through the Youtube Channel "ferramonticamp", where the only existing video recorded after the liberation of the camp is also uploaded: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2BxviE9jUsE>.

⁵⁴ For more information concerning the history of Kalk Archive, please see § 4.3.2.

a database, collecting all the names and data of Italian and foreign Jews on Italian soil who suffered from persecution and/or deportation.⁵⁵

The abundance of information and quoted sources constituted an unavoidable base for the biographical reconstructions of musicians' life and education.⁵⁶

In secondary literature information about music and musical activities in the camp may occur, but they are neither abundant, nor detailed. With few exceptions, they just consist of quotations of musicians or musical facts, often by non-expert observers. Through such reports, however, it has been possible to deepen biographical details some specific musicians: particularly Mirski, Sonnenfeld, Levitch, Thaler, Silberstein, Schwammenthal, Klein, Gorin, Steinberg, Steinfeld and their intensive activities, including both performances, religious services and musical education.

55 Anna Pizzuti, *Ebrei stranieri in Italia durante il periodo bellico*, online database available at: <http://www.annapizzuti.it/index.php>. The database is a collection of names and data related to foreign Jews who, in 1943, were interned in Italy, with the aim of both allowing families of the internees to retrieve essential information about their relatives and also of providing researchers with a valuable and clear consultation tool for further research. The database contains, in addition to the personal data of the internees, information on the last documented internment place, any possible previous displacement and/or information following September 8, 1943.

56 See § 7. *The Interned Musicians: Some Biographical Portraits* (particularly: Introduction, n. 194 and 195).

3. Historical Premises

3.1 Internment and Persecution

The historian Costantino Di Sante (2004) has effectively summarised the state of the art with regard to the research concerning internment camps in Italy especially during the fascist era, in comparison with the studies about Nazi Lager in Germany:⁵⁷

Solo da pochi anni sono stati fatti studi sull'internamento e solo per alcuni campi di concentramento sono state condotte ricerche specifiche. Mentre dei lager tedeschi si conosce quasi tutto, riguardo ai campi di concentramento italiani ancora non si riesce a stabilire quanti erano, come erano organizzati, dove erano situati, chi vi era internato e quali erano le loro condizioni di vita.

The few researchers who have tried to approach such a subject in the last decades have been stunned by a guilty silence. A considerable amount of time has gone by and too much carelessness in preserving the sources prevent the possibility of a precise reconstruction of such a complex and detailed reality, revealing therefore an unfillable loss:⁵⁸

I motivi di questa dimenticanza storica sono da attribuire, oltre che alla confusione e alla labilità delle fonti, al fatto che gli storici hanno ritenuto di poco conto l'approfondimento di questa forma di repressione del regime fascista, perché l'internamento è stato, generalmente, considerato come una conseguenza delle misure legislative di uno Stato in guerra. Eppure furono decine di migliaia gli internati e per circa 20.000 di essi è conservato un fascicolo personale nell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato.

Indeed, not only was the internment a procedure not exclusively destined for war prisoners - since it actually concerned many civilians - but also the emanation of

57 Costantino Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Abruzzo: 1940-1944*, 2004 Teramo, Master dissertation, p. 205. Cf. also Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Abruzzo in I campi di concentramento in Italia. Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940-1945)*, 2001 Milano, Franco Angeli Ed.

58 Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Abruzzo: 1940-1944*, p. 206.

reclusion laws had a processual character, first adopting it as a way to get rid of political enemies («*confino*») and then limiting the freedom of a part of the civil population and eventually deciding to intern them.

First of all, one of the most relevant points to be underlined is the nature of these internment places which, at least till July 25, 1943, were by no means camps of extermination, but prisons for keeping undesired people and supposedly dangerous enemies. The turning point was represented by the events between the end of July 1943 and the beginning of September of the same year, with the declaration of the surrender and fall of the Italian regime, the loss of control on the Southern and Central peninsula resulting from the landing of the Allies in Sicily, the institution of the Social Republic on the Western shore of Lake Garda, in the little town of Salò, as a shadow-state of the Nazi regime. With special regard to the consequences for the Jews and racially persecuted populations, Michele Sarfatti⁵⁹ has introduced a meaningful distinction of two phases: the first one, preceding July 1943, when the rights of the Jews were threatened («the period of the attack on Jewish rights») and the second phase, following September 8, 1943, when the lives of many Jews were in danger («the period of the assault on Jewish lives»).

Focusing on the first phase, what deserves to be clarified are the features of such an internment, a punishment first adopted during the second Boer War (1899-1902)⁶⁰ and later defined according to international right as a privation of individual

59 Michele Sarfatti, *La Shoah in Italia. La persecuzione degli ebrei sotto il fascismo*, 2005 Torino, Einaudi, p.75. Of the same autor the following works are recommended: *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista. Vicende, identità, persecuzione*, 2000 Torino, Einaudi and *Mussolini contro gli ebrei. Cronaca dell'elaborazione delle leggi del 1938*, 1994 Torino, Zamorani in which Sarfatti mentions the same distinction.

60 Also known as War of Independence or Anglo-Boer war, it was the second phase of a conflict started in 1880-1881 between Great Britain and Dutch colonies to control the territory of South Africa, where the first had founded two independent states (the Republic of Transvaal and the Orange Free State) and the second wanted to extend its economic and trade control. The Dutch started a guerrilla fighting, launching surprise attacks without wearing uniforms and hiding themselves among civilians immediately afterwards. Consequently, the British had to set up block houses and strong points, fractioning the whole territory. For this reason, they decided to relocate civilians in concentration camps, to protect them from military actions. About one hundred-nine internment camp were built, where a rigid racial segregation policy existed: indeed, forty-five camps were destined to Dutch internees and sixty-four to black internees, mostly women and children. It was the first war in which a whole nation had been systematically targeted and depopulated in such a way, although similar strategies had been already employed during the

freedom not imposed by executive Power - instead of Judiciary - even «without having been convicted of some crime»,⁶¹ ruled only by the Second Geneva Convention (1929) and concerning the treatment of war prisoners, with special reference to the place of internment, physical and psychological balance of the internee, possibility to work, life condition and the end of the imprisonment. It concretely states the right of any State, under special circumstances, to intern their own or foreign civilians in order to distance them from war areas within the national borders. The allocation of civilians in less militarily strategic regions possibly has the purpose to ease the controls and guarantee the supervision of dangerous elements during war operations.

Historically, with regard to the adoption of internment in Italy, the first plans involving such a restriction were launched on June 8, 1925 and were part of a

colonization of Western America. It was furthermore demonstrated that starvation and disease due to overcrowding caused more deaths in the camps than the war itself on battlefields.

61 Here below Artt. 21 and 22 of the IV Geneva Convention 1929 (integrating the text of the III convention) are integrally reported:

Art 21 (Restriction of liberty of movement) - The Detaining Power may subject prisoners of war to internment. It may impose on them the obligation of not leaving, beyond certain limits, the camp where they are interned, or if the said camp is fenced in, of not going outside its perimeter. Subject to the provisions of the present Convention relative to penal and disciplinary sanctions, prisoners of war may not be held in close confinement except where necessary to safeguard their health and then only during the continuation of the circumstances which make such confinement necessary. Prisoners of war may be partially or wholly released on parole or promise, in so far as is allowed by the laws of the Power on which they depend. Such measures shall be taken particularly in cases where this may contribute to the improvement of their state of health. No prisoner of war shall be compelled to accept liberty on parole or promise. Upon the outbreak of hostilities, each Party to the conflict shall notify the adverse Party of the laws and regulations allowing or forbidding its own nationals to accept liberty on parole or promise. Prisoners of war who are paroled or who have given their promise in conformity with the laws and regulations so notified, are bound on their personal honour scrupulously to fulfil, both towards the Power on which they depend and towards the power which has captured them, the engagements of their paroles or promises. In such cases, the Power on which they depend is bound neither to require nor to accept from them any service incompatible with the parole or promise given.

Art. 22 (places and conditions of internment) - Prisoners of war may be interned only in premises located on land and affording every guarantee of hygiene and healthfulness. Except in particular cases which are justified by the interest of the prisoners themselves, they shall not be interned in penitentiaries. Prisoners of war interned in unhealthy areas, or where the climate is injurious for them, shall be removed as soon as possible to a more favourable climate. The Detaining Power shall assemble prisoners of war in camps or camp compounds according to their nationality, language and customs, provided that such prisoners shall not be separated from prisoners of war belonging to the armed forces with which they were serving at the time of their capture, except with their consent.

corpus of regulations in case of war.⁶² In 1930 these measures first took the form of a prevention against foreign enemies and on March 6, 1932, with the note n. 442/2401, the Ministry of Internal Affairs enacted the circular concerning «Servizi straordinari di vigilanza e prevenzione»;⁶³ this was the point of reference for every security measure that would have been adopted in the following years and during the war.

As far as the organization of internment was concerned, the fascist regime predisposed two forms of such a restriction: one involving the forced leaving of the habitual place of residence to another municipality; the other involving reclusion *stricto sensu*, i.e. in internment camps. The two different forms of internment were differentiated both with regard to the strictness of control systems, restrictions of personal freedom and assignment criteria. The most dangerous prisoners were theoretically interned in the camps, while the elements in custody or preventive detention were destined to the municipalities; eventually for those suspected of espionage the confinement in islands was usually expected. Since 1933 the inspector of Public Security Ercole Conti⁶⁴ was entitled to find the most suitable places for setting up internment camps: a meticulous business conducted through extensive correspondence with prefects and quaestors, mainly in Central and Southern Italian regions. These locations indeed lived up to the criteria of marginal military importance and isolation, steepness of the territory, low concentration of inhabitants and low political involvement of the population. The above-quoted safety measures were first applied on occasion of Hitler's journey to Italy on May 3-9, 1938, both for showing off power to the German ally and as a 'general rehearsal' of the new racial regulations which would have soon affected the country. Consequently, many foreign Jews, especially Germans, Austrians and Poles who had emigrated to Italy after 1933, were arrested by the

62 «Piano di mobilitazione generale» approved on June 8, 1925 including the measures to be adopted in case of war.

63 Quoted in Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Abruzzo: 1940-1944*, p. 201.

64 Concerning the activities of Ercole Conti, see: Pasquale Iuso, *Il fascismo e gli ustascia 1929-1941. Il separatismo croato in Italia*, 1998 Roma, Gangemi Editore.

Italian police in collaboration with the Gestapo. Few months later, the racial laws promulgated by Royal Decree on November 17, 1938 («Provvedimenti per la difesa della razza taliana»), would have opened one of the saddest pages of Italian history.

3.2 *The Racial Law in 1938*

3.2.1 The Emanation of Racial Laws: from 1922 to 1938

The anti-Jewish laws were prepared during 1938. In the first draft of the law (in February and August) it was announced that it would be based on both a quantitative criterion, with the application of percentage quotas (*numerus clausus*), and on a qualitative one, by differentiating the persecution of (1) Italian Jews in possession of merits (injured or decorated in World War I, members of the Fascist Party in its most difficult years, etc.), (2) others Italian Jews, (3) foreign Jews. However, already in October, the idea of introducing a *numerus clausus* was abandoned and sooner afterwards, in November, the legislation was enacted which significantly reduced the difference in treatment between the two categories of Italian Jews - i.e. with and without merits, maintaining instead that between Italians and foreigners. Immigrants who arrived after 1918 were expelled, and the Italian citizenships granted after January 1, 1919 were revoked. Only a few Italian Jews in possession of the above-quoted merits were exempted from a small number of prohibitions.⁶⁵ The final legislative system in Italy reflected a similar situation which was going to be set up in several European countries: between 1938-1939 the system of a modern racist state, based on biological criteria, had been similarly spreading in Romania, Hungary and Slovakia and of course in the countries militarily occupied by the Nazis. The uncertainty and processual nature of the approval of such a legislative structure modern racist law revealed the lack of preparation of the legal, social and administrative context.

65 Cf. Sarfatti, *Mussolini contro gli ebrei*, p. 158.

3.2.2 The Juridical Definition of “Jew” and its Racial and Xenophobic Criteria

According to r.d. 1381/1938, in order to distinguish the Jewish and non-Jewish population,⁶⁶ the most influential criterion decided was based on a racial principle, according to which the child of two Jews was a Jew; the child of two non-Jews was a non-Jew, regardless of the worship possibly professed by the individual.

The mixed cases – for which, the Italian legislation did not provide any special category, differently from German racial laws – could be attributed to one or to the other existing category, firstly on the base of the same racial principle extended to grandparents and secondly on a behavioural criterion. To summarize the records, if three grandparents were Jews, then the individual was also a Jew (as more than 50% of his/her blood was considered “Jewish”). If two or just one of his/her grandparents were Jews, the individual could belong to the non-Jewish race, in case he/she and at least one of his/her Jewish parents had converted to another religion before October 1, 1938 and had never shown any relationship or affinity with Judaism again, for instance not being registered in a Jewish community any longer. In any other case, the individual was considered belonging to the Jewish race.

Moreover, as far as a mixed couple with one of the partners being foreign were concerned, a further criterion emerged, revealing its deep xenophobic root: if the non-Jewish parent was Italian, then the individual was classified according to his/her grandparents’ race, as above mentioned. On the contrary, if the Italian parent was a Jew, then the individual was automatically a Jew, regardless of the possible “Aryanity” of the foreign parent.

It is therefore clear that the priority of the fascist regime was limiting the rights of the Jews, «defending the Italian race» and underlining the absolute difference of the two categories. Such a legislation was doubtless underlining that the Jews

⁶⁶ The opposite of “Jew” was sometimes considered “Arian”, sometimes “Italian”, sometimes “fascist”.

«costituivano un gruppo distinto dall'unità regime-popolo-nazione italiano-fascista-cattolico e ostile nei suoi confronti».⁶⁷ Consequently, since these concepts of regime, folk and nation were fastened together in an inseparable concept of identity, it is easy to understand that the foreign Jews were the first ones to suffer from restrictive measures and to be persecuted in an even stronger way.

Therefore, the persecution of the rights for Italian Jews represented the prohibition of being appointed in any public office, to attend school, limitation of property rights and employment as doctors or lawyers, etc., in a few cases even stricter than in Germany.⁶⁸ Foreign Jews, instead, were forced to leave the country, but in many cases, they had become stateless or were citizens of already occupied countries.

3.3 General Considerations About Persecution of Jews in Italy

Some considerations and reflection should be preliminarily pointed out, especially in comparison with other forms of persecution carried on in other European countries:

1. On the one hand, the phase of persecution of Jewish rights began with the r. d. 1381 on September 7, 1938 («Provvedimenti nei confronti degli ebrei stranieri»): a very tough legislation against Jews, but with few or no episodes of physical violence at the beginning. Since September 1943 it was followed by what Sarfatti has defined as the period of persecution of Jewish lives which lasted until June-September 1944 in central and until April 1945 in the north. It was run by the German occupants in cooperation with the new Italian Social Republic and characterised by arrests, internments, deportations and killings⁶⁹. In other words, Italy was the only major

⁶⁷ Michele Sarfatti, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia fascista: vicende, identità, persecuzione*, 2007 Torino, Einaudi, p. 180.

⁶⁸ For instance, the complete exclusion of the Jewish population from schools and Universities represented an "Italian originality" which was soon emulated by the Germany of Hitler.

⁶⁹ On July 10, 1943 the Allies landed in Sicily and on July 25, Mussolini was deposed and arrested. The king appointed a new government, who announced the Armistice with the Allies on September 8, 1943. The central and northern Italy was quickly occupied by the German Army,

European state in which the two phases were fleshed out one after the other, with no twists and overlaps, being separated from the complex events of the 'Forty-five days', between July 25 and September 8, 1943:⁷⁰ this chronological discrepancy between the two phases represents a considerable difference to understand the specific features of the persecutions carried out in Italy and a unique case of study for the history of comparative law.

2. On the other hand, the persecution did not affect all the Jews in the same way as, besides the racial criterion, the xenophobic one did play an essential role. The suspension of freedom of movement and the reclusion of Jews lacking any valid residence permit was a decree intended mainly against foreign Jews. Among 'foreigners', however, should be included those Jews to whom the Italian citizenship had been granted after January 1, 1919 and revoked only few years later, with the above quoted decree in 1938. Such a measure, commanding these people to leave the country within six months, had just the effect of increasing the number of Jews illegally staying on Italian soil, as at that time most of the European countries had already adopted or were going to adopt anti-Semitic legislations:⁷¹

who freed Mussolini and placed him in charge of the new fascist government of the Italian Social Republic.

⁷⁰ Consequently, the most violent phase of persecution took place on the initiative of specialised military departments and was allocated to specific areas, such as the raids carried out on Saturday, October 9, in Trieste, and Saturday, October 16, in Rome. The official decision regarding the anti-Jewish policy by the Italian Social Republic occurred on November 14, 1943, when the assembly of the new Fascist Republican Party approved a manifesto whose point 7 stated: «The members of the Jewish race are foreigners and during this war enemies of the Nation». On November 30, the Ministry of Internal Affairs circulated among the police an order, which called for the arrest and internment of «all Jews, [...] belonging to any nationality» and their internment «in provincial camps waiting to be reunited in special camps specially equipped» as well as the seizure of their assets. About 8000 Italian and foreign Jews were arrested by the Germans or Italians and imprisoned in prisons or concentration camps and were deported by the Germans mostly to the camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau (in two cases with intermediate stops in the fields of Reichenau in Austria and Drancy in France). Initially, the transport departed from the town of raids, from the national concentration camp Fossoli near Modena and from the Bolzano-Gries camp. In the North-East of Italy, transport departed from Trieste, from the prison of Coroneo and from Risiere di San Sabba camp.

⁷¹ Sarfatti, *Mussolini contro gli ebrei*, p. 175.

Non è noto il numero esatto di quanti furono classificati “di razza ebraica” e quindi assoggettati alla persecuzione; partendo dai dati del censimento del 22 agosto 1938, si può ipotizzare che i perseguitati si aggirassero (con riferimento a quella data) intorno ai 51100, dei quali 46656 erano effettivamente ebrei e circa 4500 erano non ebrei (ossia appartenevano ad altre o nessuna religione, ma per lo più a quella cattolica). Inizialmente erano suddivisi in forse 41300 italiani e forse 9800 stranieri; poi a seguito delle norme legislative del Settembre e Novembre 1938 sulla revoca delle cittadinanze e sui permessi di residenza a stranieri, in forse 39900 italiani, 3100 stranieri ammessi a risiedere e 8100 stranieri non ammessi a risiedere.

Since the residence permits for foreign Jews were abolished - but the temporary permits were allowed at least till August 19, 1939 - and considering that elsewhere in Europe the situation was considerably worse for Jewish people, the aim of getting rid of undesired civilians was not fulfilled:⁷²

A seguito di dieci-undicimila partenze e di cinque-seimila arrivi, nel Giugno 1940 erano rimasti dai tremilacinquecento ai quattromila ebrei non autorizzati a risiedere e presumibilmente duemila in possesso di un permesso. In quegli anni in tutta Europa gli ebrei che si muovevano – legalmente o clandestinamente – attraverso i confini erano sospinti o dalla ricerca di un paese in quel momento meno persecutore [...] o da un decreto di espulsione.

3. The so-called “Jewish question” in Italy did not have such importance as in other countries like Germany; some historians have even argued that it did not exist at all:⁷³

[...] neppure da un punto di vista morale e psicologico l'ebraismo costituiva in Italia un problema. Si può dire che sin dalla seconda metà del XVIII secolo non esisteva più tra noi una ‘questione ebraica’. Da tempo infatti gli ebrei erano venuti insediandosi progressivamente e senza scosse, quasi inavvertitamente, nella compagine italiana, sia psicologicamente sia giuridicamente.

72 Sarfatti, *Mussolini contro gli ebrei*, p. 187.

73 De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo*, p. 15-16.

The Jewish population had faced a progress of integration in Italian society since XVIII and XIX centuries and it might be asserted that the post-unitary Italian State did not know any “Jewish question” until the fascist dictatorship.

4. While there had been strong references to the race and to anti-Semitic ideas in the foundation of the NSDAP party – actually, they were already detectable in Hitler’s programmatic book *Mein Kampf* (1925)⁷⁴ – these elements were completely lacking in the fascist origins. Although anti-Semitic currents could be found - it was the first time that had happened in an Italian party - the PNF had always registered among its members several Jews. As Sarfatti stated, it officially became anti-Semitic (i.e., claimed to be and put into effect anti-Semitic policies) in 1938. That is why actually the ban of Jewish elements from the party represented quite a crucial theme for its leaders, whose elaboration required more time and efforts than could be forecast.

The procedural expulsion stated on October 6, 1938 with the «Dichiarazione sulla razza» by the Grande Consiglio del Fascismo (the highest political body of Fascism) heralded the entry ban to the PNF for those Jews, with the only exception of the ones owning fascist, military or national merits indicated in the declaration. This criterion was confirmed on October 25 by Mussolini himself in his speech to the National Council of the PNF and was reiterated in the draft of the decree concerning the Statute of the Fascist Party approved by the Council of Ministers on November 7 and made public by the daily press the following day. However, on October 26 the journal of the PNF «Foglio di disposizioni» n. 1174 announced that all the enrolments of Jews to the party had to cease and on November 19 the draft of the decree was modified in a generalised ban extended to all Jews: «Non possono essere iscritti al PNF i cittadini italiani che, a norma delle disposizioni di legge, sono considerati di razza ebraica».⁷⁵ In short, the totalitarian elimination of Jews from the Fascist Party was elaborated during its formulation.

74 Cf. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf. Eine kritische edition*, Christian Hartmann et al. (edited by), 2016 München, Institut für Zeitgeschichte München - Berlin.

75 Sarfatti, *Mussolini contro gli ebrei*, p. 55-56.

Therefore, the whole anti-Jews legislation appeared to be carried on as a process and represented a culmination outcome rather than a starting point.

5. In Italy, exactly as in Nazi Germany since 1933, the definition of «Jew» was based not on a religious principle, but on the “inherited blood”, i.e. on a supposed biological criterion, as it has been previously described. Such a principle was by the time perfected and systematised, leading to the institution of two or three main categories: the Arians, the Jews and in Germany the mestizos («Mischlinge»), according to Nuremberg Laws in 1935.

In other words, both in Italy and Germany the focus was not on the individual choice, personal faith or behaviour, but on a pretended scientific method (biological racism). The main evident difference was the adoption of only two categories of classification in the Italian system (either Arian or Jew) and the consequent assignment of a proportionally higher number of individuals to both categories. Such a criterion – that, as it was just stated, excluded any possibility of choice by any individual – was of course colliding with both principles of the Catholic Church (e.g. according to the fascist racial laws catholic baptism was not enough to be declared non-Jew) and with regulations of the fascist party itself (e.g. since the membership of the party by Jewish population had not been forbidden since its origins, when the racial laws were emanated, there was a remarkable percentage of fascist Jews, representing a hardly expellable thorn)⁷⁶.

That is why actually the racial measures took some time to be set up and were frequently modified during their gestation.

76 Cf. Sarfatti, “La législation antijuive dans le contexte européen”, in *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, n. 204, March 2016, p. 137-154, unauthorized translation of the original text *La legislazione antiebraica fascista nel contesto continentale* available at <http://www.michelesarfatti.it/documenti/LegislazAntiebr-2012.pdf> (28.02.2017).

3.4 *Fascist Propaganda and Consensus in the South of Italy*

3.4.1 Historical Background

As far as the South of Italy is concerned, some historians have disagreed with the “classical” thesis by De Felice - stating that the apex of the consensus to Fascism has to be seen between 1929 and 1934 - and actually moved such chronological limits slightly forwards, considering the key role of the campaign against Ethiopia led in 1936 and the coeval economical politics adopted by the regime in Italy:⁷⁷

La vittoria etiopica e la proclamazione dell'impero furono accolte in Calabria, così come in tutta Italia, con manifestazioni e sentimenti di grande entusiasmo. Dopo le incertezze iniziali e i timori, ben presto fugati, di una guerra con l'Inghilterra, la partecipazione del popolo calabrese all'impresa coloniale era stata totale, senza riserve e vissuta in un clima di esaltazione patriottica [...]

Unanime l'adesione dell'episcopato calabrese, del clero e della stampa cattolica, che, in molte dimostrazioni nazionalpatriottiche, si allineavano sostanzialmente alla propaganda del regime.

Of course, among the main factors stimulating several people to embark for African continent was the hope that a new country could represent a solution for the scarcity of farm lands – in a region where most of the population was employed in agriculture – and to the decrease of the investments of the government in public work and infrastructure – the original plan of reclamation of the province of Cosenza had never been completed by the regime due to the relocation of most sources for military purposes, causing a great number of workers being unemployed. That was the reason why many ordinary people accepted and even acclaimed the African campaign, being moved more by economical needs than by strong political persuasion. The objective of such a massive transfer was also the substitution of a disordered and indiscriminate migratory flow – till a few years

⁷⁷ Giuseppe Masi, “Calabria 1935-1940: tra ‘consenso’ e guerra” in *Ferramonti un Lager nel Sud. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi 15-16 maggio 1987*, Francesco Volpe (edited by), 1990 Cosenza, Orizzonti Meridionali Ed., p. 67-68.

before directed to the United States – with a more regular emigration, controlled by specific laws. However, the aim was never completely fulfilled and the block imposed by the American countries was never compensated by places and resources made available in the colonies⁷⁸.

Più che la realizzazione del sogno imperiale o l'idea della difesa della latinità da parte di gente certamente non molto ferrata nella storia romana e pur tuttavia intenta a cercare a tutti i costi un posto nei contingenti in partenza, era la possibilità di una sistemazione momentanea, era la costrizione economica [...], era il bisogno di reagire, a modo loro, ad un intreccio di miseria e coazione, gravanti sugli strati più deboli della società calabrese, ad una politica per molti aspetti fallimentare che non era riuscita a trovare una soluzione idonea ai problemi delle classi più povere.

As said, the 'African mirage', as it was nicknamed, was anything but a decisive action: fed by the hopes and expectations especially of the lowest class, it ended up with damaging the propaganda of the regime and turning to dissatisfaction and disagreement, as soon as many supporters were disillusioned by the worsening of economic conditions. Calabria suffered from autarchy and non-competitive market impositions, which had literally ruined the local industries – often linked to the agricultural production of oil, bergamot and silkworm – and paralyzed the construction industry. According to the sources, the fiscal imposition was also perceived as particularly onerous.

The first manifestations of dissent date back to the end of the '30s, mainly involving forms of opposition that seldom aroused the alert of the police or the public security, since they completely lacked any political organization and were confined in small villages. However, these episodes, differently from previous manifestations in the '20s which were caused only by economical needs, were simultaneously accompanied by other forms of dissent and by an international tension, which perhaps for the first time showed an awareness that international political decisions were actually connected to the economical politics.

78 Masi, "Calabria 1935-1940: tra 'consenso' e guerra" in *Ferramonti un Lager nel Sud*, p. 71.

A mirror of this was the perplexity, revealed by the public opinion, concerning the alliance with the Germany of Hitler, and the request for preventing Italy from any involvement in the war, which was felt imminent and extremely detrimental by the Calabrian population.

3.4.2 The Role of the Press in Calabria

With regard to the Calabrian press, it could be underlined that the local newspapers were in substantial agreement with the national press and its general adhesion to the fascist ideology. Three main titles should be mentioned: *Parola di Vita*, the catholic-inspired newspaper responding to the archiepiscopal curia; *Cronaca di Calabria*, founded at the end of XIX century and subsequently re-modelled on fascist ideals and *Calabria fascista*, expressing even from the headline a total involvement with Fascism. About *Parola di Vita*, it should be underlined that its position was fluctuating between an aligned tendency - even more prudent than the general catholic press - and an explicitly opposition line represented by its director, don Luigi Nicoletti. These contrasting positions became clear especially after the emanation of racial laws. While the Catholic press, on a national level, criticised such dispositions, the local newspaper, after few articles in the previous years against the Nazi antisemitism, refused to contrast the decree on November 17, 1938, probably supporting the careful position adopted by Mons. Nogara.⁷⁹ However, this was not enough to silence the voice of the newspaper's director Nicoletti who, educated in the school of don Sturzo and grown up in the Popular Party, belonged to the above-mentioned movement of dissent, which was starting to question the regime's ideology. Consequently, his brave article entitled *Gli Ariani*

79 Giuseppe Nogara (Bellano, 26 giugno 1872 - Udine, 9 dicembre 1955) was an Italian archbishop, by some scholars suspected to be a supporter of Fascism (cf. Alessandra Kersevan and Pierluigi Visintin, *Che il mondo intero attonito sta. Giuseppe Nogara. Luci e ombre di un arcivescovo 1928-1945*, 1992 Udine, KappaVu) while defended by others and by the Catholic Church (cf. Tarcisio Venuto, "La chiesa udinese e l'arcivescovo Nogara", in France M. Dolinar, Luigi Tavano (edited by), *Chiesa e società nel Goriziano fra guerra e movimenti di Liberazione*, 1997 Gorizia, Istituto di storia sociale e religiosa - Istituto per gli incontri culturali mitteleuropei).

*e il loro inventore*⁸⁰ appeared on September 30, 1938 n.27, had the precise aim to reject point by point the anti-Semitic theses by Max Müller and Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, criticizing both the scientific groundlessness and the inhuman violence. After concluding his with expressions claiming the flimsiness of the concept of “aryan” itself («[l’ariano] ha lo stesso grado di consistenza degli Iperborei, dei Lillipuziani e dei Giganti danteschi» and «Gli Ariani sono una professorale invenzione del dottor F. Max Müller»⁸¹), Nicoletti was of course attacked by the opposition newspapers, particularly by *Calabria Fascista*, insulted and threatened of a big ecclesiastical measure, which leads to suppose the fascist representation in Calabria had already put pressure on the ecclesiastical authority to relieve Nicoletti from his office. Indeed, he had to leave the direction of the newspaper two months after his articles.

3.5 Geography of Fascist Internment Camps Between 1940 and 1943

It is anything but easy to calculate the amount of interned people, to list prisoners’ names and event to enumerate all the places which served for internment and reclusion. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that hundreds of buildings were used as prisons along the whole Italian peninsula, whereas it can be observed that the main forty-eight internment camps established according to the War Ministry’s Circulaire n.3/227 of January 31,1936⁸² were almost all situated in the Centre-South of Italy. From a census by the government for the International Red Cross

80 Francesco Volpe, “La politica razziale nella stampa cosentina (1937-1938)” in *Ferramonti un Lager nel Sud. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi 15-16 maggio 1987*, Francesco Volpe (edited by), 1990 Cosenza, Orizzonti Meridionali Ed., p. 99.

81 Ibid.

82 Cf. also the subsequent modifications through Circulaire n. 22897 of June 10, 1940. An effective synthesis of laws and archive sources concerning internment in Italy is provided by Gina Antoniani Persichilli, “Disposizioni, normative e fonti archivistiche per lo studio dell’internamento in Italia (giugno 1940-luglio 1943)” in *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, a.38 n.1-3, 1978 Roma, pp. 77-96.

in Spring 1943, of the 6386 interned civilians in Italy, 44.5% were interned in the North, 24.4% in Central Italy, and 31% in the South (data reported by Capogreco).⁸³ Most of the prisoners between 1940-1941 had been destined mainly to Southern camps and subsequently transferred, though.

More than a third of fascist internment camps appeared initially in Abruzzo-Molise area (nineteen of forty-eight): namely, Civitella del Tronto, Corropoli, Isola del Gran Sasso, Nereto, Tortoreto, Tossicia, Notaresco, Città Sant'Angelo, Chieti, Casoli, Marina di Istonio, Lama dei Peligni, Lanciano, Tollo, Agnone, Boiano, Casacalenda, Isernia e Vinchiaturro. Further camps could be found in Emilia-Romagna (2): Montechiarugolo and Scipione di Salsomaggiore; Tuscany (3): Bagno a Ripoli, Montalbano and Oliveto di Civitella della Chiana; Marche (6): Sassoferrato, Fabriano, Urbisaglia, Treia, Petriolo, and Pollenza; Umbria (1): Colfiorito di Foligno; Latium (5): including camps set up in the former confinement colonies as Ponza, Ventotene, Castel di Guido, Fraschette di Alatri and Castelnuovo di Farfa; Campania (4): Ariano Irpino, Monteforte Irpino, Solofra, and Campagna; Puglia (4): Manfredonia, Alberobello, Gioia del Colle, besides the confinement colony of the Tremiti Islands; Lucania (1): Pisticci (confinement colony operating as internment camp); Sicily (2): the re-converted confinement colonies of Ustica and Lipari and eventually in Calabria (1) Ferramonti, the most populous camp and the only one to be built *ad hoc*. Considering the population of these camps, only fourteen exceeded fifty inmates: Campagna, Alberobello, Isernia, Agnone, Lanciano, Isola del Gran Sasso, Notaresco, Tortoreto, Nereto, Civitella del Tronto, Urbisaglia, Civitella della Chiana, Bagno a Ripoli and obviously Ferramonti.

Some camps were destined to special categories of internees. In Molise,⁸⁴ for

⁸³ Capogreco, paper delivered at the American Association for Italian Studies, XXXV Annual Conference, March 26-28, 2015, University Memorial Center University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado., tr. by Valerio Ferme. A full version is available at: <http://primolevicenter.org/printed-matter/the-fascist-concentration-camps/> (30.04.2018).

⁸⁴ Concerning internment camps in Molise, cf. for instance Marialaura Lolli, "I campi di concentramento fascisti in Molise nella documentazione dell' Archivio Centrale dello Stato" in Boulé: *Quaderni di studi dell'Osservatorio elettorale del Molise*, 2001 Campobasso, Eidophor piccola;

instance, prisoners were firstly interned in different camps according to genre and origin: Agnone served at the beginning as a prison for foreign Jews, citizen of enemy States (especially Englishmen) and Yugoslavians, subsequently becoming a camp for interning Roma and Sinti. Casacalenda and Vinchiatturo were female camps, as well as Lanciano:⁸⁵ due to high disparities among the internees (Jews, Italian anti-fascists, Yugoslavians, prostitutes) life conditions were here dramatically bad. Moreover, camps could be obtained from readapted buildings which previously served for different aims: Boiano was an ex-tobacco-factory and Isernia (from where several prisoners were later moved to Ferramonti) served as a cinema. In Puglia,⁸⁶ Alberobello was a school of agriculture, while Manfredonia (where internment regulations were stricter than elsewhere) an ex-slaughterhouse. Internment camps were anyway under the direct control of the Interior Ministry, who could appoint either a functionary of Public Security or the local Mayor (“Podestà”) as a director of the camp. For the supervision Carabinieri were normally in charge, sometimes in collaboration with the police for administrative services. Generally, the internment policies operated till September 1943 did not exposed inmates to physical or death danger. On the contrary, local populations tended to demonstrate a supportive attitude to them and tolerance was recommended by the authorities to the personal in charge, too (cf. Art.5 of the r.d. n.239/1940, concerning Camps regulations). The most relevant problems were actually connected to overcrowding, dietary deficiencies and precarious hygienic conditions in most of the camps: a situation which considerably worsened with the adverse turn of the war.

Michele Colabella et al., *Le leggi razziali del 1938 e i campi di concentramento nel Molise*, 2004 Campobasso, IRRE.

85 Concerning the cam in Lanciano (Abruzzo), see: Giovanni Orecchioni, *I sassi e le ombre: storie di internamento e di confino nell'Italia fascista: Lanciano 1940-1943*, 2006 Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.

86 About racial laws and internment in Puglia, see for instance: Vito Antonio Leuzzi et al., *Fascismo e leggi razziali in Puglia: censura, persecuzione antisemita e campi di internamento (1938-43)*, 1999 Bari, Progedit and Francesco Terzulli, “Alberobello, 1940-1943: internati ebrei a masseria Gigante”, in *Umanesimo della Pietra*, 2008 Martina Franca (TA), Arti Grafiche Pugliesi, pp. 59-86.



A map showing the geographic location of the main forty-eight internment camps established according to the War Ministry's Circulaire n.3/227 in January 1936.

<http://www.storiaememorie.it/villaoliveto/SchedeLuoghiMemoria/Internamento.htm#Scheda>

4. Ferramonti: the History of the Camp

4.1 Building

The internment camp in Ferramonti was the only one in Italy to be constructed *ad hoc*, i.e. engaging a private building company, Ditta Eugenio Parrini, in order to build a place to imprison people who were considered dangerous enemies. The first places of reclusion in Matera and Cosenza, indeed, were ex-Army and barracks, convents or monasteries, abandoned buildings belonging to the State or confiscated from private owners.

Ditta Eugenio Parrini in Roma, very influential in Home Office matters, won the public contract to find the most suitable areas to realize a new internment camp. Since it had already settled some construction sites in a country area near Cosenza, it was quite convenient to propose Ferramonti di Tarsia as the most suitable place. Taken into account the geographical features of the territory, it is undoubted that its isolation, in the mountains of the Appennino Calabro, far from the great communication roads and from any important social, economic or political centre of the country represented the perfect suitability for a place destined to host undesirable people, permitting as few contacts as possible with the surroundings and in not arousing awareness in the civil population. For this reason, the internal regions of Calabria had already been tested as a place for forced confinement since 1926, being destined to host political opponents.

However, with regard to the hydrogeological conformation of that area, it should be pointed out that Ferramonti was situated near the river Crati (Valle del Crati), in a marshy and malarial country. The draining project concerning all the Sibari plain, pursued for a long time by the regime, was never actually executed and the country was still largely dominated by malaria,⁸⁷ a circumstance which was not properly considered by the authorities and had strong consequences on the health

87 Cf. Capogreco, *Ferramonti. La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo d'internamento fascista*, p. 40.

care of the internees, who had to be treated with large doses of tannin.⁸⁸ According to the inspector sent by the Ministry,⁸⁹

Non poteva scegliersi località più inidonea: malarica, in mezzo a stagni d'acqua, senza comunicazione stradale con la strada ferroviaria di Tarsia, più bassa del vicino fiume Crati. Quando piove tutto il campo diviene un ampio acquitrino.

Ferramonti was however quite close to the city of Cosenza, with less than 40 km dividing the city and the small municipality of Tarsia, to which the camp belonged. The first lot of land was conceded by the Municipality of Tarsia on June 4, 1940; the building work started immediately and in a couple of weeks the places for the first internees – who arrived to the camp on June, 20 - were already available. The total forecast costs were L. 7.000.000, but they were likely to grow by the time, and already in March 1941 the construction site manager asked the Ministry for an increase of the funding. An ex-internee wrote:⁹⁰

Non so con quale sentimento l'ingegnere e i suoi operai, al servizio della ditta Parrini, si sono messi a costruire questa nuova "città", quando il commendatore Parrini ha avuto questa "onorevole" ordinanza da un ministro fascista, certamente suo buon amico. Per il commendatore si trattava sicuramente di un affarone e poi non toccava mica a lui starci. Ma per gli operai era già cosa ben diversa. E, giudicando dal ritmo del lavoro, non si poteva giurare che vi si fossero messi con entusiasmo. [...] L'aspetto del paesaggio dava una tale sensazione di cimitero, che il cuore si stringeva e non c'era altro desiderio che fuggire. Ma gli affari sono affari [...]. C'era in gioco la "sicurezza del Paese", bisognava isolare gli elementi sospetti, c'era la paura dello spionaggio [...]

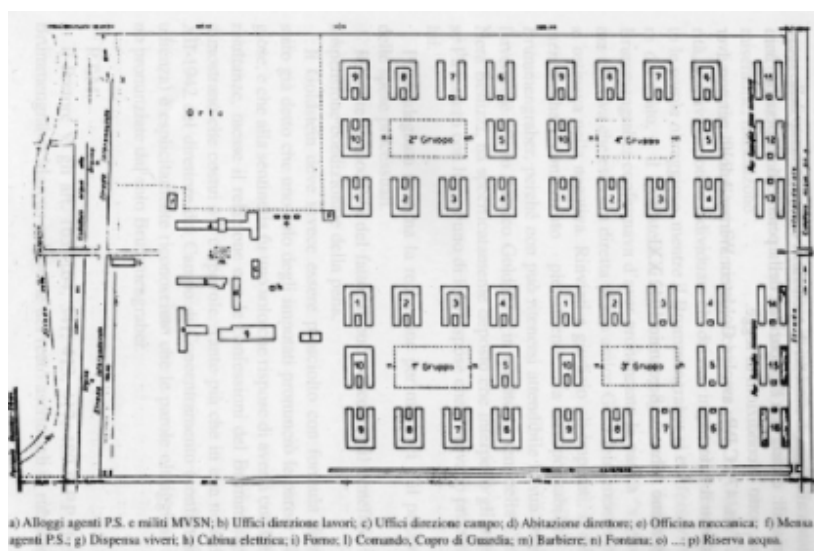
The connections with the rest of the region were granted by the railway arriving to Mongrassano, where the prisoners got off the trains and had to walk a few

⁸⁸ A medicament against malaria.

⁸⁹ Dr. Collina, doctor of the camp, report of March 3, 1942. Cf. ACS, M.I., DGPS, AA.GG.RR., Cat. M4-16, b. 26.

⁹⁰ Gianni Mann, ASCDEC/Fondo Kalk, VII. Testimonianze e documentazione, b. 05, "Ricordi di Gianni Mann capocamerata al Ferramonti di Tarsia", f. 64, fl. 2.

kilometres to reach the camp. On arrival, after bureaucratic formalities, the inmates were obliged to leave their belongings not allowed in the camp - such as cameras, radios, jewels and money, etc. - in custody and were given two wooden easels, three axes, a mattress, a pillow, two blankets, two covers and a bath towel. From June to July, about one hundred prisoners started populating the camp, being recognised as the first group of inmates.



The map of the camp. <https://archivatch.it/2012/07/09/cose-nascoste-della-storia/>

One of the problems connected with deportation was the dispersion of the members of the same families: therefore, many sent transfer requests to the Ministry, for themselves or for their relatives, some even asking for voluntary internment. In the camp, a sort of autonomous organization of the internees was allowed. Every dormitory had to appoint a representative (“capo camerata”) responsible for the record of presences, distribution of governmental pensions and for medicaments. The Public Security officer Paolo Salvatore was the first director in charge, later replaced by Mario Fraticelli. Besides, the surveillance of the camp was headed by Carabinieri Marshal Gaetano Marrari.⁹¹

⁹¹ Amedeo Guerrazzi, *Poliziotti. I direttori dei campi di concentramento italiani 1940-1943*, 2004 Roma, Cooper.

EUGENIO PARRINI
VALERE AL MERITO DEL LAVORO

ROMA 31 Marzo 1941 XIX
VIA DELL'AMBA ARADIA 42

Prot. n° 702/EP
X/rr

7.500.000

MINISTERO DEGLI INTERNI
DIREZ. GENERALE DI P.S.
= R O M A =

OGGETTO: CAMPI DI CONCENTRAMENTO FERRAMONTI

Ad evasione di richiesta verbale, mi pregio assicurare che l'importo complessivo dei lavori per la costruzione del campo di concentramento di Ferramonti, preventivato in circa £.7000.000,00 corrisponde pressochè al consuntivo, essendo stata l'eccedenza assorbita da lavori aggiunti recentemente per necessità non previste.

L'importo dei lavori raggiungerà la cifra di circa sette milioni e mezzo, e anche i lavori aggiunti sono pressochè ultimati.

Con osservanza.

Eugenio Parrini

Si sostituisce alla Div. A. J. R. aggiungendo che, per le esigenze di varia natura, sono state apportate varianti alla ubicazione delle cucine e si è dovuto procedere all'adattamento di alcuni capannoni ad appartamenti per famiglie.

L'ispettore per l'edilizia
C. P. Di Vito

Letter from Eugenio Parrini to the General Direction of Public Security - Ministry of Internal Affairs, stating the increase of the forecast cost for building the camp in Ferramonti. The underlying handwritten note specifies that «sono state apportate alcune varianti all'ubicazione delle cucine e si è dovuto procedere all'adattamento di alcuni capannoni ad abitazioni per famiglie».

ACS Roma. Credits: Museo Internazionale della Memoria Ferramonti – Documenti Amministrativi:
<http://www.museoferramonti.org/upload/docs/pdf/ditta-parrini.pdf>

In the months following the establishment of the camp, further internees were deported there and different communities started to co-exist.

Besides the first group of inmates - who basically consisted of German, Austrian and North-European Jews already living in Rome and in Northern Italy and captured as a consequence of the racial laws - three hundred prisoners were transferred from Benghazi in summer 1940. This mixed group of Jewish refugees from all over Europe, already living in Italy through touristic visas and fearing to be expelled from the country - tried to reach Palestine sailing from Trieste. They happened to stop over in Benghazi and, due to the failure of the next trip, to run out of their means. As Italy entered the war, they were imprisoned and deported via Napoli to Ferramonti, where they arrived in complete poverty.⁹²

Further Jews, especially originating from Zagreb and other Croatian towns, were transferred from Ljubljana where they had escaped from Ustasha persecutions. Similarly, a group of Serbians had reached Montenegro, fleeing from Belgrade during German bombings. After being captured in Bay of Kotor (Bocche di Cattaro) by the Italians, they were first moved to Albania (Kavajë, 20km from Durazzo) and then to Ferramonti via Bari.⁹³

Among the internees, however, several were not Jews, as for instance Yugoslavian partisans, blocked in territories under Italian control, Greeks erroneously transferred to Ferramonti, Frenchmen from Corsica and Chinese already living on Italian soil before the war.⁹⁴ However, the most unexpected arrival to Ferramonti probably concerned the five hundred survivors of the Pentcho's shipwreck.

92 Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: gli esuli in Italia dal 1939 al 1945*, 1996 Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, vol. I, pp. 349-366, vol. II pp. 30-31.

93 S. Capogreco, paper delivered at the American Association for Italian Studies, XXXV Annual Conference, March 26-28, 2015, University Memorial Center University of Colorado. Cf. n. 79.

94 Folino, *Ferramonti. Il campo, gli ebrei e gli antifascisti*, 2009 Cosenza, La Scossa, pp. 93-104.

4.2 *The Pentcho*

The Pentcho was an 85-year-old paddlewheel steamer which sailed from Bratislava down the Danube, on May 18, 1940. The voyage was the last one to be organised by the Revisionist Zionist movement to let almost 500 Jewish refugees to reach Palestine – after its complete failure, Mossad became the only organization for illegal immigration of Jews to Palestine.⁹⁵ At first, the crew was made up of ca. four hundred Slovaks, later joined by more than a hundred Austrian Jews at the seaport of Sulina.



*The shipwrecked Pentcho on the island of Kamilonissi on October 9, 1940.
USHMM - United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Rudolph Fellner and Anita
Henfeld Fellner Collection (ID Reference IRN 187355)*

⁹⁵ The history of the Pentcho is effectively summarised on the website of the USHMM, for instance at: <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1163386>.

Further secondary literature concerning the Odyssey of the Pentcho includes: Enrico Sinicropi, Stefano Nicola Sorrenti, *Il viaggio del Pentcho: le anime salvate*, 2016 Castrovillari, Prometeo; Sinicropi *Il viaggio del Pentcho: una comunità ebraica da Bratislava a Ferramonti di Tarsia*, Master Thesis in Scienze Storiche, a.a. 2014-2015, Università di Bologna, Scuola di Lettere e Beni Culturali; John Bierman, *Odyssey*, 1984 New York, Simon and Schuster.

In such conditions of overcrowding, the *Pentcho* left Sulina on September 21, crossed the Black Sea, passed the Dardanelles and eventually reached the island Lesbos, at the Greek port of Mytilene. However, it managed to get refuelled and re-provisioned only in Athens (Piraeus port, beginning of October 1940, through the Committee for the Relief of Refugees - CRR) and later in Rhodes by the Italians. A few days later, on October 9, a ship accident - probably the boiler's explosion - caused the ship to be wrecked on the deserted island of Kamilonissi in Dodecanese territory, under Italian control. The passengers and crew were able to get ashore and to off-load their supplies before the ship finally sank. Five men took the ship's only lifeboat to look for rescue. Thanks to a British destroyer, they managed to reach Alexandria and an SOS was launched. On October 18 and 19, Italian authorities picked up the refugees and brought them to Rhodes: after a stay of longer than one year, in January 1942 they were transferred to Ferramonti. After the camp's liberation, most of the *Pentcho*'s passengers arrived in Palestine in June 1944, but twenty-four of them were brought to the US in 1944 aboard the SS *Henry Gibbins* and sheltered at Fort Ontario, together with another thousand refugees (see § 4.6).



The route of Pentcho's passengers from Bratislava to Rhodes.
Credits: <http://www.annapizzuti.it/gruppi/pentchom.jpg>

4.3 Aid Organizations

A considerable support for the life of prisoners was offered by the association *Delasem* and *Mensa dei Bambini*, this latter in the person of its president, the engineer Israel Kalk. Both associations were founded to answer the rising needs of many Jews, among whom many children and young people often orphan or whose families could not take care of them.

4.3.1 The Role of the Delasem

As a consequence of Jewish civil emancipation from Ghettos during the Risorgimento, the relationship between the Kingdom of Sardinia – later of Italy – and the Jewish communities was ruled by Rattazzi Law of July 4, 1857, n. 2325 *Per la riforma degli ordinamenti amministrativi ed economici del culto israelitico nei Regii Stati*. On their side, the locally displaced Jewish communities needed a central coordinating institution, which was established in 1911 under the name *Comitato delle università israelitiche* and legally recognised on May 6, 1920 by Royal Decree as a «Moral Body», after being renamed *Consorzio delle comunità israelitiche italiane*.

The first attempts of renegotiating the relationships between the State and the Jewish communities date back to 1930-31, after the Lateran Pactes between the fascist government and the Vatican, which had the effect of reducing Judaism as an “admitted” worship. However, if on the one hand the Falco Law of October 30, 1930, n. 1731, involved a significantly increased control of the State at the expense of Jewish communities in Italy, on the other hand the new self-regulation of the *Unione delle comunità israelitiche* also resulted as less liberal than the previous *Consorzio*, through a series of simplification measures,⁹⁶ as pointed out by Fubini.⁹⁷

96 As a noteworthy example, in 1935 the Association of Jewish Women of Italy, established in 1927 in Milano, passed under the control of the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane.

97 Guido Fubini, “La condizione giuridica dell’Ebraismo italiano” in *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, terza serie, Vol. 37, n. 3 (March 1971), pp. 169-185. p. 176.

Since April 1933, the new-born Community had among its tasks the care of thousands of Jewish refugees fleeing from Germany and other Nazi states. Aid Committees arose in several cities coordinated by a specific organ at the Jewish Communities Union in Rome. Nevertheless, the headquarters of the organization was soon moved to Milano, where most foreign Jews – according to Voigt, at least one third of the total – were located, due to better work chances.

As already underlined, with the racial laws of September 7, 1938 («Provvedimenti nei confronti degli ebrei stranieri»), the conditions of Jews considerably worsened. Consequently, the aid committees had to face increasing trouble for several reasons: firstly, foreign Jews already in Italy were reached by within-six-months banishment decrees, but such forced expulsions were unexpectedly interrupted during 1939, causing at least four thousand Jews to remain on Italian soil; secondly, till August 1939 the crossing of Italian borders was still admitted through a touristic visa, an expedient that further foreign Jews used to reach the country; thirdly, the racial laws prevented foreign as well as Italian Jews from conducting most working activities. The overall result was a dramatically increased number of people, whose material survival depended on the organization itself. Accused of having caused the arrival of new Jews in Italy, the aid committee was first temporarily dismantled by the regime in July 1939 and subsequently reactivated, as soon as Mussolini himself realised that the organization could actually facilitate and accelerate the emigration of many “undesired” to third countries. The organization – reset in December 1939 - took the name *Delasem* (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza agli Emigranti*) and was under the direct supervision of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and in this way easierly controllable by the regime.

The new headquarters was in Genoa, where most Jews were embarked to emigrate and the birthplace of the new director of the organization and vice-president of

the Unione, the lawyer Lelio Vittorio Valobra,⁹⁸ working together with the president himself, Dante Almansì.⁹⁹

Since the organization was now perceived as a means to fulfil the main concern of the regime – expelling Jews, rather than physically persecuting them - its activities were subsequently considered legal till the Armistice of Cassibile on September 8, 1943, and included also the assistance to Jews interned in Italian camps. Ferramonti, as the most Jewish-populated camp, was the main action place, although since 1942 *Delasem* had to concentrate intensively its activities also on Dalmatian Jews. The invasion policies against Sud-Slovenia, Dalmatia and a part of Croatia had annexed new territories to Italy - and with them, new refugees in desperate conditions.

Nevertheless, as far as Ferramonti is concerned, three visits by the rabbi Raffaele Pacifici¹⁰⁰ should be mentioned: in March and October 1942 and in July 1943.

98 Lelio Vittorio Valobra (1900 -1976) was an Italian lawyer. A distinguished member of the Jewish community in Genoa, he later became the chairman of *Delasem* and an exponent of the Jewish resistance. He particularly cared for the survival of children, as in the operation “Villa Emma”, aimed at transporting from Ljubljana to Nonatola (Modena) 42 children who had survived their parents’ murder by the Nazis. He succeeded in hiding the children in the Villa and in providing documents for their expatriation to Switzerland.

99 Dante Almansì, born in Parma, was a member of the General Direction of Public Security, who was nominated as the first fascist Prefetto of Caltanissetta in 1923. According to Di Francesco (Cf. Gero Di Francesco, “Quel prefetto fascista ed ebreo” in *La Sicilia*, 25. Jan. 2009, p.39), his appointment together with the one of twenty-two further Prefetti, was aimed at granting the popular consensus to Mussolini, by enforcing the presence of fascist authority in certain areas and at the same time dismissing the local power -e.g. Almansì dissolved the provincial and some council administrations in favour of the fascist party. In 1924, he became deputy Chief of Police and in this role, he was also involved in the investigation concerning the murder of the deputy Giacomo Matteotti, although he was not among suspected people. Nevertheless, he was moved to further offices and eventually as a royal commissioner to the Corte dei Conti (Court of Audit), until 1938, when he was hit by racial laws. Being a “discriminated” Jew for his fascist merits, thanks to his expertise as a state official, he was appointed president of the Jewish community from 1939 to 1945. In this new role, he tried to diminish the persecution against Jews, although his intervention was sometimes criticised, especially on the occasion of the Jewish deportation from Rome.

100 Riccardo Reuven Pacifici (1904-1943) was born in Firenze, descending from a Sepharditic family of Spanish origin who had moved to Tuscany already in the 16th century. After his graduation with honours at the local University in 1926 (Classical Studies), he obtained the title of Senior Rabbi by the Rabbinical College, studying with renowned scholars like Elia Samuele Artom, Umberto Cassuto, Shemuel Zvi Margulies. From 1928 to 1930 he was vice-rabbi in Venice, later director of the Rabbinical College and Great Rabbi in Rodi, and eventually Chief

During the German occupation, *Delasem*'s activities were declared illegal and its inspirators, among whom Valobra himself, had to escape to Switzerland, from where they continued to coordinate clandestine aid initiatives, availing themselves of a net of contacts in Italy, often with the help of a part of catholic clergy, especially in Genova, Milano, Torino e Firenze.

In cooperation with Swiss Jewish organisations - such as the international Zionist organisations based in Genève - and with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, they could provide financing to Jewish refugees in Italy through trusted contacts.

4.3.2 Kalk and his *Mensa dei Bambini*

Izrael Markovič Kal'k (Israel Kalk) was born in Pikeli, Lituania, on April 11, 1904. During the WWI, he moved with his family to Libau (Baltic sea) to escape anti-Semitic persecution. Due to his Jewish origin, he was forbidden to attend a Latvian University and therefore moved to Milano, where an uncle of his, Boruch Kalk, could take care of his studies. After graduating in mechanical engineering, he married Giorgetta Lubatti in 1928 and he settled in Milano. In October 1939, reacting to the painful everyday situation in the city, where several Jewish children lived almost abandoned to themselves either because their parents had been expelled or their relatives could not take care of them, Kalk launched the ambitious project named *Mensa dei Bambini* - headquartered at 10, via Guicciardini – to aid the youngest victims of the persecution by providing them with both material and intellectual support.

The documents collected by Kalk himself since the very beginning of his activities – mainly informative circulars to benefactors and authorities – speak about food,

Rabbi in Genoa from 1936 to 1943, when he was deported to Auschwitz, after refusing to escape and abandon his community.

clothing, but also books, lessons, religious education, toys and leisure time daily provided for the unfortunate children.

Kalk's *Mensa dei bambini* represented in Italy the only institution of this kind launched as a private enterprise, which could cooperate with official Jewish institutions and keep contacts with the Ministry of Internal Affairs while profiting from reduced supervision. Thanks to the net of donators and supporters that Kalk managed effectively to create, the *Mensa dei bambini* could extend its activity to the children interned and sometimes to their families, too.

Kalk himself visited Ferramonti twice: besides bringing first aid (food, cloths, materials for the school, books for the library, a piano for music performances), he especially strived to obtain better hygienic conditions in the camp, for instance by placing showers and running water. He constantly reported information from the camp, meticulously noting any details about life in the camp, including especially cultural and educational activities, and taking illegal pictures during his visits. In 1943, he also fled for several months to Switzerland as an exile, taking his documents with him. As soon as he came back to Milano in October 1945, Kalk immediately started planning his work about internment camps in Italy and tried to collect further information and documents, pioneering in some ways oral history. Indeed, he paid an uncommon attention for the time to interviews and written records of ex-internees, often finding great availability from them.

Unfortunately, it is possible neither to define an exact time span when the collection took place nor a reliable date for each source: it is however plausible that it started around 1950 and ended with the last witnesses by Ernesto Lazar and Salvatore Luria in 1978. As far as the methodology is concerned, it is hard to determine the exact reliability of each source, especially as they are often in the form of handwritten or typed private notes, by no means comparable to an edited work. Besides dating uncertainties, this often causes problems of ascription, since papers are more frequently unsigned and carry no references their author. Only in some cases can they certainly be ascribed to the recognizable handwriting of Kalk or to the same typewriter.

Even as a council member of the Chamber of Commerce in Milano from 1953 to 1972 he did not stop searching for and collecting documents, besides promoting conferences and international events concerning deportation, including the meeting of Pentcho's castaways in Tel-Aviv.¹⁰¹ Kalk probably started getting in contact with ex-internees in Ferramonti at the beginning of the '50s, meticulously collecting their materials according to his publication plan. Although the book became his primary concern since he had retired, he could not complete it before his death, occurred in 1980. Nevertheless, the materials collected by him – especially primary sources – were fundamental for further research.¹⁰²



Kalk's
Travelling authorizations.
CDEC - Kalk Archive, Album 5, "Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia:
fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yiddish e inglese".

101 See *The voyage of the Pentcho*, a video made by "Pentcho Family", a group of Pentcho survivors, who meet every five years since the '70s in Israel to remember and commemorate their odyssey along the Mediterranean sea. The document contains a short historical film recorded on the Pentcho: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vgfnli64SxM> (30.04.2018).

102 Cf. Klaus Voigt, "Israel Kalk e i figli dei profughi ebrei in Italia" in *Storia in Lombardia*, n. 2 (1990), Milano, Franco Angeli, p.201-250.

4.3.3 Apostolic Nuncio Borgongini Duca and Vatican aids

Francesco Borgongini Duca (Rome, February 26, 1884 – October 4, 1954) served as Apostolic Nuncio (i.e. Ecclesiastical Diplomat) to Italy from 1929 to 1953. After his studies at the Pontifical Roman Seminary, he obtained doctorates in Theology and in Canon and Civil Law, was ordained on December 22, 1906 and subsequently got a chair for theology at both the Pontifical North American College and the Pontifical Urbanian Athenaeum De Propaganda Fide from 1907 to 1909. After entering the Roman Curia in 1909 as a Apostolic Penitentiary Member, he started a quick *cursus honorum* - Secretary of Apostolic Penitentiary on February 24, 1917, Privy Chamberlain of His Holiness on March 2, 1917, Pro-Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs on June 28, 1921, full Secretary on October 14, 1922, Domestic Prelate of His Holiness (July 7, 1921) and apostolic protonotary (January 11, 1927) – which led him to take part in the negotiation of the Lateran Treaty, as a member of the Vatican commission.

On June 7, 1929, while the Italian Parliament was ratifying the Lateran Treaty signed on February 11, Borgongini Duca was appointed Titular Archbishop of Heraclea in Europa by Pope Pius XI. On June 29, he received his episcopal consecration and the following day was nominated papal ambassador (Apostolic Nuncio) to Italy, the first to receive this mandate after the Lateran Accords,¹⁰³ which he maintained till 1953. According to Guasco:¹⁰⁴

Era un ruolo delicato per il quale al pontefice, possiamo ipotizzare, occorreva un ecclesiastico con caratteristiche precise: conosciuto dal regime e ad esso sufficientemente gradito; esperto di curia e del mondo ecclesiastico romano; in possesso – per dirla con l'agiografia – della «più pura ortodossia della dottrina, congiunta con una devozione illimitata alla Sede apostolica».¹⁰⁵

103 Cf. art.12. In 1933-1934 he was also appointed pontifical administrator of the Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura, Roma and of Basilica della Santa Casa, Loreto.

104 Alberto Guasco, "Tra Segreteria di Stato e Regime fascista. Mons. Francesco Borgongini Duca e la Nunziatura in Italia (1929-1939)" in Laura Pettinaroli (edited by), *Le gouvernement pontifical sous Pie XI.: pratiques romaines et gestion de l'universel*, 2013 Roma, École française de Rome, 2013, p.303-319, p. 308.

105 Cfr. G. Barbetta, *Un cardinale tra «li regazzini»*. cit., p. 91.

In his function of Apostolic Nuncio, he visited the Ferramonti camp twice: on May 22, 1941 and on May 27, 1943. It was on the first of these occasions that the catholic internees asked and obtained from the Nuncio that a spiritual leader would be sent to Ferramonti: thanks to Borgongini, pater Lopinot arrived in July. Although the general profile of the Nuncio emerging from witnesses and Ferramonti's facts seem positive, due to his extreme availability to internees' requests and needs, the overall impression on his political role does not shine as well. In the portrait of the first decade of Borgongini Duca as Nuncio painted by Guasco, for instance, he appears as a weak intermediary between the Holy See and the regime, without real capability and intention to contrast the strongest decisions taken, even in contrast with the pope Pio XI, although in 1939 the policies undaretaken by the Fascism already appeared more than clear:¹⁰⁶

Per Borgongini, forse, occorreva aspettare l'ennesima oscillazione del pendolo mussoliniano, e quindi procedere a ricomporre il contrasto; ciò, probabilmente, in nome della vecchia convinzione (mutuata proprio da Pio XI) che «i nemici della Chiesa sono i nemici del Fascismo, e che quelli che combattono la Chiesa, non possono essere amici veri del Fascismo»: convinzione che non apparteneva più al papa, ma che il primo nunzio in Italia, per il periodo in questione, non seppe mettere in discussione.

After his arrival at the camp, however, it was pater Lopinot who kept direct relationships with the Vatican, travelling also to Rome as the spokesperson of the catholic internees.

106 Guasco, "Tra Segreteria di Stato e Regime fascista. Mons. Francesco Borgongini Duca e la Nunziatura in Italia (1929-1939)", p. 311.

4.4 The Camp Between January 1942 and September 1943



*The Ferramonti on March 19, 1943.
Imperial War Museum London - Courtesy of Prof. Dr. Mario Rende.*

The cases of physical violence attested in Ferramonti were very rare and basically consisted in the actions of the militia against prisoners. It was calculated that in the three years in which the camp existed, thirty-seven internees died of diseases. Generally, there was great tolerance for self-organization of the prisoners, as long as their activities did not contrast the general rules of the camp. These latter were progressively not strictly applied, so that life could reproduce a sort of normality, although in captivity. According to Kalk, indeed, living together and everyday relationships with the internees caused the camp attendants not only to doubt the real dangerousness of the prisoners, but also their pretended guilt against the Italian state and population. The suspicion was of course enforced by the remarkable presence of women and even children:¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Israel Kalk, "I campi di concentramento italiani per ebrei profughi: Ferramonti di Tarsia (Calabria)", in P. Foa, et al., *Gli ebrei in Italia durante il fascismo. Quaderni della Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia*, Forni Editore, Sala Bolognese 1961, pp. 63-71, p. 66.

Effetto di questa convinzione, unita alla pietà per la difficile condizione degli internati, è stato l'attenuarsi del rigore, il rilassamento della disciplina, che si risolse nello stabilirsi di una specie di "gentlemen's agreement" tra i vigilati e le autorità preposte alla loro vigilanza: Fate quello che volete, purché siano salve le apparenze e ci vengano evitati richiami e fastidi.

The principle governing the camp's life, effectively summarised by the expression «a gentlemen's agreement», implied that several working activities and leisure activities were permitted, as well as autonomous organisational forms. These are precisely enumerated by Kalk himself in the same article and namely included:

- social assistance, financed through voluntary contributions of the internees, in favour of the infirm and most pauper among their companions;
- a multi-specialised clinic, where experienced doctors in different branches of medicine (including odontology) were at service;
- warm and cold baths, which were built to ensure suitable hygienic conditions thanks to the solicitude of Kalk himself;
- an employment office, to ensure a little income and provide artisans and technicians with tools to work in the camp;
- a maternity care, supported by the *Mensa dei bambini* organisation, providing mothers with new-born supplies;¹⁰⁸
- a school board, in charge of planning educational activities for the youngest, from Kindergarten to secondary school;
- a cultural committee, which managed the camp library, where books donated from Jewish communities all over Italy and sent to the camp through the *Mensa dei bambini* were collected and lent;
- a musical organisation, which will be deeply discussed in ch. 5.
- a theatre company;
- a «Fine Arts Academy» (definition by Kalk) and its exhibitions, directed by the notorious painter and designer Michel Fingesten;
- Chess, bridge and sport clubs;

108 In Ferramonti, twenty-one children were born during the captivity.

- a religious college managing three synagogues (a modern, an Orthodox and a Chassidic one), almost side by side with a Catholic church and a Greek-Orthodox chapel;
- a legal council composed by renowned lawyers to solve disputes occurring among internees in the camp;
- a sort of “bicameral parliament”, made up of two bodies: the dormitory representatives and the trustees, «democratically elected» (definition by Kalk), which is anyway supported by documentary evidence and witnesses’ reports.

Eventually, Kalk describes the particular attitude of the internees as follows:¹⁰⁹

L'arma segreta che ha permesso loro di resistere è il genio organizzativo, genio che ha fatto nascere dal nulla, in una contrada deserta tagliata fuori dal mondo, le più svariate istituzioni ispirate alle analoghe fondazioni delle più antiche comunità ebraiche ed intonate ai più progrediti dettami del vivere civile.

However, it should be emphasised that also the tolerance of the authorities, partially prescribed by camps regulations and partially spontaneous, as well as the solidarity of the local populations represented an essential prerequisite. As an example, it could be mentioned the fact that interned Jews who died of disease or natural causes were regularly buried in both the Catholic cemetery of Tarsia (16 recorded graves, only 4 remaining) and in the Cosenza cemetery (21 recorded graves, all remaining).¹¹⁰

109 Kalk, “I campi di concentramento italiani per ebrei profughi: Ferramonti di Tarsia (Calabria)”, p. 69.

110 See Cesare Colafermina, “Le iscrizioni ebraiche nel cimitero di Tarsia” in Volpe (a cura di) *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi 15-16 maggio 1987: Ferramonti un lager nel sud*, 1990 Cosenza, Orizzonti Meridionali.

4.5 *Camps Regulations*

4.5.1 General Rules Concerning Italian Camps

On June 8, 1940, the Ministry of Interior sent to the prefects and the quaestor in Rome the instructions concerning all the internment and concentration camps on Italian soil, which are here reported:¹¹¹

Perché non vi siano incertezze e non abbiano a verificarsi disparità di trattamento si ritiene opportuno impartire le seguenti disposizioni circa i campi di concentramento:

- 1) il funzionario di P.S. dirigente e dove non vi è funzionario il podestà, dovrà provvedere, a mano a mano che gli internati arrivano, a far impiantare i registri e i fascicoli personali;

which in the case of Ferramonti were fortunately preserved, allowing a precise reconstruction of names and data concerning internees.¹¹²

- 2) il funzionario o chi per esso, dovrà inoltre: a) stabilire il perimetro entro il quale gli internati possono circolare; b) imporre loro, senza però rilasciare speciali carte di permanenza, la prescrizione di non allontanarsi da detto perimetro; per giustificati motivi le autorità locali potranno consentire agli internati di recarsi in determinate località dell'abitato. Il permesso di allontanarsi dall'abitato potrà invece essere concesso soltanto dietro autorizzazione del ministero; c) imporre agli internati un orario con divieto, salvo giustificati motivi o speciali autorizzazioni, di uscire prima dell'alba e di rincasare dopo l'Ave Maria;
- 3) dovranno essere fatti tre appelli giornalieri degli internati, al mattino, a mezzogiorno ed alla sera; in caso di constatata assenza dovrà darsene avviso telegraficamente alla Questura competente che provvederà a diramare le ricerche informandone il Ministero;

¹¹¹ Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, pp. 69-74.

¹¹² See especially ACS, Mi, Dgps, AGR, A4bis (Stranieri internati), including information on single or group of internees, and G46 ACS, MI, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16, including information on foreign Jews, as for instance date of birth, internment, displacement and sometimes death of inmates.

According to several witnesses, these requests were easily approved. Time limits were often exceeded to allow prisoners to satisfy their needs. As a further exception to general rules, the camp Ferramonti was not fenced by barbed wire and the compulsory procedure of roll call was progressively abandoned.

- 4) gli internati potranno consumare i pasti in esercizi o presso famiglie private del posto, dietro autorizzazione delle Autorità locali di cui al n.1;
- 5) gli internati sussidiati potranno riunirsi in mense sia presso esercizi che presso famiglie private, dietro autorità locali di cui al n. 1;

In Ferramonti existed both a communal canteen as well as few family barracks provided with kitchens.¹¹³

- 6) gli internati hanno l'obbligo di serbare buona condotta, non dar luogo a sospetti e mantenere contegno disciplinato. I trasgressori saranno puniti a termine di legge o trasferiti in colonie insulari, secondo quanto deciderà questo Ministero sulle proposte delle Prefetture;
- 7) le prescrizioni sopra indicate non possono essere modificate senza l'autorizzazione del Ministero;

Some reports expose measures taken against the inmates in Ferramonti in case of quarrels and controversies,¹¹⁴

- 8) agli internati bisognosi sarà corrisposto la diaria di lire 6,50;
- 9) le spese per medicinali comuni per i non abbienti saranno a carico del Ministero. Per l'acquisto di specialità medicinali e per le cure sanitarie non

113 [All'impresa Parrini] fu affidato l'approvvigionamento di viveri e di tutti i generi di consumo ~~per gli internati~~. L'impresa comprava i viveri ed i vari altri prodotti presso i produttori residenti nelle vicinanze del Campo, e li rivendeva poi agli internati. Le barache erano state disposte a due a due, in modo che, fra ogni coppia, ci fossero una cucina coperta, nelle quali gli internati dovevano preparare da sé i pasti. [...] Gli ebrei osservanti mangiavano soltanto cibi preparati secondo il rito; gli ebrei tedeschi erano abituati ad una cucina ben diversa, per esempio, da quella dei Jugoslavi o dei Cechi. Tutto sommato, ogni cucina doveva tener conto delle ~~proprie caratteristiche~~ (corr. Abitudini dei propri avventori). Queste difficoltà furono superate grazie al sistema dell'alimentazione autonoma. [...] Visto che non tutte le famiglie ~~erano state~~ (corr: hanno potuto essere) sistemate nelle apposite baracche <familiari>, e non avevano quindi la possibilità di provvedere da sole alla loro alimentazione, si autorizzarono i familiari a consumare i pasti, come ospiti, presso le cucine alle quali faceva capo il padre di famiglia. (Kalk b.2 f. 20 fl.3, all the corrections by Kalk).

114 Cf. ASCDEC/Kalk Archive II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b.2, fasc. 28: "Amministrazione della giustizia", also containing the document: *Die Statuten des Lagergerichtes*.

urgenti per le quali sia necessaria l'opera di uno specialista dovrà essere chiesta di volta in volta l'autorizzazione al Ministero;

10) qualora fossero necessari interventi chirurgici urgenti gli interessati potranno essere ricoverati nell'ospedale più vicino, dandone poi avviso al Ministero per la ratifica;

11) per le spese relative alla corresponsione degli assegni giornalieri, all'affitto dei locali, alla manutenzione ordinaria e per tutte le altre spese di carattere fisso il Ministero provvederà a creare uno speciale fondo presso ciascuna Prefettura. In un primo tempo ed in attesa che detti accreditamenti siano fatti, i prelevamenti dovranno essere fatti sui fondi in genere. Delle spese sostenute dovrà essere inviato ogni mese dettagliato rendiconto al Ministero per la ratifica;

12) per le spese di carattere fisso (affitto dei locali, assegni giornalieri, manutenzione ordinarie) per i medicinali comuni per i non abbienti, le Prefetture preleveranno le somme occorrenti dal fondo messo a tale scopo a loro disposizione; per tutte le altre spese, invece, dovranno chiedere di volta in volta l'autorizzazione al Ministero. Le parcelle dei sanitari prima di essere inviate al Ministero per l'autorizzazione al pagamento dovranno essere sottoposte al visto del Medico Provinciale;

13) per il trasferimento o l'accompagnamento degli internandi ai campi di concentramento e nelle altre località di internamento le spese saranno in un primo tempo a carico delle Prefetture in cui risiede l'internato; dette Prefetture provvederanno poi a chiedere il rimborso delle spese alle Prefetture nella cui giurisdizione si trovano il campo di concentramento o le località di internamento.

With regard to the costs for transferring and maintaining the inmates, as well as their health care, it is clear stated that all the costs were met by the Prefecture. Further dispositions were introduced with the Decree on September 4, 1940 (Gazzetta Ufficiale on October 11, n.239), where some articles clarified that:¹¹⁵

Art. 4: Gli internati possono essere impiegati in determinati lavori, purché non eccessivi, conformi al loro rango, e tali da non implicare partecipazioni a operazioni belliche. In tal caso, gli internati ricevono un equo compenso da determinarsi dal Ministero dell'Interno.

Art. 5: Gli internati devono essere trattati con umanità e protetti contro ogni offesa e violenza. Essi non possono essere destinati in località esposte al fuoco nemico e insalubri.

115 Cf. Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Abruzzo: 1940-1944*.

Art. 6: La libertà di religione e di culto degli internati è rispettata [...]

Art. 7: Gli internati conservano gli effetti e gli oggetti di uso personale che non siano stati requisiti o sequestrati [...]

Art. 4 ratifies the prohibition to oblige prisoners to forced labour, excluding in this way that internment places could become labour camps. This principle – that was circumvented in just very few cases, such as in Alberobello¹¹⁶ - was respected in Ferramonti, where the work activities were carried out exclusively on a voluntary basis and according to aptitudes and personal skills of prisoners. Artt. 6 and 7, in addition to the permission for couples and families to live together and sometimes in private barracks, represented the most outstanding key-points of the internment policy in Italy and the consequent camp management. By limiting the freedom of moving and altering life conditions but avoiding humiliations and reducing psychological traumas, the camp organization managed to keep order and prevented forms of rebellion.

Moreover, it is prescribed again that the internees without own properties or working income were accommodated for free and received a daily pension for surviving and further personal needs. Money, jewellery and bonds owned by internees could be deposited in a local bank or post office on account and could not be paid out without the permission of the P.S. Authority.

4.5.2 Regulation in the Camp of Ferramonti

As any other internment camp, in addition to the general rules governing fascist internment camps, Ferramonti had its specific regulation, approved by the camp's director Paolo Salvatore. Such a list of regulations naturally reflected several common features with the ministerial ones, but involved also some originalities:¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Terzulli, “Per la memoria della casa rossa di Alberobello” in *Umanesimo della Pietra*, 2008 Martina Franca (TA), Arti Grafiche Pugliesi.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 71-74.

1. Non uscire dal camerone prima delle ore 7 e rientrare non oltre le ore 21, fino a nuovo ordine.
2. Rispondere a 3 appelli giornalieri: alle ore 9, alle ore 12, alle ore 19. Gli appelli si faranno nello spiazzale davanti alla direzione del campo.
3. Non oltrepassare, senza speciale permesso, i limiti del campo che sono segnati da apposita tabella.
4. Non detenere armi, passaporti, tessere ferroviarie, tessere postali, né gioielli o somme in denaro eccedenti lire 50 (cinquanta). Documenti, gioielli e denaro vanno consegnati alla Direzione del campo che ne curerà la custodia.
5. Non detenere macchine fotografiche né apparati radio.
6. Non occuparsi di politica.
7. Non leggere libri, giornali, riviste in lingua estera, senza speciale permesso.
8. Non scrivere, né ricevere corrispondenza o pacchi se non per tramite della Direzione. È consentito per detto tramite scrivere a stretti congiunti e riceverne corrispondenza. La corrispondenza con altre persone deve essere autorizzata a domanda scritta.
9. Non giocare a carte, né fare altri giuochi che possono costituire motivo di litigi.
10. Mantenere le camerate in ordine e nella massima pulizia. In ciascuna camerata dovrà essere presente perennemente un piantone, comandato a turno, che curi la pulizia e risponda degli oggetti appartenenti agli altri internati.
11. Serbare buona condotta, non dare luogo a sospetti e tenere contegno disciplinato.
12. Osservare tutte le prescrizioni che verranno impartite dalla direzione.
13. I contravventori saranno puniti a norma delle Leggi e dei regolamenti.

4.6 Liberation, Fort Ontario and Other Destinations

Concerning Kalk's statement,¹¹⁸ it should also be taken into account, however, that he expressed his admiration for the ex-internees sixteen years after the end of the war and thirteen years after the foundation of Israel, retrospectively and intentionally trying to establish a relationship between the ex-inmates in Ferramonti and the pioneers of the new Jewish State.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ See pp. 67-68.

¹¹⁹ Kalk, "I campi di concentramento italiani per ebrei profughi: Ferramonti di Tarsia (Calabria)", p. 70-71.

Ed oggi, a sedici anni dalla fine della guerra, ritroviamo dei Ferramontesi (sic!), da una parte tra i costruttori di prima linea dello Stato di Israele, e dall'altra parte fra i combattenti per la giustizia sociale ed il progresso civile nelle più lontane terre del mondo.

Setting apart programmatic statements, it is true that in Ferramonti life was not always as tolerable as it could appear. Several hardships, existing especially during the first year, have been already underlined; a further turning factor was represented by the inauspicious outcomes of war events.

During the whole conflict timeline, indeed, the number of internees had been steadily increasing, which obviously complicated the life conditions in the camp. A further worsening occurred in Winter 1942-43, not only due to the overcrowding of the camp, but especially because the whole region was particularly suffering from the rationing of food and shortage of supplies.

On September 14, 1943, a vanguard of the British 8th Army freed the camp Ferramonti, which thus became the first camp in Europe liberated by the allies. Several Jews, who were going to be transferred to the North of Italy¹²⁰ – as for instance to Bozen - and from there to NS-camps, had their life saved. Parallel to the dissolution of the detention camp, however, prisoners were not immediately released, but a DP-camp was created: indeed, the possibility of leaving the Calabrian region was depending on the progress of war events in the rest of Europe. That is why some Jews could initially move to Cosenza and Bari, from where several of them later embarked for Palestine. Numerous Jewish communities remained in the camp, so that in May 1945 two hundred people still lived in Ferramonti, according to Capogreco.¹²¹

Some refugees were shipped to Oswego, in the State of New York, USA, where they were again interned. The camp was officially closed on September 6, 1945.

120 Capogreco, "I campi di internamento fascisti per gli ebrei (1940-1943)" in *Storia Contemporanea*, Anno XXII, August 1991 Bologna, Il Mulino, p. 663-682, p.682.

121 Ibid.

Reacting to the request of some rescue organizations,¹²² on June 12, 1944, President Roosevelt authorised the establishment of an Emergency Refugee Shelter at Fort Ontario, a US Army camp in Oswego, NY. The aim was to create a place where refugees freed from the Nazi and fascist camps could be transferred and spend some months.

According to the reconstruction proposed by the USHMM,¹²³ Roosevelt was supportive of it, but feared criticism in Congress from his opponents, consequently he tried to find an emergency situation to justify or at least legitimate such an operation. The occasion was easily found by considering that Italian camps under American mandates were almost overcrowded and the immigration of further refugees from Yugoslavia to Italy had been already discouraged for the same reason.

President Roosevelt issued the abrogation of the directive preventing foreign refugees to immigrate to Italy, let the WRB representative Leonard Ackermann travel to Italy and interview some refugees, while assigning to the camp of Fort Ontario the task to prepare for housing them.

According to the data appearing on USHMM web portal, 982 refugees were selected for the Fort Ontario project. Ca. seventy-five per cent of the group came from internment camps in southern Italy, including Bari, Ferramonti, Santa Maria di Bagni and Campagna (i.e. 737 refugees), while the remaining were recruited in Rome where most had been living in hiding until the recent withdrawal of the Germans. Approximately 165 of the refugees (i.e. 17%) were children below the age of seventeen. The group were composed by both Jewish and non-Jewish people, although the first represented the large majority (918, i.e. ca. 93% of the total, however representing 14 different nationalities).

122 At the beginning of March 1944, the War Refugee Board proposed the opening of some so-called safe havens (or free ports) in the United States where refugees could be admitted outside of American immigration quotas and from where they would have been easily repatriated to Europe at the end of the war.

123 <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1127046> (21.07.2017)

Collected in Aversa, Italy, they took off on board of the Henry Gibbins, a US Army transport vessel, on July 12, 1944. The ship arrived in New York on August 5, and the refugees were directly taken to Fort Ontario near the town of Oswego in upstate New York. Their eighteen-month stay – till December 1945 – represented a strong disappointment for the refugees, who found themselves to be again prisoners, subjected to several restrictions as far as daily life was concerned and also regarding permits to travel to relatives in the US, which at the beginning were not allowed. Nevertheless, they managed to arrange a life as normal as possible, which did not renounce cultural activities, either.

Though rudimentary political, social and cultural organizations eventually came into being, they were plagued by divisiveness among their members. Following V-E Day, pressure from Jewish groups, relief agencies, Congressmen and members of Truman's cabinet, led to the Truman Directive of December 1945, which permitted the immigration to the United States of displaced persons in US-zones of occupation and removed restrictions on war refugees already on North-American soil.

5. Music Performances in the Camp

5.1 Music in Everyday Life

The two main witnesses of musical activities publicly promoted in Ferramonti camp are the pianist and composer Kurt Sonnenfeld¹²⁴ and the Capuchin monk Lopinot.¹²⁵ They both had a key-role in the camp, providing fundamental reports about their experience there, as will be pointed out in the following chapters.



Musicians in Ferramonti. Front row, centre: pater Lopinot, Mirski and Zins with his accordion (at Lopinot's right).

ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, Album 5, "Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia: fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yiddish e inglese".

124 Kurt Sonnenfeld (Vienna 1923 - Milano 1997) - see § 7.8.

125 Callisto Lopinot (1876 – 1966), born in Alsace, belonged to the religious order of Friars Minor Capuchin. He was sent to Ferramonti by the Apostolic Nunzio Borgoncini -Duca after a request of a group of inmates and he remained in the camp from 11 July 1941 to October 31, 1944. Previously he had already been engaged in missionary activities in the Caroline Islands, an archipelago in the Pacific. The friar was fluent in four foreign languages and was to play a key-role in the concentration camp, by helping the inmates (especially Christians) to face the difficult conditions and family separation. He was also in charge of spreading Christianity by holding lessons on the Bible and the New Testament and obtained a few conversions during his stay. He cared not only about spiritual life; on the contrary, he managed to obtain some humanitarian and economic aids from religious associations and the Vatican itself.

What will be provided in the following lines is an attempt to collect and combine information from their reports in order to compose a chronologically ordered list of musical events in the camp. Of basic importance will be the strict comparison with the existing documents and sources – especially the ones saved in the Kalk Archive – aimed at reconstructing a panorama as objective as possible. Sonnenfeld was imprisoned in Ferramonti approximately nine months after the building of the camp: according to the internee, his imprisonment in San Vittore occurred on February 1, 1941 and his transfer three weeks later, whereas according to the database provided by Anna Pizzuti, he was officially registered in the camp on March 11.¹²⁶ Whenever the official registration of the new prisoner took place, it seems that upon his arrival some musicians were already living in the camp, as stated in his records:¹²⁷

Ich sehnte mich um ein wenig Musik, zum Glück wies man mich zu der 14. Baracke wo sich zwei junge Leute befanden, die auf dem Akkordeon u[nd] der Gitarre täglich ihre Weisen zu Gehör brachten. Es war natürlich eine gewisse Beruhigung für mich.

Although the identities of the two performers are not declared, it could be reasonably supposed they might answer to the names of Morris Gornicki (guitar) and Dr. Bogdan Zins (accordion). These are indeed the names of the performers appearing on the earliest concert programmes, dated March 23, April 14 and July 27, 1941, i.e. the first written evidences of musical performances in the camp.¹²⁸ This supposition would be coherent also with the dates of internment of the two musicians, the first being interned at Ferramonti on July 6, 1940 and transferred to Notaresco on August 2, 1941 and the latter most probably moving from Campagna - where he results being interned from September 6, 1940 - to Ferramonti in 1941

126 Cf. Appendix A: Sonnenfeld's memoirs and Anna Pizzuti, *Ebrei stranieri in Italia durante il periodo bellico*, online database available at: <http://www.annapizzuti.it/index.php> (28.02.2017).

127 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, fasc. 25, fl. 32-36.

128 Ibid., fl.23.

and was again being transferred to Sondrio on June 18, 1942.¹²⁹ Further fundamental information provided by Sonnenfeld in his writing is about the chapel established by Meister Isko Thaler:¹³⁰

Nach einiger Zeit lernte ich Meister Thaler kennen, welcher eine kleine Kapelle gründete. Von jenem Tag an, nahm die musikalische Kunst ihren Aufstieg [...].

This statement finds again a confirmation in the previously quoted programmes of March 23 and April 14, where Thaler is mentioned as a «Leiter» of the concerts.¹³¹ A further concert is recalled in Sonnenfeld's memories, apparently three weeks after, under the title of «Opernabendarien», performed by Paul Gorin. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find either an acknowledgment of such a statement or the exact programme performed by Gorin:¹³²

Es vergingen 3 Wochen und ein abendliches Konzert wurde veranstaltet unter dem Titel "Opernarien" gesungen von Paul Gorin (Bariton), Dr. Bogdan Zins, begleitete auf seiner 80 bässigen Fisarmonica mit unglaublicher Fingerfertigkeit und Expression.

As in the previous concerts, however, the accompaniment of the singer was left to the impressive talent of Bogdan Zins, the accordionist coming from the camp of Campagna. This was due to the lack of any keyboard instrument, till that moment, which the several pianists in the camp were probably complaining about:¹³³

Ich konnte leider bei solchen Konzerten nicht beitragen, da kein Klavier vorhanden war.

129 Cf. Anna Pizzuti. *Ebrei stranieri in Italia durante il periodo bellico*, database available at <http://www.annapizzuti.it>. (28.10.2017).

130 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, fasc. 25, fl. 32-36, fl. 32.1. Cf. also § 7.11 Thaler, Isko (Isak).

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

Nevertheless, according to Sonnenfeld, such «Opernabendarien» often took place, sometimes with the participation of other singers, not mentioned in the few programmes preserved and therefore constituting further musical performances in addition to those already known:¹³⁴

Weitere Konzerte fanden statt unter Mitwirkung von Sigmund Mentlich (Tenor), und Dora Mentlich (Soprano).

The decisive impulse to musical activities, however, came with the arrival of the new Yugoslav prisoners during the following winter (1941-1942); this is not only reported by Sonnenfeld and Lopinot, but also clarified by the remarkable evidences of concerts, enlarged both in terms of performers, repertoire, variety and duration. Here is how Sonnenfeld describes the improvement upon Mirski's arrival:¹³⁵

So verging ein Jahr, als plötzlich eine Gruppe Jugoslawen im Lager eintrafen, darunter befand sich Meister Mirsky (Operndirektor) und zahlreiche Sänger. Meister Mirsky organisierte einen Chor welcher für unsere Gottesdienste im Tempel bestimmt war. Jeden Freitag Abend und besonders an jüdischen Feiertagen war unser Gotteshaus vollgesteckt mit Menschen, man hatte fast gar nicht [den] Eindruck interniert zu sein. Rudi Marton (Tenor), Bruno Weiss (Bariton) und Michael Adler (Bass) produzierten sich mit Erfolg als Solisten. Besonders der Psalm, "Adonaj Moloch" blieb uns unvergesslich.

The reference is for the concert held on March 8, 1942, probably the most relevant performing event which took place during the whole existence of Ferramonti as a fascist internment camp. The programme included several numbers and a large participation both of soloists and choir. Sonnenfeld continues his report, with important considerations about Mirski's role in organizing and expanding the choir:¹³⁶

134 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, fasc. 25, fl. 32-36, fl. 32.2.

135 Ibid., fl. 32.2-33.1.

136 Ibid.

Doch Meister Mirsky befriedigte (sic) sich nicht, er verstärkte den Chor mit einer Reihe von Slowenen welche das Publikum mit ihren herrlichen Stimmen berauschten. Unermüdlich wurde gepreop[sic]t nachdem man sich für ein großes Konzert vorzubereiten hatte. Der Chor einfasste ca. 40 Männer, für ein Lager eine unvorstellbare Angelegenheit. Es wurden eine auf verschiedenen Stellen des Lagers Plakate befestigt in deren geschriebene stand. [...]

Meister Mirsky organisierte einen Chor für die katholische Kirche in der meistens Slowenen teilnahmen. Auch Bruno Weiss, Paul Gorin und Elly Silberstein beteiligten sich als Solisten, begleitet auf dem Harmonium dessen Klang einer Orgel gleich war.

These words seem to echo the record by another internee, Gianni Mann, who was elected as a person responsible for the barracks. He also agrees that the choir was funded by Mirski and allowed by the authorities of the camp:¹³⁷

Dalle varie comunità israelitiche dell'Italia ci giunsero libri e riviste e questo grande aiuto spirituale diede vita a una biblioteca ricca e ben assortita. I più accaniti frequentatori si univano in circoli letterari, la loro attività, oltre a dibattiti, discussioni e critiche, includeva anche concorsi letterari, conferenze, ecc. Dalla letteratura alla musica non è che un passo ed anche in questo campo fu fatto assai. Tra gli internati c'erano parecchi cantanti e buoni solisti e spesso godevamo qualche bel concerto. Un nostro caro collega, già direttore dell'opera in una città importante della Jugoslavia, fondò un eccellente coro di circa 30 voci maschili che si presentava durante le funzioni religiose nella sinagoga ogni venerdì sera e sabato.

A partial discrepancy in dating should be underlined with respect to Lopinot's diary, according to which:¹³⁸

21 Settembre 1941

Domenica. Cresima di 38 ebrei convertiti. La cappella è addobbata molto bella, il canto è solenne. Tutti gli artisti hanno fatto il loro dovere e messo il loro talento al servizio di Dio: pittori, decoratori, musicisti... Il Vescovo ha parlato due volte molto bene. Tutti erano edificati e molto contenti.

137 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, fasc. 24.

138 Rende, "Dal diario personale di padre Callisto Lopinot (1941-1944)", in *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 86-176, p. 92.

Apparently, there were already some sacred music performances before Mirski's arrival, during the main celebrations (like Confirmation of a group of Jews), even though probably without a structured choir and without a conductor. However, it is again Lopinot who informs about a further concert – this time referring to entertainment music – at the end of September and the departure of one of the most prominent singers – maybe Gorin or Steinfeld:¹³⁹

27 Settembre 1941

l'ultimo concerto è stato tenuto in questi giorni, prima della partenza di uno dei cantanti principali.

Almost a month later, he also reported a requiem which «overcomes any description»:¹⁴⁰

3 Novembre 1941

Oggi ho celebrato due S. Messe nel cimitero di Tarsia: nelle cappelle delle famiglie Rende e Severino. L'andamento in tutti i suoi dettagli era tipico per il lavoro e la mentalità dell'Italia meridionale [...] Il canto del requiem cantata sfida ogni descrizione...

At that time however, Mirski is very likely to have already assumed the conduction of the choir and of the musical activities in the camp.

According to Folino,¹⁴¹ who based his research on the documents of Yugoslav internees at the State Archive in Rome, Mirski and the other castaways of the Pentcho, joined the prisoners in October 1941, i.e. approximately eight months after Sonnenfeld. Therefore, this latter's statement about Mirski's arrival might just be an inaccuracy due to the recollection of memories *a posteriori*. The same consideration might be argued about the harmonium, a basic instrument to support the singing of the four-parts choir, which was actually provided for the internees

139 Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 93.

140 Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 99.

141 Cf. Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti. Il Campo, gli ebrei, gli Antifascisti*, 2009 Cosenza, La Scossa.

much time later, after a direct request of Lopinot to the authorities in the Vatican, as it will be discussed in § 6.3.

Another – not fully documented – performance most probably took place on April 5, 1942, Easter Sunday, about which some quick notes by Lopinot underline the high musical quality of the Stabat Mater conducted by Mirski and the participation of several Jews in the catholic celebration:¹⁴²

5 Aprile 1942

Domenica: Pasqua. Abbiamo tenuto solennemente tutta la settimana santa. Bella cooperazione. Rössler ha fatto il S. Sepolcro, una candela pasquale, un triangolo. Meraviglioso Stabat Mater del sig. Mirski il venerdì santo. Messa a quattro voci Domenica e Lunedì di Pasqua. Partecipano molti ebrei e greci.

Eventually, about a month later, a short annotation in Lopinot's diary proves the arrival of a Harmonium, sent from Lecco on request of the religious Vatican authority:¹⁴³

19 Maggio 1942

Dopo che molti tentativi di ricevere l'armonium come merce militare col modulo 444 sono naufragati, l'armonium è finalmente partito oggi da Lecco come merce a piccola velocità.

If the employment of a harmonium in the church represented of course a great support for the musical activities for the ceremonies, the arrival of a piano, as fundamental help for the public concerts, happened even later (cf. § 6.1). In June 1942, a report of a «first class concert» occurs again in Lopinot's memoirs:¹⁴⁴

7 Giugno 1942

Concerto magnifico: Gorin e Dott. Zins e Mirski e il suo coro. Era di prima classe.

142 Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 112.

143 Rende, *ibid.*, p. 115.

144 Rende, *ibid.*, p. 117.

A few days later, with an apparently marginal note referring to a present given by the internees to Meister Mirski for his birthday, Lopinot reveals it was relatively easy introducing musical scores inside the camp:

21 Giugno 1942

I cattolici hanno offerto al direttore del coro Lav Mirski un'opera musicale classica di Torchi per il suo compleanno.

It was not a genre of first necessity of course and probably Lopinot reported this episode for the exceptional character of the event: however, this makes us aware of the fact that musical scores were circulating in the camp and could be bought either on the black-market or in some shops in Cosenza, where internees were allowed to go with special permissions.

Subsequently, Lopinot announces happily the arrival of the harmonium, though its careless dispatch caused it to need restoration by an electrician. Four days later the harmonium was already at work at the Sunday service, accompanying a four voices choir:¹⁴⁵

25 Giugno

[...] Oggi è arrivato finalmente l'armonium, che è stato donato al campo dal S. Padre. Sfortunatamente era stato imballato molto male (in un tramezzo di assi) e ha perciò risentito molto. Perciò ho dovuto reclamare.

29 Giugno

Un elettrotecnico ha iniziato la riparazione dell'armonium, e così appena oggi abbiamo potuto tenere una Messa solenne con Messa cantata a quattro voci.

On September 7, 1942, Saturday of the Jom Kippur, the choir performed under the direction of Mirski.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 120.

¹⁴⁶ ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, f. 25; cfr. Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 124.

7 Ottobre

Grande concerto cantato sotto la direzione del sig. Mirski. Solo pezzi classici presentati in modo ben rifinito.

The special and elective relationship between music and religious service in Ferramonti was witnessed also by the celebration on S. Cecilia name-day, according to the catholic calendar on 22 November, which in 1942 occurred on Sunday. It was celebrated with a great performance after the service, which all the audience carefully listened to:¹⁴⁷

22 Novembre

S. Cecilia. Messa Solenne. Nuova Messa. Dopo la benedizione: musica sacra. Tutto era in armonia con la funzione. Anche se era stato tolto il Santissimo, tutti i presenti ascoltarono attentamente come in una funzione religiosa.

In the same way, however, Jewish traditions were celebrated with Jewish music. For instance, on the third day of Hannukkah (actually December 5, 1942):¹⁴⁸

6 Dicembre 1942, sabato (Hanukkah)

Um 14.30 Uhr im Allgemeinen Tempel. Anschliessend festlicher Abendgottesdienst mit Chor. Sämtliche Internierte sind hierzu eingeladen.

According to Sonnenfeld, Mirski and his choir were preparing a third concert with the help of a female choir, which never took place, since some US bombardiers bombed Cosenza – ca. 30 km far from Ferramonti:¹⁴⁹

Inzwischen bereitete sich Meister Mirsky fuer ein drittes Konzert von indem war einen Frauerchor beiführt, doch diesmal hatten wir leider nicht das Glück unsere Arbeit zu vollenden, da sich der Krieg bis zu unserem Lager zog. Cosenza, welches 37 km von uns entfernt war, wurde bombardiert.

147 Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 125.

148 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. “Ferramonti-Tarsia” b. 02, f. 25, fl. 47.

149 Ibid., fl. 32-36, fl. 34.1.

The camp, as is known, was freed on September 10, 1943: many refugees fled to the mountains surrounding the river, in order either to escape farther or to hide there till the worst passed. Some of them stayed there longer or even came back to Ferramonti: the freeing had actually started the most difficult period in Italy and exposed for the first time all the Jews on Italian soil to a life danger (cf. § 3). Anyway, this was also the time in which the ex-prisoners who decided to remain there tried to arrange the best musical event.

On New Year's Eve, a very impressive gala took place, which Sonnenfeld himself took part in and describes in the smallest details. We are also informed about three further concerts which were performed in Cosenza. For instance, after two months, in February 1944, a further Varietéprogramm was organised:¹⁵⁰

Deses Konzert war leider das letzte, den die Jugoslawen wurden somit Meister Mirsky nach Palestina abtransportiert. Ein Abschied war rührend, da man gewöhnt war Zeit beisammen zu sein.

The following notations by Lopinot reveal the constant decrease of the number of singers and the departure of several musicians:¹⁵¹

9 Aprile 1944

Domenica di Pasqua. A mala pena abbiamo potuto tenere tutte le cerimonie liturgiche della settimana santa, purtroppo non con la solennità del 1943. Quasi tutti i cantanti si sono trasferiti, e i fedeli sono diminuiti a un quarto.

A few days later, with a sad note, the Capuchin announces Sonnenfeld's departure:¹⁵²

26 Aprile 1944

Oggi parte Sonnenfeld, successore del sig. Mirski e mio ministrante. Il numero delle mie pecore diminuisce e il servizio della chiesa diventa sempre più difficoltoso.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., fl. 35.2.

¹⁵¹ Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 157.

¹⁵² Ibid.

The last notation on Lopinot's diary is regarding another New Year's Eve: this time, in 1944, the fascist threat appears much farther than the previous year and an authentic thanksgiving party could be arranged by the Jewish population remaining at Ferramonti.¹⁵³

31 Dicembre 1944

Gli ebrei organizzano una festa di ringraziamento a p. Benedetto nel club ebreo, Albergo Raimondi, via della Cordonata. Tutto è stato molto cordiale e sincero! (il vero Chef del club: Jos. Levy, l'amministratore pratico: Papermann).

153 Rende, *ibid.*, p. 176.

Summary

A quick summary of the performed concerts between March 1941 and February 1945, according to all the sources it has been possible to investigate, would then include:

1941:

March 23: Programme including Schubert, Schumann, Wolf, Beethoven, Liszt, Verdi, Wagner and further contemporary composers (see § 5.2.1);

April 14: Encore (see § 5.2.2);

July 23: a musical accompaniment for a wedding (Avornielli Orazio and De Angelis Maria: altogether twenty-four weddings were celebrated at Ferramonti, often with music;

July 27: Programme including Caccini, Sarti, Leoncavallo, Mozart, Tosti, Billi, Brogi, Tirindelli, Giordano, Verdi (see § 5.2.5);

1942:

March 8: Programme including in the first part: Beethoven, Schubert, Naumbourg, Mirski, Pergolesi, Chiappani, Mendellsohn, Verdi; in the second part: Grgosevic, Mirski, Lhotka, Zins, Binicki, Wagner (see § 5.2.3);

April 5: (Good Friday) *Stabat Mater* conducted by Mirski;

June 7: concert performed by Gorin, Dr. Zins and Mirski with choir;

June 29: First sung Mess with SATB choir and harmonium;

October 7: Great Concert conducted by Mirski;

November 22: Sacred Music on Saint Cecilia's day;

December 6: Music for Hannukka (see § 5.2.4);

1943:

November 9: «Concerto per i sinistrati» in Cosenza (see § 5.6.1);

1944:

March 22: Concert performed by Austrian ex-inmates, including Kurt Sonnenfeld (see § 5.6.3);

December 10 Music for Hannukkah (see § 5.6.4);

1945:

26 February: Music for Purim (see § 5.6.4).

5.2 Konzertveranstaltung in Ferramonti

5.2.1 The Concert on March 23, 1941

The first documented performance is dated March 23, 1941 at 16.30 in Schulsaal and saw Sigbert Steinfeld as a baritone, Dr. Walter Behrens as a violinist, Morris Gornicki as a guitarist and Isko (Isak) Thaler as a «Leiter».¹⁵⁴

The programme was structured in four parts, the first including famous Lieder by Schumann: *Die beiden Grenadiere* (after a poem by Heinrich Heine), *Frühlingsfahrt* (op. 45 n. 2, original title: *Es zogen zwei rüst'ge Gesellen* by Josef Karl Benedikt von Eichendorff), Schubert: *Der Tod und das Mädchen* (D531/op.7 n.3, poem by Mathias Claudius), *Ihr Bild* (from *Schwanengesang* D957), Beethoven, *Ich liebe Dich* (WoO 123, lyrics by Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Herrosee), Wolf: *Der Musikant* (*Eichendorff-Lieder*, n.2). The second part included pieces that in Germany and occupied countries would have easily entered the category of «entartete Musik», i.e. degenerate music, including compositions by forbidden authors such as Edvard Moritz¹⁵⁵ (officially appearing in Goebbels's list of undesirable composers), Isko Thaler¹⁵⁶ (probably introducing music from the Ghetto in Warsaw, from where he had escaped), and Max Kowalski.¹⁵⁷

154 For further biographical details see § 7.

155 Edward (Eduard) Moritz (Hamburg, 1891 - New York, 1974) was a German-American composer, music educator, conductor, violinist and pianist. For some works, he used the pseudonym Herbert Loe, a name variation Edward Moritz. As a child, he took violin lessons with Heinrich Bandler, then concertmaster of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Hamburg. From 1909, he studied in Paris at Pierre Martin Joseph Marsick (violin) and Louis-Joseph Diémer (piano), perhaps benefiting also from some lessons with Claude Debussy, although not in composition. In Berlin, he studied the violin with Carl Flesch, piano with Ferruccio Busoni and composition with Paul Juon. Eventually he attended conducting in Leipzig with Arthur Nikisch. Being persecuted because of his Jewish origin and limited by professional ban, he was progressively forced to devote his work to events of Jewish culture federation. In 1935 his name entered the so-called Goebbels-list, which served for the censorship. In September 1937, he traveled with the ship *S.S. Königstein - Arnold Bernstein Line* from Antwerp to New York City. There he made his debut with the Edvard Moritz Chamber Orchestra in 1938 and was naturalised in 1943.

156 Isko (Isaak) Thaler: see § 7.11.

157 Max Kowalski (Kowal, 1882 - London, 1956) was born in Poland as the son of the Jewish

5.2.2 The Concert on April 14, 1941

On April 14, 1941 the programme was proposed again in a further concert, performed with few variations again by Sigbert Steinfeld (bariton), Dr. Walter Behrens (violine), Moris Gornicki (guitar). The performance was opened with two different Lieder by Schumann: *Aus den östlichen Rosen* and *Zum Schluss* (both from *Myrten* op. 25, n.25 and 26 respectively, texts by Friedrich Rückert), replacing *Die beiden Grenadiere* and *Frühlingsfahrt*, which in this programme ended the first and second part, respectively. Wolf's *Der Musikant* appeared here together with another Lied by the same composer, *Weyla's Gesang*, in the third part. Beethoven's *Ich liebe dich* was here anticipated in the first group, whereas Giordano's aria *Caro mio ben*, instead of closing the second, is now opening the third part. The fourth part is

cantor and teacher Abraham Kowalski and his wife Bertha Kowalski, nephew of Rosenthal. After moving with his family to Germany in 1883, he studied law in Heidelberg, Berlin and Marburg, obtained a doctorate and from 1908 to 1938 worked as a lawyer in Frankfurt a.M.. Since he specialised in copyright, he represented Arnold Schoenberg in 1930 in a dispute with the Frankfurter Alte Opera after the performance of *Von heute auf morgen*, Schoenberg's first twelve-tone opera and the only comedy he composed. In Frankfurt, Kowalski studied also singing with Alexander Heinemann as well as composition with Bernhard Sekles and published his first work, a musical version of Albert Giraud's *Pierrot Lunaire* (independently from Arnold Schoenberg's work of the same year), in 1912-13. He continued to compose and published until 1934, writing a vast number of Lieder which were widely performed in Germany.

In November 1938, Kowalski was arrested as a follow-up to the *Reichspogromnacht* after being deprived of his legal license and was imprisoned in the Buchenwald concentration camp. The purpose of this action was to blackmail imprisoned Jews to emigrate, so as to be able to confiscate their property. Upon His release in 1939, he emigrated to London, with his daughter. Although his wife, Anna Kowalski, also had obtained immigration papers for Great Britain, she took before leaving (she had been imprisoned in Preungesheim prison in 1937, then in the concentration camps of Moringen, Lichtenburg and Ravensbrück). Under difficult circumstances Max Kowalski earned his living in London as a piano tuner, synagogue singer and vocal teacher. Later he established himself as a singing teacher. He continued to compose, but none of his later songs was published. Max Kowalski's opus includes, in addition to the two piano pieces op. 6, seventeen published and at least another seventeen unpublished song cycles. He also produced Jewish poems, poetry collections from Japan, India and poems from the Arab world. The songs of Max Kowalski were performed by the great singers of his time: before the Second World War, among others, by Paul Bender, Heinrich Rehkemper, Heinrich Schlusnus, Leo Schützendorf and Joseph Schwarz, after 1945, among others by Alexander Kipnis, Albert Fischer, Hans Hotter, Emmy Krüger and Karin Bransell.

unaltered. Consequently, except of few inversions and the adding of a couple of Lieder, the programme centred on vocal chamber music does not present considerable differences from the previous one.

5.2.3 The Concert on March 8, 1942

Of a higher relevance and variety is the following programme, instead, referring to one of the most important concerts organised under the artistic and musical direction of Mirski on March 8, 1942. Here the programme is reported as appeared on typed A4 papers, which were distributed to the internees and used as entrance tickets, as manuscript annotations reveal, indicating both row and seat reserved to ticket's owner:

8 marzo 1942

Coro maschile, con la partecipazione dei solisti:

Elly Silberstein (soprano)

Sigbert Steinfeld (baritono)

Dott. Jeremias Metzger (basso)

Bruno Weiss (baritono)

Rodolfo Marton (tenore)

Leszek Lipowicz (tenore)

Michele Adler (basso)

Accompagnamento: Dott. Bodgan Zins e Prof. Ladislawo Sternberg

Maestro concertatore e direttore: Lav Fritz Mirski

Programma

(parte I)

1. Beethoven: In gloria di Dio

2a. Schubert: Spirito della verità

b. Schubert: Sanctus

3. Naumbourg: Adenoi moloch (Salmo 93)

4. J.F. Mirski: Jigdal solisti: Rodolfo Marton (tenore),

Bruno Weiss (baritono)

e coro

(parte II)

5. Pergolesi: Tre giorni son che Nina

6. Chiappani: Saluto a Napoli

7. Meendelssohn: Coro dei Vendemmiatori (dall'opera incompiuta "Loreley")

8. Verdi: Il Santo Nome (dall'opera "La forza del destino")

solisti: Elly Silberstein (soprano)
Sigbert Steinfeld (baritono)
Bruno Weiss (baritono)
e coro

= INTERVALLO =

(parte III)

9.a) Zl. Grgosevic: Plava moma (Ragazza bionda)

b) L.F. Mirski Oj jesenske duge noci (Lunghe notti d'autunno)

c) F. Lhotka: Sto nam radi Dido stari (Cosa fa il nostro vecchio nonno)
solista: Rodolfo Marton (tenore)
e coro

10.a) Bogdan Zins: Canzoni popolari polacche
solista L.Lipowicz (tenore)
e coro

b) ... Leggenda pia
solista Dott. J. Metzger (basso)
armonizzato per il coro da L.F. Mirski

c) ... L'allegro studente
solista Bruno Weiss (baritono)
e coro
armonizzato per il coro da L.F. Mirski

d) St. Binicki: Tri devojke (tre ragazze)

11.a) ... Ide furman doliju (il carrettiere attraversa la vallata)
solista Michele Adler (basso)
e coro

b) ... Tecie voda (l'acqua scorre)
solista Rodolfo Marton (tenore)
e coro

c) ... Tancuj vikrucaj (Danza in giro)
armonizzato per coro da L.F. Mirski

12) Wagner: Coro dei Pellegrini (dall'opera "Tannhaeuser")

Il presente programma vale come biglietto d'ingresso

I posti sono numerati

As it can be seen, the performance saw the participation of all the most prominent artists present in the camp at that time, such as the soprano Elly Silberstein, the tenors Leszek Lipowicz and Rodolfo Marton, the basses Michele Adler and Jeremias Metzger and the baritons Sigbert Steinfeld and Bruno Weiss. As accompanists Dr. Bodgan Zins and Prof. Ladislav Sternberg are mentioned. Since the first one was accordionist and the second one pianist, it might be supposed that both the instruments were present at the time of the concert. Furthermore, it is almost likely that Zins could play both the instruments, as other evidences originating from Campagna camp seems to prove.¹⁵⁸ The music director and conductor was of course Lav Mirski, to whose skilfulness the arrangements of popular songs in the third half of the programme are also left.

As far as the repertoire is concerned, the first part of the performance is centred on sacred music. However, the first three pieces cannot be surely identified: namely, *Spirito di Verità* could be an Italian translation of *Geist der Wahrheit*. A piece with this title had already appeared around 1910 and represented a German retextualization of Schubert's *Tantum Ergo* op.45/D739, by readapting the lyrics of a Predigled - attested since at least early XIX c. - to the music by Schubert. The retextualization might be justified as a way to understand the content, which otherwise could result unclear to most internees and hard to remember.

Also concerning the second piece, *In Gloria di Dio*, this title might sound an Italian adaptation of the German *Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur*, a Lied by Beethoven (op. 48 n. 4) on lyrics by Gellert, also known from its textincipit as *Die Himmel rühmen des ewigen Ehre*. Noticeably, of both the first and the second pieces an arrangement for male choir by Fritz Spies,¹⁵⁹ who also arranged (at least some parts of) Schubert's *Deutsche Messe* for the same ensemble, including the *Sanctus*.

Although it is not explicit which Mass the Sanctus in the programme was excerpted from, it might have been the *Deutsche Messe*, as this was the only one composed by

158 Cf. Gianluca Petroni, *Il campo di concentramento di Campagna: storia e memoria dell'internamento ebraico durante la seconda guerra mondiale*, 2005 Campagna, Comitato Palatucci.

159 Fritz Spies (1893-1981), a composer and editor in Gevelsberg later acquired by Tonger Verlag-Köln.

Schubert on German lyrics instead of Latin, with special regard to the comprehension of the religious matter by poor and not educated people.¹⁶⁰ Coherently with the previous remarks, these arrangements for male choir might belong to the repertoire of an interneer (possibly a singer), who brought his own scores in Ferramonti: indeed, it would have been hardly unlikely to find such a repertoire in the Southern Italian context. However, this remains only a hypothesis, since precise information concerning scores are lacking.

Moreover, what seems really astonishing is the juxtaposition of two German composers (Schubert and even Beethoven) to two of the most famous Jewish songs, sung in Hebrew: *Adenof moloch* and *Jigdal*, arranged by Naumbourg¹⁶¹ and Mirski respectively.

Furthermore, absolutely surprising is the contrast with the second section of the programme: nothing is farther from the religious feeling of the first than *Tre giorni son che Nina*, a secular aria by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. Both the genre, the Italian language and the subject contribute to changing completely the atmosphere: the text is about the pains of a lover, whose beloved Nina is sick, or perhaps dead, and

160 *Deutsche Messe* (German Mass), D 872, is a mass composed by Franz Schubert in 1827. Its text is not the Latin liturgical text, but a sequence of poems in German by Johan Philipp Neumann, who commissioned the work. It was originally scored for SATB choir, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, three trombones, timpani and basso continuo. It is also known as the *Gesänge zur Feier des heiligen Opfers der Messe* ("Songs for the celebration of the holy offering of the Mass"), and the "Wind Mass" due to its orchestration of primarily wind instruments. The *Deutsche Messe* stems from a tradition of low masses, settings of religious texts in vernacular languages in Austria and southern Germany. Neumann wrote the German hymns, which Schubert scored in a block-chordal, homophonic style, suitable for congregational singing. Schubert commenced the work in December 1826, completing and publishing it in 1827. Schubert intended it for usage in Catholic church service. However, censorship prevented this from taking place; as an unauthorised German translation of the Mass, it was not approved for liturgical use. The work has gained popularity and has been translated into other languages.

161 Samuel Naumbourg (March 15, 1817, Dennenlohe, Bavaria - May 1, 1880, Saint-Mand , near Paris), was a French composer. Appointed professor of liturgical music at the S mestre Isra lite -Paris in 1845, he also officiated liturgical service in the synagogue of the Rue Notre-Dame de Nazareth at Paris, after having held the offices of chazzan and reader at Besan on and directed the choir of the synagogue at Strasbourg. Shortly before his death he was elected Officier d'Acad mie. He devoted himself to compose collections of Psalms, hymns and complete liturgies, among which: *Chants Liturgicaux des Grandes F tes*, *Zemiroth Yisrael*, *Shire Qodesh*, *Agudat Shirim* - a collection of religious and popular Hebrew songs. He also rediscovered and studied part of Salomone Rossi's opus.

therefore she has been lying in bed for three days. Apart from some doubts about the authenticity of the attribution to Pergolesi,¹⁶² the less solemn character of the aria is carried on by the following song *Saluto a Venezia* for four voice choir by Carlo Chiappani.¹⁶³ The following piece, again for a four-voice choir, is a song from *Loreley*, the *Winzer Chor* (*Harvesters-Choir*), an unfinished opera by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartoldy.¹⁶⁴

The third part, following the interval, is almost completely centered on popular songs of different geographical origins, sometimes arranged by Zins (Polish songs) or by Mirski (especially repertoire for choir) or still belonging to the Croatian

162 Despite the enormous popularity of the air, there are still serious doubts on the attribution of this piece. For about a century and a half, the air was attributed to Pergolesi and still, despite the lack of any evidence, various editions continue to bring back the traditional authorship. In parallel, the performance of the works *La Zingara* by Rinaldo da Capua (1753) and *Nina, ossia la pazza per amore* (1789) by Giovanni Paisiello often included this air in the representations, playing on homonyms of the protagonists of these compositions with the air title. The finding of the manuscript of the work *I tre ciccisbei ridicoli* by Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi seems to have solved the problems of attribution: it is a work of 1749, containing the air *Tre giorni son che Nina* consistently included in the narrative context. Since there are no reports of representations before 1749, it is believed the most likely author is Vincenzo Ciampi, but still some problems remain: the style would seem to imitate that of the Neapolitan music school rather than the Venetian one, to which Ciampi belonged. It is therefore possible that this air might have a different origin.

163 Carlo Chiappani (Trento, 1853 – 1928), author of the operas *Guardia al Morto* (1885) and *Nerina* (1889) was particularly influential in the music life of his hometown, for instance supporting the building of a Palace for the Philharmonic Society of Trento (active since 1795).

164 The protagonist is Leonore, the daughter of a small innkeeper on the Rhine, with whom the count of Palatine suddenly fell in love during her solitary wanderings. Although his love is returned by the maiden, he decides not to reveal his rank, being already engaged to a princess. His old servant, discovering his attachment, invites him to forsake Leonore. He promises to do so and to leave Leonore at the sunset, when he has to meet his bride at the church. Unfortunately, meeting his true love, he forgets this and it is Leonore upon the sound of the bells which reminds him to leave, without however knowing this is forever. A distant female chorus starts to sing Ave Maria and she can hear the song while looking at her love disappearing.

repertoire as adapted by other famous Croatian composers, such as Grgosević¹⁶⁵ and F. Lhotka,¹⁶⁶ the latter teacher of Mirski.

5.2.4 The Concert on December 6, 1942

The chronologically subsequent concert programme in the Kalk Archive is dated 24 Elul 5702, the III day of Hannukah, i.e. December 6, 1942 according to the Gregorian calendar. The celebration for the most important Jewish feast included a concert performed at 14.30 in the temple, to which all the internees including non-Jews were invited, and a following religious service sung by the choir.

The programme, which was made up of nine numbers, started with a choir of young children (first and second classes) with a German translation of the texts by the twelve-year-old Paul Hirsch,¹⁶⁷ a second number (*Hanukkah in der Kynzab*) was performed by all the children and consisted of three Jewish Lieder followed by a March (third and fourth classes) accompanied by the Lied *Jeled, jelled, jelled kat*,

165 Zlatko Grgošević (1900 - 1978) was a Croatian composer, music pedagogue, and writer on music. After studying composition at the Zagreb Academy of Music (graduating under Cipra in 1942), he continued his studies under Dukas in Paris. From 1922 to 1961 he was music pedagogue at several schools and wrote important textbooks in the field of music theory, appointed director of the division of arts, literature and the press at the Ministry of Religion and Education (1942-1945). He also worked as editor at the Croatian Radio in 1942-45 and 1947-51. Grgošević promoted a national style and most of his compositions are inspired by folk tunes, mainly from northern Croatia. He wrote mostly vocal compositions (solo and choral) on folk texts, but also piano pieces for children and some chamber and orchestral pieces; his song cycle *Od kolijevke do motike* ('From cradle to hoe', 1924) became particularly famous and his cantata *Žetva* ('Harvest', 1924) was the first Croatian folk ritual ceremony set to music. He wrote the screenplay and the libretto for the opera *Davo i njegov šegrt* ('Devil and his apprentice') by F. Lhotka, first performed in 1931, after the world-renowned ballet of the same composer, *Davo u selu* ('Devil at the village'), probably the utmost Croatian ballet.

166 Fran Lhotka (1883 - 1962) was a Croatian composer and conductor of Czech origin. He studied the horn and composition in Prague under, among the others, Dvořák. In 1909, he joined the Zagreb Opera orchestra. From 1920 to 1961 he was a professor at the Zagreb Academy of Music, and dean during the years 1923-40 and 1948-52. His musical style combines Croatian folk materials and late Czech Romantic elements, with strong contrasts and taste for the instrumentation.

167 Paul Hirsch, son of Otto Hirsch, was born in Brno, Czechoslovakia on June 1, 1929, captured in Lubiana and transferred to Ferramonti, where he remained till the liberation of the camp (source: annnapizzuti.it).

whose lyrics concern a small child celebrating Hannukah. This first part was directed by Lav Mirski and accompanied by Uri Sternberg at the piano.

The following number is a dramatization of the renowned biblical episode of David and Goliath, with two actors playing the main roles (Vlado Lang and Bruno Lehner, respectively) and Renato Sterensis as a poet-narrator (*Der Dichter*). The fourth piece is a “small ballet” (*Reigenspiel*) by the smallest children – probably from the Kindergarten, planned by the fourteen-year-old Lia Hauser.¹⁶⁸

The middle number is summarised as *Bilder der Arbeit aus Erez Jisrael*, i.e. “Work pictures from Israel land”, such as *Emek-Lied*,¹⁶⁹ a Jewish work song.

To Paul Hirsch is then given the speech entitled *Makkabaeer* by Mechel Zuckermann.¹⁷⁰ The programme is closed by a further speech Dr. Max Pereles,¹⁷¹ the representative of the Jewish community, noticeably by the Zionist hymn Hatikvah, after becoming the Israeli national anthem,¹⁷² and the typical gift-giving to children on Hannukah day.

168 The Hauser, of Polish origins, were among the passengers of the *Pentcho*. The Slovakian temporary passport issued to the family can be found at: <http://ourpassports.com/shipwrecked-internment-freedom/> (14.5.2017). Lia Hauser's uncle, Kaskiel Kirsch (b.1903), was probably employed as a music teacher at Ferramonti-Schule, as it appears on the signature register in the Kalk Archive: II. Ferramonti Tarsia b. 2, f. 24: “Organizzazione scolastica e corsi professionali”.
169 Nemtsov, Jascha, *Der Zionismus in der Musik: Jüdische Musik und nationale Idee*, 2008 Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, p. 177.

170 Mechel Zuckermann, son of Kalman Zuckermann, was born in Horodenka, Polen, on March, 5 1897. Arrested in Bengasi after he tried to reach Palestine from Trieste, he was transferred first to Ferramonti and in May 1943 to Eneo, Vicenza.

171 Dr. Pereles was a representative in Ferramonti of the Jewish Community (Cf. Lopinot's diary on August 16, 1941).

172 The current Israeli anthem (titled Hatikvah, i.e. “The hope”) was composed in 1878 by the poet Naftali Herz Inber and adopted as an anthem already in 1896 by the First Zionist Congress.

5.2.5 The Concert on July 27, 1941

As far as vocal music is concerned, a noteworthy sample of programme including operatic arias, popular music and *à la mode* songs, as well as early modern and classical composers, was already performed on July 27, 1941 held in the yard of the school. It seems useful to provide a resumé of the arias and songs performed on that occasion:

1. Caccini, Tu che hai le penne, Amore
Sarti, Lungi dal caro bene
2. Massenet, Aria dall' "Herodiade"
Leoncavallo, Romanza dalla "Zazà"
Mozart, Aria da "Le nozze di Figaro"
3. Tosti, La Serenata
Billi, Madonna fiorentina
Tosti, Vorrei morire
Tosti, La mia canzone
4. Brogi, Visione veneziana
Tirindelli, Di te
Sadaro, Amuri, amuri (canzone dei carrettieri siciliani)
5. Giordano, Aria dall' "Adrea Chenier"
Giordano, Canzonetta dalla "Fedora"
Verdi, Aria dal "Rigoletto"

Interpreters on that evening were Sigbert Steinfeld (baritone) and Dr. Bodgan Zins (accordion). At the bottom of the programme-sheet, a strict warning reminded to everyone «Ingresso soltanto contro presentazione di un programma numerato».

The concert is surprisingly opened by Giulio Caccini's *Tu ch'hai le penne, Amore* from *Euridice* (1602) - later also included in his famous collection *Le Nuove Musiche*, which seems to be the most ancient aria ever sung in Ferramonti.

The first, second and fifth part of the concert included popular arias from both eighteenth and nineteenth century operatic repertoire, such as Giuseppe Sarti's *Lungi dal caro mio ben* from *Giulio Sabino*,¹⁷³ Arias from Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*, Verdi's

¹⁷³ Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802) composed the drama *Giulio Sabino*, premiered in Venice (Teatro San Benedetto) in 1781. The libretto by Pietro Giovannini had been used also by Giuseppe

Rigoletto, Massenet's *Hérodiade*, Caccini's Romanza by Leoncavallo (from *Zazà*), an Aria and a Canzonetta by Giordano (from *Andrea Chenier* and *Fedora*, respectively). What still deserves to be considered are especially the third and fourth parts, where several less known or almost unknown composers seem to merge – with the only exception for Tosti. They all might be included in the category of popular music and Italian songwriters, curiously representing different regional traditions – from Venitian *Barcarole* to Sicilian *Carrettieri*.

As already mentioned, the most renowned was probably Francesco Paolo Tosti (1846 – 1916),¹⁷⁴ who wrote more than five hundred songs for voice and piano, whose lyrics were also written by poets such as Antonio Fogazzaro, Rocco Pagliara, Naborre Campanini and Gabriele d'Annunzio.

Vincenzo Billi (1869 – 1938) was a prolific composer who, after writing two operette *Al chiaro di luna* and *Scompartimento per signore sole*, revealed a particular inclination for popular music, with a vast production of songs, dance tunes, serenades for orchestra, of barcarolles for piano, the chamber songs, pieces for mandolin or violin and piano, operetta for adults and kids, etc. Many of these were printed in Firenze, Milano and Trieste and were widespread until the '60s, as well as famous waltz-like songs *Non ritornate rondini*, *Madrigale*, *Serenata interrotta*, *Pattuglia Cinese*, asf. In the last years of his activities, Billi was interested in poetry and popular songs. In particular, in 1936 he published in Firenze a book of selected

Giordani for his *Eponnina* in 1779. Giulio Sabino was among the works that *Le gelosie villane* (1776), *Medonte* (1777), *Fra I due litiganti* (1782) composed before his departure to St. Petersburg, where he succeeded Paisiello as director of the imperial chapel (1784). Cf. c David DiChiera, Maita P. McClymonds et alii, 'Sarti, Giuseppe' in *Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary* (15.05.2018).
 174 Francesco Paolo Tosti, pupil of Saverio Mercadante at the Conservatory of San Pietro a Majella in Naples, graduated in violin and composition in 1866. He started gaining celebrity as a singer in Rome where he was hired as a vocal coach for Margherita di Savoia, the future queen of Italy. After moving to London in the late '70s, in 1880 he entered the court of Queen Victoria as a singing teacher, thanks to the Lord Mayor and the support of the renowned cellist Gaetano Braga, who came from the same region. He maintained his position even under her successor, Edward VII. Throughout his English period, he continued to have relations with Italy, where he spent some periods regularly, deciding to settle in Rome upon the death of Edward VII (1910). Cf. Horner, Keith 'Tosti, Sir (Francesco) Paolo' in *Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary* (15.05.2018).

and arranged poems: *Battute d'arresto* and in 1937 the *Celebri stornelli* and *Canti popolari toscani*.

Concerning Renato Brogi (1873 – 1924), after his education at Firenze and Milano Conservatoires, his first affirmations were as an opera-composer: he won the Steiner competition in Vienna, with *La prima notte*, from a tale by Andersen, which was subsequently staged at Teatro Pagliano in 1898. After a second operatic work, *Oblivion*, a long silent period followed. However, the composer continued to dedicate himself to instrumental, choral and piano music and wrote several chamber songs on texts by Gabriele D'Annunzio, Giuseppe Carducci, Renato Fucini, Enrico Panzacchi et al., a genre which was also cultivated by Francesco Paolo Tosti, Giacomo Puccini, Pietro Mascagni and Ildebrando Pizzetti.¹⁷⁵ The work appearing in the programme, however, is from his later production, being included in the collection *Follie veneziane*.

The list of the pieces performed on July 27, 1941 is closed by a woman: under the pseudonymous of Geni Sadero, indeed, the signature of Eugenia Scarpa (1886 – 1961) is hidden. Song composer, aspiring opera singer, and vocal pedagogue, after her singing and piano studies (this last with Oscar Taverna), she debuted in 1914 as a soprano at Teatro Lirico in Milano. In 1919 she moved to Paris where she gave lecture recitals on Italian regional folksongs, later returning to Trieste and also teaching at the Accademia Santa Cecilia in Rome. Eugenia Scarpa also acted in three films - notably *La canzone d'amore* (1930), directed by Gennaro Rulers and based on a novel by Luigi Pirandello, *Il diario della donna amata* (1935) and *Amami Alfredo!* (1940). She eventually wrote the original music for the Swedish film *Two people*, with Lars-Erik Larsson.

175 Cf. Rodolfo Alessandrini, Aldo Reggioli, *Renato Brogi, il musicista dell'oblio*, 1994 Firenze, Polistampa.

No. I

Konzert

— L I E D E R und A R I E N —

Sonntag, den 23. März 1941 um 4 Uhr 30 im Schulsaal

Ausführende:

Sigbert Steinfeld (Bariton)
Dr. Walter Behrens (Violine)
Morris-Gornicki (Gitarre)

Leitung:
Isko Thaler

Programm:

1. Schumann: Frühlingsfahrt
Wolf: Der Musikant
Schubert: Der Tod und das Mädchen
Schubert: Ihr Bild
Schumann: Die beiden Grenadiere
2. Edvard Moritz: Mittag an den Tempeln von Paestum
Edvard Moritz: Das Lied vom Mutterland
Max Kowalski: Schnee im Frühling
Isko Thaler: Ghettoliedchen
Giordani: Caro mio ben
3. Beethoven: Ich liebe Dich
Wolf: Gesang Weyla's
Isko Thaler: Schlafend trägt man mich
Liszt: Es muss ein Wunderbares sein
4. Wagner: Ansprache Wolframs aus "Tannhäuser"
Wagner: Lied an den Abendstern aus "Tannhäuser"
Verdi: Aria di Germont della "Traviata"
Verdi: Aria e morte di Rodrigo del "Don Carlo"

Einlass nur gegen Vorweisung
eines nummerierten Programms.

Verspäteten Besuchern kann erst nach
dem 1. Teil Einlass gewährt werden.

cdec

*The programme of the concert performed on March 23, 1941.
ASCDEC – Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25,
"Istituzioni culturali e artistiche" fl. 23.*

11/2

K O N Z E R T

==== L I E D E R und A R I E N ====

Wiederholung am Montag, den 14. April 1941 um 4 Uhr 30.

Ausführende:

Sigbert S t e i n f e l d (Bariton)
Dr. Walter B e h r e n s (Violine)
Morris G o r n i e k i (Gitarre)

Leitung:

I s k o T h a l e r.

XXXXXXXXXX

PROGRAMM:

- 1.) Schumann: Aus den östlichen Rosen
Schumann: Zum Schluss
Beethoven: Ich liebe Dich
Schubert: Der Tod und das Mädchen
Schubert: Ihr Bild
Schumann: Die beiden Grenadiere
- 2.) Edvard Moritz: Mittag an den Tempeln von Paestum
Edvard Moritz: Das Lied vom Mutterland
Max Kowalski: Schnee im Frühling
Isko Thaler: Ghettoliedchen
Schumann: Frühlingsfahrt
- 3.) Giordano: Caro mio ben...
Wolf: Der Musikant
Wolf: Gesang Weyla's
Isko Thaler: Schlafend trägt man mich
Liszt: Es muss ein Wunderbares sein
- 4.) Wagner: Ansprache Wolfram aus "Tannhäuser"
Wagner: Lied an den Abendstern aus "Tannhäuser"
Verdi: Aria di Germont dalla "Traviata"
Verdi: Aria e Morte di Rodrigo dal "Don Carlo"

XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXX

EINLASS nur gegen Vorweisung eines
numerierten Programs.

Verspäteten Besuchern kann erst nach dem
1. Teil Einlass gewährt werden.

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*The programme of the concert performed on April 14, 1941.
ASCDEC – Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25,
"Istituzioni culturali e artistiche", fl. 24.*

I.

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nel cortile della scuola.

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1906. Soğan çimsi F isarmonica.

Программа.

- Arbe antiohe

di un programma numerato.

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The programme of the concert performed on July 27, 1941.
 ASCDEC – Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25,
 “Istituzioni culturali e artistiche”, fl. 25.

CONCERTO
Domenica 8 / 3 / 1942/XI, ore 19
Orchestra 16

CORO MASCHILE, con la partecipazione dei solisti:
Signora Ely Silberstein (soprano)
Signori Sigbert Steinfeld (baritono)
Dott. Jeremias Metzger (basso)
Bruno Weiss (baritono)
Rodolfo Marton (tenore)
Leszek Lipowicz (tenore)
Michele Adler (basso)

Accompagnamento: Dott. Bogdan Zime
e Prof. Ladislaw Sternberg.

Maestro concertatore e direttore: LAV FRITZ MIRSKI.

PROGRAMMA
=====

Parte Ia

1. Beethoven: La gloria di Dio
- 2a. Schubert: Spirito della verità
- b. " Sanctus
3. Numaourg: Adonaj moloch (Salmo 93)
4. F.F.Mirski: Jigdal solisti: Rodolfo Marton (tenore) e coro Bruno Weiss (baritono)

Parte Iia

5. Pergolesi: Tre giorni son che Nina
6. Chiappari: Saluto a Napoli
7. Mendelssohn: Coro dei Validimitatori (dall'opera incompiuta "LORELEY")
8. Verdi: Il Santo Nome (dall'opera "La forza del destino") solisti: Ely Silberstein (soprano) Sigbert Steinfeld (baritono) Bruno Weiss (baritono) e coro.

----- INTERVALLO -----

cdec

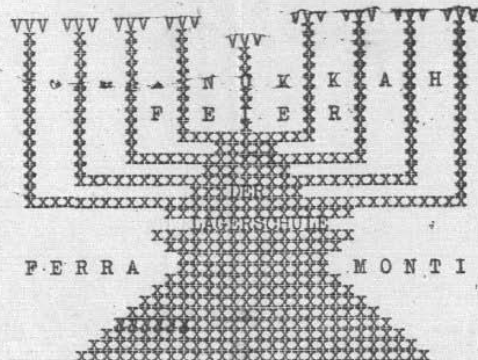
Parte Iiia

- 9.a) Zl. Gogusevic: Flava moma (Ragazza bionda)
b) L.F.Mirski: Oj jesenske duge noci (lunghe notti d'autunno)
c) E. Lhotka: Sto nam radi Dido stari (Gosa fa il nostro vecchio nonno) solista: Rodolfo Marton (tenore) e coro
- 10.a) Bogdan Zime: Canzoni popolari polacche solista: L. Lipowicz (tenore) e coro
- b) ... Leggenda pia solista: Dott. J. Metzger (basso) e coro
- c) ... armonizzato per coro da L.F.Mirski L'allegro studente solista: Bruno Weiss (baritono) e coro
- d) St. Binicki: armonizzato per coro da L.F.Mirski Tri devojke (Tre ragazze)
- 11.a) ... Ide furman doliju (Il carrettiere attraversa la vallata) solista: Michele Adler (basso) e coro
- b) ... Tecie voda (L'acqua scorre) solista: Rodolfo Marton (tenore) e coro
- c) ... Tanonaj vikroci (Danza in giro) armonizzato per coro da L.F.Mirski
12. Wagner: Coro dei Pellegrini (dall'opera "TANNHAUSER")

Il presente programma vale come biglietto d'ingresso.
I posti sono numerati.

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The programme of the concert performed on March 8, 1942.
ASCDEC – Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25,
"Istituzioni culturali e artistiche", fl. 26.1 and 26.2.



AM SONNTAG DEN 6. DEZEMBER 1942 UM 14.30 UHR IM ALLGEMEINEN TEMPEL.
Anschliessend festlicher Abendgottes-
dienst mit Chor.
SÄMTLICHE INTERNIERTE SIND HIERZU EINGELADEN.

P R O G R A M M .

- 1./ Al Hannissim -Sprechchor, Kl.I, II (die deutsche Über-
setzung spricht Paul Hirsch)
- 2./ Chanukkah in der Kwuzah (alle Kinder)
Liedereinlagen: a.Mi j'mallel
b.Hajoh hajah melech rascha
c.Anu nihjeh harischenim
Aufmarsch der Lichter (Kl.III, IV)
Lied: Jeled, jeled, jeled kat.
Zünden der Lichter (Földi Spiegel)
Maes zur
(Dirig: Prof.Mirski, Begl: Prof.Sternberg).
(Matthias Claudius)
Darsteller: Der Dichter - Renato Sterensis
David - Vlado Lang
Goliath - Bruno Lehner
- 3./ David und Goliath
- 4./ Boker, Lajlah, Schabbath
Jom tow Ein Reigenspiel der Kleinsten, einstudiert
von Lia Hauser, Kl.I.
- 5./ Bilder der Arbeit aus
Erez Jisrael a. S'riah (Beim Säen) -Melodie des Emekliedes.
b. Katif (Orangenernte) -Niggun-
c. Babbijnan (am Bau) -Lied: Nihje chulanu
chaluzim-
- 6./ Makkabäer (H.Zuckermann)-gesprochen von Paul Hirsch.
- 7./ Ansprache (Dr.Pereles)
- 8./ Hattikwah
- 9./ Bescherung der Kinder.

cdec

*The programme of the concert performed on December 6, 1942.
ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25,
"Istituzioni culturali e artistiche", fl. 47.*

5.3 *Lieder*

5.3.1 Ferramonti-Lieder in the Kalk Archive

The lyrics of some *Lieder* sung in Ferramonti are saved in the Kalk Archive¹⁷⁶ and they are probably part of the documentation that Sonnenfeld transmitted to Kalk as an example of such a musical performance.¹⁷⁷ Each of them is a parody of *Lieder* by the Viennese composer Hermann Leopoldi,¹⁷⁸ as Sonnenfeld himself reported. In fact, both titles and phraseological structures show several similarities (in Appendix B, references to Leopoldi's corpus are fully reported, side by side to Ferramonti-Lieder). Nevertheless, it is evident that each *Lied* has been retextualised according to the new context of the camp, using Southern-Italian instead of Viennese toponyms, personal names and specific situations which were most probably familiar to the internees, still keeping the closeness to the original source. It may be supposed that such references could sound very clear at least to Viennese - possibly Austrian - inmates.

As far as contents are involved, it could be supposed such a cryptic lingual code could serve to expose some illegal activities taking place in the camp by using metaphors and figurative slang. Consequently, the *Lied In einem kleinem Café in*

176 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, f. 25, fl. 27.

177 See the allusion to an "attachment" in the last lines of his memoirs (Appendices A-B).

178 Hermann Leopoldi was born in 1888 as Hersch Kohn; the family changed its last name to Leopoldi in 1921. During his extensive musical training, he worked as an accompanist, bar pianist and during WWI as an entertainer in variety shows for soldiers on the front. In 1922, the two Leopoldi brothers, along with Fritz Wiesenthal, opened and successfully led the *Kabarett Leopoldi-Wiesenthal*. However, the Kabarett was forced to close already in 1925, due to the increasing debt and Leopoldi continued his career on tour throughout Europe. In 1938, he attempted to emigrate to the USA with his wife, but he was arrested and sent first to Dachau and then to Buchenwald, where he performed his own songs for other prisoners (he was also the author of the *Buchenwaldlied*). In April 1939 Leopoldi managed to receive a visa and was released, reaching New York before the beginning of the war, where he could continue his career, performing Wiener *Lieder* in both German and English language and even running a Viennese musical café in New York. In 1949 he came back to his hometown and contributed to rebuild the cultural life, also performing all over post-war Germany, Austria and Switzerland. See "Music and the Holocaust": <http://holocaustmusic.org/places/camps/central-europe/buchenwald/leopoldihermann/> (30.05.2018).

Hernals might for instance allude to black market trade occurring in Ferramonti – expressions like «zwei Händler geben sie dor Rendezvous», although there «Du triffst täglich die Direktion» (supposed to be the “Lagerdirektion”) could be figurative expressions to report the handling of illegal goods. This would be also in accordance with a report by Kalk, stating that¹⁷⁹

Con protrarsi della Guerra, e con la conseguente ulteriore rarefazione dei viveri, l'alimentazione degli internati divenne sempre piu grave. Per fortuna, pero, era sorto un vivace commercio di generi alimentari introdotti di contrabbando e immessi al 'mercato nero' da internati che avevano la possibilita di lasciare transitoriamente il campo, da contadini, da operai che avevano il permesso di entrare nel Campo e, in parte, addirittura dai militi incaricati della sorveglianza degli internati.

Moreover, the people being supposed to meet *In einem kleinem Café in Hernals* (a district of Vienna) were corresponding most probably to real inmates in Ferramonti, who could theoretically have met at the local outlet (“dispaccio”) and whose names were slightly mangled in the lyrics, also due to metrical reasons.¹⁸⁰ For instance, Herr Kanner quoted in the last line of the Lied could refer to Philip Kanner, interned in Ferramonti from October 21, 1942 and also mentioned in Sonnenfeld’s memoirs as a participant of the Variété-Programm. In contrast, it is hard to state who the two Händler could be: perhaps the two Beckers (Josef and David, father and son, also interned in early 1942). No Herr Salz is listed in Anna Pizzuti’s database, but two Salzer existed, namely Edmund and Ernst, this latter a Viennese prisoner interned in May 1942. Naturally, these references are too vague and hypothetical. However, if at least some could be confirmed, they would help to date such Lieder, since all the prisoners apparently mentioned joined the community in Ferramonti after May 1942 and they might have stayed in the camp after the liberation.

179 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. “Ferramonti-Tarsia” b. 02, f. 20, fl. 3-4.

180 Cf. Appendix B: *In einem kleinem Café in Hernals*.

Similarly, *Schön ist so ein Kartenspiel* exposes the forbidden practice of cards or other games, potentially involving quarrels. Furthermore, an allusion to gambling could be seen in the use of the verb «riskieren».

The song *Schinkenfleckerl*, reporting bad nutrition or perhaps exposing mistreatment and unequal attitudes towards inmates, will be commented in § 5.3.2 in comparison with Frieda Rosenthal's *Dank dem lieben Cabaret*. Moreover, the Ferramonti-Lied *In Langenlois* remains the most ambiguous text, without clear references – maybe it could refer to the departure of many Jews (Jiden?) from the South of Italy after the liberation. Finally, assuming «Barifahrerei» in the Lied *Überlandpartie* to be «Bari-Fahrerei», i.e. a continuous travelling to and from Bari, the lyrics of this Lied could perhaps allude to unauthorised trips from and to the city.

5.3.2 Ferramonti Walzer and Comparisons with Lieder from Other Camps

Considering the few Lieder originating from Ferramonti in the wider framework of Lager-Lieder, first of all it should be remarked that the first definition of such vocal expressions was provided by Inge Lammel as follows:¹⁸¹

Der Terminus 'KZ-Lied' ist kein einheitlicher Begriff; er bezeichnet kein Genre, sondern umfaßt alle Lieder, die im Lager gesungen und spezielle Bedeutung erlangt haben. Hierbei handelt es sich in erster Linie um Neuschöpfungen, darüber hinaus konnten auch bekannte Lieder ihrer Funktion und Bedeutung nach zu KZ-Liedern werden.

As for *Lagermusik* in general, it is clear that such a category does not define any specific genre, but only a context of production. That is why Lammel classifies such Lieder in further sub-categories, with reference to their functions, rather than

¹⁸¹ Lammel, *Die Herausbildung der Arbeitermusikultur in Deutschland als Grundlage fuer eine sozialistische Musikentwicklung vor 1945*. Ms. Diss. Dissertation, 1975 Berlin, p.95, quoted in Fakler, *Die Lagers Stimme*, p. 235.

to specific musical features: (1) Marches; (2) Lieder with lyrical character; (3) political-satiric Songs and Couplets; (4) Volksongs; (5) Arbeiterlieder.

In his collection, also Alexander Kulisiewicz¹⁸² identifies some sub-categories, too, this time according to Lieder's thematic material: Lieder with direct, indirect or no thematic reference to Lager life, conditions and experience. It seems however coherent to broaden the perspective to further repertoire circulating after the WW2 and to mention, two main groups, as Fackler self does:

1) «KZ-Lieder in weiten Sinne», including «Lieder mit KZ-Thematik» and «unfunktionierte Lieder traditioneller Gattungen»;

2) «Kz-Lieder in engen Sinne», including actual «KZ-Lieder» and «KZ-Hymne».¹⁸³

The most interesting aspect of Fackler's classification is the introduction of the sub-class «Lager-Hymne». In his own words,¹⁸⁴

Sie stellen nicht nur durch ihren Titel, durch Namensnennung oder konkrete Beschreibung des Lagerstandortes eine direkte inhaltliche Verbindung zu einer spezifischen Haftstätte her, [...] sondern fungierten für die Häftlinge wie das Wachpersonal als eine Art Erkennungsmelodie des jeweiligen Lagers.

This sub-class particularly stresses the identity element. It is therefore possible to assert that Ferramonti Walzer belongs to this last sub-class of «Lager-Hymn».

It is not exactly known either when the Lied was composed or its composer and lyricist. According to Sonnenfeld, he composed the Lied himself on lyrics by Kaska: this seems to be plausible, as the two only existing manuscripts are in his own personal and in the Kalk Archive respectively,¹⁸⁵ together with Sonnenfeld's witness which contains the name of the text-writer - Kaska,¹⁸⁶ indeed, whose name appears also on several programmes as sketch-writer. The refrain reads as follows:

¹⁸² See n. 12.

¹⁸³ Fackler, *Die Lagers Stimme*, p. 238.

¹⁸⁴ Fackler, *Die Lagers Stimme*, p. 240.

¹⁸⁵ ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, f. 25, fl. 57.1 and 57.2.

¹⁸⁶ Ferdinand Kaska (b.1902) arrived to Ferramonti in January 1942 and was later among the ex-internees sailing from Napoli to Fort Ontario (Oswego, NY) in July 1944.

Das schönste Land, war so bekannt
 Das kann man sag'n ganz ohne Schand:
 Das ist ja nur Ferramonti.
 Und wer es hat so oft gesehn
 Der kann es sagen wie wunderschön
 Es ist in Ferramonti.
 Zeitig am Morg'n wo man erwacht
 Und die Sonn' durchs Fensterlacht
 Da kann ja nur sein Ferramonti.
 Und jede Frau die es hier gibt
 Ist gleich in jed'n stark verliebt.
 Ferramonti vergessen wir nicht.

Noteworthy, several themes appearing in Ferramonti Walzer are also present in different Lieder from Terezín. For instance, in the following by Leo Strauss, *Karussell*, the refrain recalls the idea that music and memory are strictly connected:¹⁸⁷ «Und die Musik von Laierkasten / vergessen wir in Leben nie, / wenn lang die Bilder schon verblaßteh, / tönt noch im Ohr die Melodie».

The music seems to offer a kind of relief to inmates and is especially therapeutic for children. There are several evidences of employment of music and singing in the school of Ferramonti and of the performance held by the young students (see § 5.4). This is a further affinity with Terezín, where music had a particular meaning for the young, as Manfred Greiffenhagen, in his *Lied Spuk in der Kaserne*, mentions:¹⁸⁸

[...] Sie [die jungen Menschenkinder]
 haben sich nach ihren Arbeitsstunden
 Die Lieder und die Tänze einstudiert
 Und echte Freude haben sie empfunden
 Als man mit ihnen dieses Spiel probiert.
 Was so entstand, - wer wollt'es kritisch trennen -
 Ist das Produkt von Wollen und von Können.

187 Cf. Migdal, Ulrike (edited by) *Und die Musik spielt dazu. Chansons und Satiren aus dem KZ Theresienstadt* Piper, München-Zürich, 1986.

188 Ibid.

Similar attitudes could be probably found in some Kinder-Lieder from Ferramonti. Moreover, the potpourri of different songs and repertoires was not a special practice in Ferramonti: due to the scarcity of means, instruments and to the extreme adaptability the inmates had to demonstrate, they were actually common in many forms of *Lagermusik*, also outside Italy. Sometimes they could represent an original and possibly more pleasant way to benefit from some music. In the Lied *Es ist serviert*, of an anonymous author from Terezín, the accent is exactly on the eclectic basis of the repertoire, humorously adapted:

[...] Wenn altvertraute Melodien erklingen,
Sind hoffentlich die Sorgen bald verscheucht,
Dazu noch wollen spielen wir und singen,
Dann ist die beste Stimmung bald erreicht.
Wir bringen jetzt die Revue,
Die man nie gesehn zuvor,
Heut gibt's ein Potpourri
Von Frauen, Liedern, Sketch, Couplets
Und alles mit Humor,
Alles schmackhaft arrangiert,
Solche Sachen fröhlich machen
Und entfachen bald zum Lachen,
Darum Achtung, - es ist serviert.

Not only seem these few verses to describe a very similar atmosphere as the one of the *Variété-programmen* and of the *Wiener Kabarett* in Ferramonti (see § 5.5): retextualizations and parodies of Wiener Lieder also occurred in the Souther-Italian camp, as it has been shown in § 5.3.1.

However, Lieder-texts were often the place of protests and complaints against the bad living conditions in the camp. A recurrent subject is hunger, from which inmates suffered more or less intensively during the whole war, depending on possibilities of supplying and distributing of first necessities. In this regard, the Lied by Frieda Rosenthal, a female author in Terezín, points out how music and

cabaret could represent a distraction for hungry people, whereas an anonymous author in Ferramonti, although appreciating «Schinkenflakers», still complains about his cereals-based meals and the lack of meat in the canteen's menu:

Dank dem lieben Cabaret

Dank dem lieben Cabaret
 Hungrig sitz ich auf der Leiter -
 Da erklingt auf einmal heiter,
 Wiener Walzer, Prager Weisen
 Und mein Herz geht gleich auf Reisen.
 In den Hof hinunter rasch,
 Daß ich noch ein Lied erhasch -
 Fort ist meines Hungers Weh,
 Dank dem lieben Cabaret
 [...]
 Klingt entzückende Musik,
 Melodie auf Melodie,
 Dargereicht mit viel Espirit -
 Fort ist bald des Tages Weh,
 Dank dem lieben Cabaret.
 Das sind unsre besten Truppen,
 Unsre braven Künstlergruppen.
 [...]

Schinkenfleckerl

Warum gebn die Einheitsküchen
 Uns das Fleisch stets nurzum Riechen?
 Ham die selbst net mehr
 Oder geben es bloss net her?
 Nur immer Ceci, Reis und Pasten
 Fast waersn besser ganz zu festen.
 I vergiss direkt,
 wie a Wiener Schnitzel schmeckt.
 Und bild ich mir schon? ein, heut gibts
 a Fleisch
 Da seh ich bald, dass i mi täusch.
 Je warum die Eidenheitsküchen
 Uns das Fleisch stets nurzum Riechen?
 Kennen Sie den Grund?
 Die ham Angst, die ham Angst, die
 ham Angst,
 Wir bleiben net gesund.

The means of irony is of course one of the most used, both sometimes in the form of light or self-irony – as, for instance, in the Lied *Schön ist so ein Kartenspiel* and in *In einem kleinen Café in Harlens* sung in Ferramonti and in a Lied by Leo Strauss, where the composer ironizes about his homonymous musicians.

Sometimes, however, it assumes also the form of a biting irony. Leo Strauss self is the author of a Lied, *Theresienstädter Fragen*, in which Terezín is ironically hosanned as «das modernste, antisemitischste, humanste, vornehmste, verträumteste, mondänste, hygienischste, kulanteste, verzwockteste Ghetto das die Welt heut hat». Astonishingly, the text seems to echo Ferdinand Kaska's verses, especially expressions like «Das schönste Land, war so bekannt [...] ist ja nur Ferramonti. /

[...] wie wunderschön / Es ist in Ferramonti». This rhetorical practice of expressing a concept by apparently asserting its contrary (antiphrasis) is common in several Lieder composed at Terezín, as for instance in Theodor Otto Beer's *Theresienstadt, die schönste Stadt der Welt*.

Furthermore, carrying on the thematic comparison between Ferramonti-Walzer and other songs from Terezín, the paradoxical reference to lightness, love and graceful female figures is also present in the Terezín-Lied, whose refrain says:

Ja wir in Terezín,
wir nehmen's Leben sehr leicht hin,
denn wenn es anders waer.
wärs ein Malheur.
Es gibt hier schöne Fraun,
ein Vergnügen sie anzuschau'n,
drum nehm ganz gern ich hin,
Terezín. [...]

Closely recalling the sunrays through the windows and the lovely women quoted in the Ferramonti-Walzer.

5.4 Ferramonti-Schule and Musical Education in the Camp

One of the problems connected with the presence of children and young people in the camp was ensuring them some kind of education. The shared awareness that the internment was just a temporary condition moved the adults to care of this aspect relatively early and with considerable efforts. As the ex-internee Gianni Mann recalls:¹⁸⁹

Dopo circa 6 [corrected: 3] mesi dalla fondazione venne il primo trasporto di famiglie con donne e bambini. Nuovi problemi, nuove preoccupazioni. Anzitutto per i bambini, la loro educazione scolastica e morale per non far

189 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 05, f. 64, fl. 2-3.

loro perdere degli anni preziosi E così fu creata anche la scuola di Ferramonti che entro i tre anni della sua esistenza vide più di 500 scolari, fra i quali persino i figli del direttore Salvatore. I maestri erano coloro che più appassionatamente amavano i bambini e i quali avevano qualcosa da dar loro. L'insegnamento era gratuito. Libri, matite, lavagne, tutto ciò che serviva, ci veniva donato da correligionari che avevano la fortuna di essere in libertà ed i quali col cuore e collo spirito stavano con noi e pensavano con tutti i mezzi a diminuire le nostre sofferenze morali. Pensavano anzitutto ai bambini, ai malati, ai vecchi, e ci fornivano di denaro, di vestiario, di medicine... di giocattoli, latte condensato e tante altre cose utili. [...] La scuola era divisa in classi e l'insegnamento procedeva secondo un dato programma, seguendo il più stretto possibile quello delle scuole pubbliche, in modo da facilitare ai giovani di continuare dopo la liberazione i loro studi. Il contatto fra genitori e maestri fu molto più stretto che di solito ed era di grande aiuto per l'andamento della scuola stessa. Per i più piccoli avemmo un asilo, dove i più piccoli giocavano, cantavano e si divertivano. Lo studio delle lingue era molto diffuso tra giovani ed adulti e c'era un'infinità di corsi per principianti, per avviati e per... "perfetti".

The timetable of lessons taking place in Ferramonti is unfortunately missing, but a similar one from the camp in Rhodes, from where many internees were transferred to Ferramonti, can still be found in the Kalk Archive.

Music, as already mentioned was an important aspect associated with education of children and adolescents: apart from individual instrumental instruction, music was one of the artistic subjects taught at the Ferramonti school, together with drawings. Syllabi of the courses, divided according to the classes, have also survived: children aged between three and five years were trained in choral singing with a folk repertoire at the Kindergarten. In the first classes, musical notation and harmonics were taught, while in higher classes lessons of acoustics and history of music took place. Furthermore, there is evidence of individual – most probably instrumental lessons in both interned musicians' memories (cf. for instance reports by Leon Levitch)¹⁹⁰ and also in the documents reporting professional activities in the camp – these last probably dating back after the liberation of the camp, although it is certain that working activities were allowed also by fascist guards.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ § 7.6.

¹⁹¹ ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, f. 18, fl. 13 reporting that music lessons by Mirski and Sternberg took place in barrack 9.



Kinderchor at Ferramonti-Schule. ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, Album 5, "Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia: fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yiddish e inglese"

SCUOLA DEL CAMPO DI CONCENTRAMENTO
PAGELLA — LAGERSCHULE — ZEUGNIS
FERRAMONTI

per il ... Semestre dell'anno scolastico
 fuer das ... Semester des Schuljahres
 dell'alunn..
 de.. Schueler.....

nato il a
 geboren am in
 Classeklasse.

| Materia Fach | Valutazione Bewertung | Insegnante Lehrer | Materia Fach | Valutazione Bewertung | Insegnante Lehrer |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Religione Religion | | | Geografia Erdkunde | | |
| Storia ebraica jued. Gesch. | | | Storia Geschichte | | |
| Ebreo Jidit | | | Storia natur. Naturkunde | | |
| Italiano Italienisch | | | Fisica Physik | | |
| Tedesco Deutsch | | | Musica Musik | | |
| Inglese Englisch | | | Disegno Zeichnen | | |
| Aritmetica Rechnen | | | Abilità manuale Handfertigkeit | | |
| Geometria Geometrie | | | | | |

CONDOTTA **DILIGENZA** **FORMA ESTERNA dei lavori scritti**
 Betragen Fleiss Aeusserere Form der schriftl. Arb.

Osservazioni **La Presidenza**
 Bemerkungen Der Vorstand

Ferramonti,

Traduzione delle Classificazioni: 1 = ottimo (sehr gut); 2 = buono (gut);
 Bewertung der Noten: 3 = sufficiente (genuegend); 4 = manchevole
 (mangelhaft); 5 = insufficiente (ungenuegend).

«Pagella/ Zeugnis» (report card) of Ferramonti-Schule: Music was one of the evaluated subjects.
 ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia, b. 2 fasc. 24,
 "Organizzazione scolastica e corsi professionali", fl. 73.

10 Regeln für jedes Schulkind!

Die Schule hat die Aufgabe, aus Dir einen Menschen mit reichem Wissen und klarem Denken zu machen, einen Menschen, der rein an Leib und Seele ist. Um diese Aufgabe erfüllen zu können, muss die Schule an Dein Verhalten die folgenden Anforderungen stellen:

- 1.) Komme frisch und sauber gereinigt zur Schule.
- 2.) Beginne nicht, in der Schule zu frühstücken; iss Dein Frühstück in Ruhe zu Haus.
- 3.) Fange keine Streitereien und Keilereien an.
- 4.) Sei pünktlich zum Schulbeginn in der Klasse. Ein zu spät kommendes Kind stört und schädigt den Unterricht.
- 5.) Entferne Dich während der Pausen nicht vom Schulgebäude. Verhalte Dich in den Pausen möglichst ruhig und kehre nach beendigter Pause sofort ins Klassenzimmer zurück.
- 6.) Wenn Dein Lehrer das Klassenzimmer betritt, erhebe Dich sofort und wünsche Deinem Lehrer einen "Guten Morgen". Sei auch ausserhalb der Schule stets höflich zu allen Lehrpersonen und grüsse sie stets zuerst. Deine Lehrer arbeiten unbezahlt für Dich. Sie verdienen, dass Du sie mit Achtung behandelst.
- 7.) Halte während des Unterrichts grösste Ruhe. Wer den Unterricht stört, schadet sich und den Kameraden, denn es ist den Lernbegierigen unmöglich, aufmerksam dem Unterricht zu folgen, wenn sie durch Lärm gestört werden. Du mutest auch der Stimmkraft Deines Lehrers zu viel zu, wenn Du ihn zwingst, den Lärm zu übertönen.
- 8.) Vergiss nicht, alles, was Du für den Unterricht brauchst, in die Schule mitzubringen (Hefte, Bleistifte, Bücher etc.).
- 9.) Sei stets aufmerksam während des Unterrichts, lass Dich nicht durch andere vom Unterricht ablenken und denke daran, dass Du nicht für den Lehrer lernst, sondern nur für Dich und dass Dir später fehlen wird, was Du heute nicht lernst.
- 10.) Gewöhne Dir ab, wenn Du glaubst etwas besser zu wissen, Deinen Kameraden vorzusagen. Du hilfst Deinen Kameraden nur, sich selbst zu betrügen, und ihr Wissen wird auf diese Art bestimmt nie grösser. Sie gewöhnen sich auf diese Weise nur daran, sich auf Andere zu verlassen und sind dann später unwissend und unselbständig.

Mache Deine Hausaufgaben in grösster Sorgfalt!

Denk daran! Hast Du etwas auf dem Herzen, geh zu Deinem Lehrer, er will Dein Freund sein und Dir gerne helfen. Dein Lehrer freut sich, wenn Du Interesse für den Unterricht zeigst und wenn Du durch Fragen selbständiges Denken beweist.

School Regulations: Besides the general rules of the camp, a specific student code of conduct existed. ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia, b. 2 fasc. 24, "Organizzazione scolastica e corsi professionali", fl. 73.

| LEHRPLAN | | | | | | | | | | RICHI | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| MONAT | JWRT | RELIGION | DEUTSCH | ITALIEN. | ENGL. | GESCHICHTE | ERBKUNDE | RECHNEN | RÄUMLEHRE | NATURKUNDE | TURNEN | MUSIK | SCHREIBEN | ZEICHNEN | EINRICHTUNGSPLAN | | | | |
| NOVEMBER | 1. - 7. | Religion: Evangelium, Briefe, Psalmen, Lieder, Gebete, Fasten, etc. | Deutsch: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Italien: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Engl: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Geschichte: Mittelalter, Neuzeit, etc. | Erbkunde: Pflanzen, Tiere, etc. | Rechnen: Arithmetik, Algebra, etc. | Räumlehre: Geometrie, etc. | Naturkunde: Physik, Chemie, etc. | Turnen: Gymnastik, etc. | Musik: Musiktheorie, etc. | Schreiben: Kalligraphie, etc. | Zeichnen: Zeichnung, etc. | Einrichtungsplan: Schulplan, etc. | | | | |
| DEZEMBER | 8. - 14. | Religion: Evangelium, Briefe, Psalmen, Lieder, Gebete, Fasten, etc. | Deutsch: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Italien: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Engl: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Geschichte: Mittelalter, Neuzeit, etc. | Erbkunde: Pflanzen, Tiere, etc. | Rechnen: Arithmetik, Algebra, etc. | Räumlehre: Geometrie, etc. | Naturkunde: Physik, Chemie, etc. | Turnen: Gymnastik, etc. | Musik: Musiktheorie, etc. | Schreiben: Kalligraphie, etc. | Zeichnen: Zeichnung, etc. | Einrichtungsplan: Schulplan, etc. | | | | |
| JANUAR | 15. - 21. | Religion: Evangelium, Briefe, Psalmen, Lieder, Gebete, Fasten, etc. | Deutsch: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Italien: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Engl: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Geschichte: Mittelalter, Neuzeit, etc. | Erbkunde: Pflanzen, Tiere, etc. | Rechnen: Arithmetik, Algebra, etc. | Räumlehre: Geometrie, etc. | Naturkunde: Physik, Chemie, etc. | Turnen: Gymnastik, etc. | Musik: Musiktheorie, etc. | Schreiben: Kalligraphie, etc. | Zeichnen: Zeichnung, etc. | Einrichtungsplan: Schulplan, etc. | | | | |
| FEBRUAR | 22. - 28. | Religion: Evangelium, Briefe, Psalmen, Lieder, Gebete, Fasten, etc. | Deutsch: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Italien: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Engl: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Geschichte: Mittelalter, Neuzeit, etc. | Erbkunde: Pflanzen, Tiere, etc. | Rechnen: Arithmetik, Algebra, etc. | Räumlehre: Geometrie, etc. | Naturkunde: Physik, Chemie, etc. | Turnen: Gymnastik, etc. | Musik: Musiktheorie, etc. | Schreiben: Kalligraphie, etc. | Zeichnen: Zeichnung, etc. | Einrichtungsplan: Schulplan, etc. | | | | |
| MÄRZ | 29. - 31. | Religion: Evangelium, Briefe, Psalmen, Lieder, Gebete, Fasten, etc. | Deutsch: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Italien: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Engl: Grammatik, Lesestücke, Diktate, etc. | Geschichte: Mittelalter, Neuzeit, etc. | Erbkunde: Pflanzen, Tiere, etc. | Rechnen: Arithmetik, Algebra, etc. | Räumlehre: Geometrie, etc. | Naturkunde: Physik, Chemie, etc. | Turnen: Gymnastik, etc. | Musik: Musiktheorie, etc. | Schreiben: Kalligraphie, etc. | Zeichnen: Zeichnung, etc. | Einrichtungsplan: Schulplan, etc. | | | | |

«Stoffverteilungsplan» (study plan) of the Rodbes-Schule, later brought to Ferramonti
 ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia, b. 2 fasc. 24,
 "Organizzazione scolastica e corsi professionali", fl. 52 and 53.

5.5 *Jazz and Kabarett Musik*

As far as various forms of entertainment music are concerned, it seems noteworthy to pay attention also to the context in which Ferramonti was settled and to some new rapidly increasing phenomena: jazz music and radio broadcasting.¹⁹²

5.5.1 Jazz Music

At national level, the musical press was not strictly influenced by the fascist ideology till the first half of the '20s and contrasting reviews concerning the first jazz-bands in Italy can be found in the coeval newspapers. What deserves more attention, however, is the fact that most journalists and critics had little or no education as far as jazz music was concerned and consequently were lacking not only to any historical degree in understanding the new language, but also any awareness of such a music genre, as long as formal, instrumental and rhythmical features were concerned. That is why it was not rare to find in the newspapers descriptions as the following one, aimed at explaining to the readers the birth of such new rhythms and sounds.¹⁹³

192 The most extensive monograph concerning jazz music in Italy under the fascism is by Adriano Mazzeletti, *Il jazz in Italia. Dalle origini alle grandi orchestre*. 2004 Torino, EDT. In addition, also Luca Cerchiari, *Jazz e fascismo. Dalla nascita della radio a Gorni Kramer*, 2003 Palermo, L'Epos may be quoted. The literature about the relationship between popular music, Italian song, entertainment and radio broadcasting, includes:

Gioachino Lanotte, "Segnale Radio". *Musica e propaganda radiofonica nell'Italia nazifascista 1943-1945*, 2014 Perugia Morlacchi Editore and "Il quarto fronte". *Musica e propaganda radiofonica nell'Italia liberata 1943-1945*, 2012 Perugia Morlacchi Editore; Gianni Isola, *Cari amici vicini e lontani: storia dell'ascolto radiofonico nel primo decennio repubblicano, 1944-1954*, 1995 Scandicci, La nuova italia; Id., *Abbassa la tua radio, per favore...: storia dell'ascolto radiofonico nell'Italia fascista*, 1990 Scandicci, La nuova italia; Antonio Papa, *Storia politica della radio in Italia*, 1978 Napoli, Guida; Pietro Cavallo, Pasquale Iaccio, *Vincere! Vincere! Vincere! Fascismo e società italiana nelle canzoni e nelle riviste di varietà 1935-1943*, 2003 Napoli, Liguori.

193 Adriano Mazzeletti *Il jazz in Italia. Dalle origini alle grandi orchestre*. 2004 Torino, EDT, p. 23.

I jazz bandisti fecero subito Tesoro delle raganelle e degli altri strumenti che la sensibilità di Riccardo Strauss aveva aggiunti all'orchestra per la sua Salomé; e poiché il suono delle trombe era troppo delicato, troppo vibrante, fu applicato a esse un barattolo di latta [...] questo strumento era il saxophono, ed è oggi uno dei più caratteristici e graditi elementi del jazz. E l'Africa non c'entra nulla [...] I negri che l'hanno regalato all'umanità non avevano visto l'Africa [...] neppure sullo schermo del cinematografo e i balletti arabi non c'entrano nemmeno. L'abolizione della schiavitù ridiede la libertà anche alle mani e ai piedi, ed essi, liberi dalle catene, espressero nel ritmo e nel canto l'ebbrezza e la gioia di vivere.

Even the name of the genre itself deserved some explanations, with regard to its writing and pronunciation:¹⁹⁴

Chi scrive e pronuncia 'lo jazz' ignora che la 'j', semivocale, ha il suono 'g' e perciò deve essere preceduta dall'articolo 'il'.

The interest in the new genre was however so high and its musical features represented such an oddity and extravagance to the ear of the ordinary Italian listener that the word "jazz" ended up with being included even in special sections, providing again fanciful explanations and descriptions:¹⁹⁵

UNA PAROLA AL GIORNO: JAZZ

Parola di origine Americana (pronuncia: gezz) di ignota origine che significa per i vocabolari di lingua inglese musica sincopata (di ritmo *invertito*), ballo e ballare secondo questa musica; od anche per metafora rumore, fracasso, disaccordo [...]. Da noi usata nei due primi significati spesso associata con band (pron. Bend), che non è altro che la nostra banda, orchestra, composta solitamente per questa musica di piano, violino, saxofono, banjo (pron. Benjò) [...] tamburi e piatti.

Jazz indica tanto una tecnica per suonare qualsiasi musica che comprende giochi e scherzi di tono e di ritmo, effetti musicali, etc. [...] La sua origine è ritenuta casuale per qualche *insubordinazione* di qualche elemento dell'orchestra, o della ricerca di effetti particolari per far divertire il pubblico [...] Jazz ci pare una parola intraducibile, né siamo entusiasti del giazzo proposto da taluno. Limitandoci a pronunciare bene jazz; *alla anglica band a sostituire orchestra da o per jazz* [...] o simili.

194 Mazzeletti, *Il jazz in Italia. Dalle origini alle grandi orchestre*, p. 134.

195 Ibid., p. 135.

This last quotation, dating back to the 1932, witnesses a change in the press from the '20s to the '30s and the awareness that jazz music was rapidly growing in popularity. The same tendencies might be detected with special reference to the Calabrian context, where jazz represented a sort of¹⁹⁶

Movida ante litteram, per il tempo libero dei calabresi degli anni venti singolarmente in sintonia con il brioso Nord-America del tempo. [...] La denominazione di jazz band [fu] affibbiata ad una [qualsiasi] formazione che probabilmente eseguiva musica americana.

It is worth underlining that surely the use of the term was quite generic and inaccurate, often just a synonymous of a particular instrumentation or timbre and rhythmical features due to the percussions of a drum in the band. Consequently, the spread of the new genre was supported by greater enthusiasm rather than real awareness of its musical features, especially at a time when new dramatic events were about to destabilize the political context. Furthermore, till that moment the peripheral position of Cosenza compared to Calabria and of the Calabrian region compared to Italy had played an unhelpful role, by moderately exposing Calabrian people to the musical innovations.

However, the early '30s were characterised by a rising awareness and understanding of jazz music and by a wish to deepen knowledge regarding the “swinging style”. With reference to the regional context, it should be pointed out that by the time two main changes occurred: first, a more precise idea of the new jazz genre and a specific taste for some rhythms started spreading among the audience; second, the arrival of sound films to Cosenza and its province suddenly left many musicians - especially pianists, previously employed during the broadcasting of mute films - without work. Consequently, they found a second employment in several pubs, jazz bands and café-concertos, nourishing the fruition of jazz music. They had a close connection to the theatrical performance, too.¹⁹⁷

196 Furfaro, *Brutium graffiti. Il jazz a Cosenza nel '900*, 2015 Cosenza, CJC, p. 26.

197 Furfaro, *Brutium graffiti*, p. 27.

Unfortunately, already around the '33 the climate was going to change. In 1936, immediately after the invasion of Ethiopia, the exacerbation of aggressive international policies was already evident and racist propaganda was all the rage. The economic fines applied by the Society of Nations as a punishment following the aggression against another state, implied a restriction in trade with France and remarkably with the USA, from where the vinyl discs were imported. The consequences for jazz music were even worsened by racial discriminations, exploding in 1938 with the imposition of the racial laws. If some programmes were absolutely cancelled and some music strictly forbidden and censored, some others were renamed or subjected to a deep revision. The local reality was reflecting on a regional basis what was already going to happen in the nation. Several decided to align themselves to the policies of the regime: several Calabrian artists decided to emigrate, for instance to South America, like Antonio Lauro (Pizzo), Emilio Capizzano (Rende), Enrique Cadicamo; on the contrary, others preferred to adhere openly to the fascist ideology, like the ethnologist and futurist Armando Muti (Lago – Cosenza), who composed both the anthology *Il tradizionalismo Calabrese* and *Adunata fascista*, closely working with the local fascist authorities.¹⁹⁸ A special attention was paid by the regime to operatic production:

Per l'opera, il Cosentino veniva direttamente “coinvolto” in una produzione in linea con le direttive centrali romane. Era quando a Montalto Uffugo piombava la troupe di *Pagliacci*, per girarvi un film in esterni (era la prima volta in Calabria) ispirato al celebre melodramma di Ruggero Leoncavallo. Lo stesso anno la radio “sdoganava” un'opera di Maurizio Quintieri, prima intitolata *La rosa di Sion*; poi, entrata in vigore la legge razziale antiebraica e ridenominata *La rosa di Cirene*, se ne trasmetteva la danza del secondo atto, previa approvazione della specifica commissione dell'Eiar.

198 Mazzeletti, *Il jazz in Italia. Dalle origini alle grandi orchestre*, p. 261.

The general situation preceding the beginning of the war could be effectively summarised in the epigraphic motto attributed to Gorni Kramer: «non dovevano esserci canzoni straniere, non autori ebrei, vietatissimo il jazz».

During the conflicts, living conditions became dramatically worse and to the already precarious economical situation of Calabrians, the costs of the war had to be added. Therefore, when the first English bombs reached Cosenza and its surroundings, a general feeling of fear and hopelessness pervaded both the inhabitants and the internees in Ferramonti, too, due to the uncertainty of their future.¹⁹⁹

Nel '43 Cosenza era bombardata. [...] La guerra lasciava uno strascico di lutto e macerie, anche a Cosenza. E non sarebbe stato facile rivitalizzare lo spirito, la spensieratezza della Cosenza degli anni '20, quando si ballava al ritmo di jazz-band. E degli anni '30, quelli celebrati da Ciardullo per la presenza di locali e ritrovi estivi.

5.5.2 Radio Broadcasting and Popular Music

In such a context, a further aspect deserves a particular attention, namely radio broadcasting. As far as the South of Italy is concerned, already in 1932, Radio Bari²⁰⁰ had started entering the houses of several listeners, thanks to the new communication means, i.e. the radio device, whose widespread use was actually favoured by the regime for propagandistic reasons. The first programme, for

199 Furfaro, *Brutium graffiti*, p.34. Michele De Marco (1884-1954), in art “Ciardullo” was an anti-Fascist poet, playwright and Italian journalist, author of dramas, farces and comedies in Calabrian dialect.

200 Established in 1932, with a ceremony at the presence of the Duke of Aosta, it had its headquarters in the so-called “Milano del Sud”, i.e. the most flourishing city in the South of Italy, which in a generation had seen its population doubled (from ca. 90.000 in 1901 to 190.000 in 1936), the opening of a University and the most relevant industrial development of the whole region. According to the fascist propaganda, Bari represented also the most strategic port towards East, both for trade and territorial expansion. The establishment of a radio-broadcast in the city and its rapid growth was anything but random.

instance, included a concert for solo, choir and orchestra conducted by Biagio Grimaldi (at the piano: Dantone Marrone) and the performance of Magri's *Stabat Mater*. Soon afterwards, apart from the Polifonica of Grimaldi and the Military Band, popular music started to be broadcast.

This was probably the kind of music which could be listened to in Ferramonti camp in its early years: although the possession of radio devices was formally forbidden,²⁰¹ several witnesses report their presence in the camp, which were plausibly belonging to the authorities.

Evidences of radios in Ferramonti can be found indeed in both *Lieder*-texts - particularly *In einem kleinen Cafe in Hernals*, where a radio is mentioned, although without a clear reference²⁰² - but also in several memoirs of ex-internees, such as Oscar Klein, who claimed to have first listened to jazz music in his life while being at the camp, and Gianni Mann, who attests that listening to the radios was an ordinary practice in Ferramonti,²⁰³ even including the forbidden listening to the Allied Radio by the camp director himself, Paolo Salvatore.²⁰⁴

Furthermore, a radio device is mentioned in an odd episode reported by Kalk,²⁰⁵ according to whom a fascist guard named Oliva (first name not known), an amateur composer, desiring to take part in a musical competition, forced some renowned musicians of the camp - particularly Mirski and Sternberg - to help him in composing a song, entitled *L'Italia vincerà*, in order to attend the competition. According to Kalk's report, the involved musicians would have listened to the result announced by Radio Roma declaring their composition as the winner: apparently, a song actually written by Jewish composers and supporting the war was awarded in a fascist musical contest (!).

Unfortunately, such a report is not dated, which makes therefore difficult to support the anecdotic episode with historical and verifiable evidence.

201 See § 4.5.2 Regulation in the camp of Ferramonti, especially art. 5.

202 Cf. *In einem kleinen Cafe in Hernals* (Appendix B).

203 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, fasc. 24.

204 This was of course forbidden both inside and outside the camp.

205 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, fasc. 24.

Nevertheless, *L'Italia vincerà* may have been composed in the first phases of the war, considering how the treatment of the “victory theme” progressively changed as Italian defeats left little optimism about war outcomes.

As reported by Gioachino Lanotte, at the beginning of 1943 the contrast between the optimism and the realistic military difficulties was getting more and more evident and the echoes of songs praising for war and victory tended gradually to vanish. This was interestingly stigmatised by the authors of Cantacronache in *Le canzoni della cattiva coscienza*: «il “vincere” squillante dei primi mesi di Guerra è diventato un “bisogna vincere” mormorato a denti stretti da un popolo esausto, oppresso ed affamato».²⁰⁶

What is certain, Radio Bari played a fundamental role in freed Italy, also from a musical viewpoint, as jazz music could benefit from its technological support and key-figures like Vitale:²⁰⁷

Le scelte musicali di Vitale e soci – improntate su una linea modernamente aperta verso stili d'oltreoceano ma incorporate in un ‘pensiero’ melodico e di un tessuto armonico attento alla tradizione del belcanto italiano -sono fondamentali nel modellare il gusto del pubblico e contribuiscono a sagomare un nuovo modello di canzone italiana.

Such a phenomenon took the form of a slow course, rather than a fast colonisation, as effectively summarised by Lanotte: a sort of osmotic process between international cultural models and local musical expressions, which did not start with “the arrival of the Americans”, as it has been already shown.²⁰⁸

206 The quotation is reported in Gioachino Lanotte, “Segnale radio”. *Musica e propaganda radiofonica nell'Italia nazifascista 1943-1945*, 2014 Perugia, Morlacchi Editore, p. 40. Cantacronache was an association found in Torino in 1957 by artists and intellectuals such as Fausto Amodei, Franco Fotini, Italo Calvino, et al. with the purpose of introducing chronical and actual themes in the Italian song.

207 Gioachino Lanotte, “Il quarto fronte”. *Musica e propaganda radiofonica nell'Italia liberata 1943-1945*, 2012 Perugia, Morlacchi Editore p. 63.

208 Ibid. p. 64.

Basti pensare alla lacunosa censura fascista, alla scarsamente recepita autarchia sulla musica di importazione, all'ascolto di emittenti estere che cresce progressivamente nel tormentato triennio di guerra, al vastissimo repertorio canori arricchito anche da traduzioni di canti stranieri (soprattutto russi) che accompagna l'antifascismo dai suoi esordi alla lotta di Liberazione. [...] Tutti questi elementi riferiscono del fallimentototalitario di far collimare i confini culturali con quelli statuali.

On a concrete basis, this was facilitated by some circumstances. Firstly, Radio Bari was one of the most powerful broadcasting stations, specifically designed to be received abroad for propagandistic purposes. Since the broadcasting equipments had been preserved during the Nazi withdrawal, Radio Bari could become the most widespread voice of freed Italy – as it was described in its slogan – and could be listened to also in the RSI. Moreover, with reference to music, the PWB's control was considerable on spoken broadcast and circulating news, but quite scarce on musical genres and contents.

Consequently, due to its specific features, in the first month of 1944, Radio Bari helped to draw the new cultural and musical borders of freed Italy, by broadcasting “local” forms of jazz music and favouring contaminations of different genres, and represented an unavoidable experimental laboratory for the future radiophonic national broadcasting service (RAI, originating from EIAR).

It seems noteworthy that some of the ex-internees in Ferramonti cooperated to the musical broadcasting of Radio Bari and to musical activities in freed Italy: above all Lav Mirski, as a conductor of the Allied Orchestra in Bari, followed by prominent figures like Uri Sternberg, who performed several concerts for the Army and Isko Thaler, who became an arranger of popular songs after the war.

5.6 *Concerts After Liberation*

The first concrete aid, however, was already evident in Autumn 1943, as a response to the bombing suffered by Cosentine citizenry on April 12, 1943.²⁰⁹ Seven months later, the ex-internees in Ferramonti arranged a charity concert, under the patronage of the Allied Command, in favour of the people injured in the bombing (“sinistrati”).

In the immediate aftermath of the liberation and on the background of the civil war consuming Italy, it is astonishing that, while in the North of Italy the Government of the RSI was drafting its own Manifesto,²¹⁰ almost on the same days the charity concert was taking place at Cinema Italia, in Cosenza, under the baton of Mirski, as some pictures reveal.

5.6.1 The Charity Concert in Favour of Injured Civil Population

The programme (see p. 134) included the most popular Italian operatic composers. It should be reminded that such a concert was especially organised for the population of Cosenza and was held outside the camp. Above all, arias from Puccini’s and Verdi’s most renowned operas were performed, such as arias from *Bohème*, *Tosca*, *Madama Butterfly*, *Rigoletto*, *Un ballo in maschera*, *Simon Boccanegra*, *Il trovatore* and a choir from the first act of *Aida*.

Moreover, several other popular composers in Italy at that time, like Rossini (cavatina from *Barbiere di Siviglia*), Mayerbeer (aria from *L’Africaine*), Giordano (aria from *Andrea Chenier*)²¹¹ were performed.

209 Cf. Lopinot’s diary on April 12, 1943 in Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p. 133.

210 This new Manifesto declared all Jews foreign enemies regardless of their previous citizenship and therefore condemned them to deportation and to the confiscation of their properties, to be destined in favour of poor people injured during enemy attacks. (Cf. *Carta of Verona*, November 14-16, 1943).

211 Possibly the same Aria performed on April 14 and/or July 27, 1941 in the camp.

By comparing such a programme with the list of most performed Italian operatic composers of the past with reference to the seasons between 1935-36 and 1942-43,²¹² it might be stressed that the choice showed a strong reference to the taste and habits of the Italian audience in that period.

Some foreign authors were on the programme, too, such as Saint Saens (aria from *Samson et Dalila*) and noteworthily Mendelssohn (the Lied *Es weiß und rät es doch keiner*, op. posth. 99, lyrics by Josef von Eichendorff) and Halévy (aria from *La Juive*), whose music was banned elsewhere due to their Jewish origins.

Additionally, Romantic piano pieces (as *Liebetraum* by Liszt and *Berceuse* by Godard) and virtuoso solos (like *Czarda* by Monti and *Polonaise* in A Major, op. 40 n. 1 by Chopin) were interpreted by further musicians featuring on that particular occasion: the soprano Lidia Finger, the bass Geremia Metzger, the violinist Adolfo Messerschmitt.

| Autori | 1935-36 | | 1936-37 | | 1937-38 | | 1938-39 | | 1939-40 | | 1940-41 | | 1941-42 | | 1942-43 | | Totale |
|----------------|---------|---|---------|---|---------|---|---------|---|---------|---|---------|---|---------|---|---------|---|--------|
| | O | B | O | B | O | B | O | B | O | B | O | B | O | B | O | B | |
| 1. Bellini | | | | | | 2 | | 1 | | 2 | | 4 | | 3 | | | 12 |
| 2. Boito | 2 | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 9 |
| 3. Busoni | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | 2 | | | | | 4 |
| 4. Catalani | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 3 | | | | | 1 | | | 7 |
| 5. Cherubini | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 6. Cimarosa | 2 | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 5 |
| 6. Donizetti | 6 | | 5 | | 5 | | 3 | | 6 | | 4 | | 3 | | 2 | | 34 |
| 8. Leoncavallo | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 3 | | 1 | | 6 |
| 9. Monteverdi | | | 2 | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 2 | | 6 |
| 10. Paisiello | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 11. Piccinni | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| 12. Ponchielli | 3 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 6 |
| 13. Puccini | 10 | | 10 | | 11 | | 13 | | 14 | | 12 | | 12 | | 5 | | 87 |
| 14. Rossini | 3 | | 5 | | 5 | | 2 | | 4 | | 3 | | 5 | | | | 27 |
| 15. Spontini | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 16. Vecchi | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 17. Verdi | 12 | | 13 | | 14 | | 14 | | 13 | | 15 | | 12 | | 12 | | 105 |

315

²¹² The list of past composers whose operas and balletos were performed by independent theatres is provided by Fiamma Nicolodi in:

Fiamma Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel Ventennio fascista*, 1984 Firenze, La Nuova Italia, p.25.

MAESTRO CONCERTATORE E DIRETTORE: PROF. LAV MIRSKI

DELL'OPERA DI JUGOSLAVIA

Accompagnamento Pianoforte: Prof. Ladislao Sternberg

ESECUTORI

soprano Lidia Finger
Elli Silberstein
mezzosoprano Dora Mentlik
tenore Sigismondo Mentlik
baritono Paolo Gorin

baritono Bruno Weiss
basso Geremia Metzger
pianista Prof. Ladislao Sternberg
violinista Maestro Adolfo Messerschmitt

CORO MASCHILE DI FERRAMONTI

PROGRAMMA

PARTE PRIMA

- | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.a. Vilhar: | Cresci, cresci, rosa | } Coro uomini | 4.a. Halevy: | Aria dall'opera "L. Ebreo , |
| b. Zaganec: | Bevi, cara, bevi | | b. | Ej uchnjem |
| c. Verdi: | Scorrendo uniti, dall'opera " Rigoletto , | | basso Dott. Geremia Metzger | |
| d. | I dodici banditi | | | |
| basso dott. | Geremia Metzger e coro | | 5.a. Puccini: | Aria dall'opera "Madame Butterfly , |
| 2.a. Godard: | Ninna nanna | } Violonista M. Adolfo Messerschmitt, con accompagnamento pianoforte di Ladislao Sternberg | b. Verdi: | Aria dell'Amelia, dall'opera " Un ballo in maschera , |
| b. Monti: | Csardas | | soprano Elli Silberstein | |
| c. Polykoff: | I canari | | | |
| 3.a. Mendelsohn: | Ognuno lo sa e nessuno lo indovina | | 6.a. Verdi: | Scena del tempio, dall'opera "Aida , |
| b. Puccini: | Aria della Mimi dall'op. " La Boheme , - soprano Lidia Finger | | | I atto - coro uomini e solisti |

PARTE SECONDA

- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 7. Verdi: | Aria dall'opera Simone Boccanegra | 10.a. Giordanes: | Aria dell'opera "Andrea Chenier , |
| | baritono Bruno Weiss | b. Rossini: | Cavatina dall'opera "Barbiere di Siviglia , |
| 8.a. Verdi: | Aria dell'Azucena, dall'opera " Il Trovatore , | | baritono Paolo Gorin |
| 9.b. Saint Saens: | Aria dall'opera " Sansone e Dalila , | 11.a. Puccini: | Aria dall'opera "La Boheme , |
| | mezzosoprano Dora Mentlik | b. Puccini: | Aria dall'opera "Tosca, III atto |
| | | c. Meyerbeer: | Aria dall'opera "L'Africana , |
| | | | tenore Sigismondo Mentlik |

PARTE TERZA

- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 12.a. Liszt: | "Sogno d'Amore, N. 3 | 14.a. Verdi: | Duetto dall'opera "Aida , |
| b. Chopin: | "Polonesa, in la maggiore | | soprano Elli Silberstein, |
| | pianista Prof. Ladislao Sternberg | | baritono Paolo Gorin |
| 13.a. Verdi: | Duetto dall'opera "Rigoletto , | b. Puccini: | Duetto dall'opera "La Boheme , |
| | soprano Lidia Finger | | tenore Sigismondo Mentlik |
| | baritono Paolo Gorin | | baritono Paolo Gorin |
| b. Verdi: | Duetto dall'opera "La Forza del Destino , | 15. Verdi: | Coro dei frati, dall'opera "La Forza del Destino , |
| | tenore Sigismondo Mentlik, | | coro uomini e solisti |
| | baritono Bruno Weiss | | soprano E. Silberstein |
| | | | baritono Bruno Weiss |

PREZZI: Poltronissima L. 100 - Poltrona L. 50 - Tribuna L. 25

Charity Concert on November 9, 1943 - Programme.



*Charity Concert on Nov. 9, 1943, at «Cinema Italia», Cosenza
- Courtesy of Mario Rende.*

5.6.2 Musical Activities in Ferramonti as a DP-Camp

Focusing on the events taking place in the camp itself in the period from September 1943 to December 1945, it could be stated that Ferramonti was *de facto* converted in a Displaced Persons camps (DP-camps) under the British mandate, similarly to an increasing number of camps in Germany and other territories, which were freed after the capitulation of Hitler's dictatorship. The prisoners were obviously in worst life conditions, had no means to move and often not even a destination to reach, since their countries were maybe still occupied, their families had perished and their properties vanished.

Furthermore, the Allies wanted to control the immigration towards other lands like Palestine and the camps were therefore maintained.

With references to musical and theatrical activities taking place in DP-camps, one of the most prominent example is represented by the cultural life of Bergen-Belsen. Many witnesses report that even first reactions to the liberation were expressed by singing and that among the first public activities undertaken by the ex-inmates, there was the organization of thanksgiving religious services. These were followed by other initiatives after the Congress on September 25-27, 1945: most noticeably, the publication of *Belsen Uncovered* (1946) by *Die Tore öffnen sich* (1948) Derrick Sington, and a concert on July 27, 1948 performed by Menuhin and accompanied by Britten.

A raising interest in cultural activities and specifically in musical activities started emerging during the British mandate in Ferramonti camp, too, as it can be detected from documents in the Kalk Archive, probably subsequent to September 1943. Unfortunately, after the fall of the RSI, the general history of DP-camps in the South of Italy was soon obliterated, together with their possibly intensive cultural life.

5.6.3 The Concert of the Austrians in 1944

Under the British mandate, indeed, other concerts followed, sometimes spontaneously organised by restricted group of ex-internees, as for instance a concert organised on March 22, 1944 by the Austrians and therefore nicknamed “Concerto degli austriaci”. The programme included the following numbers:

1. Walzer
 2. Prolog. Verfasst und gesprochen von Arthur Deutsch.
 3. Liederpotpourri.
 4. Sketch: Versteigerung im Wachsfigurenkabarett./von Egon Erwin Kisch./
Der Auktionator: Arthur Deutsch
Der Prokurist im Hause Rothschild Oskar Deutsch
Mizzerl “Besitzerin des Tanzlokals “Zur feschen Mizzerl” Erna Weil
Praeuser, Besitzer das Wachsfigurenkabarets: Ernst Ignaz Salzer
Wachsfiguren:
King Edward VII Robert Fraenkel
Anselm Maier Rothschild Otto Presser
Goethe Hugo Weil
Sgternickel, ein Raubmoerder Berthold Rosenfeld
Ein Spanier Eddy Weichselbaum
 5. Lieder, gesungen von Dr. Metzger
 6. Heiteres aus eigener Feder: Ferdinand Kaska
 7. Sketch: In der Ordination
Der Arzt Robert Fraenkel
Der Patient Felix Blumenfeld
Der dritte Ernst Ignaz Salzer
 8. Musik
- PAUSE
Musik
9. Heitere Vorträge: Arthur Deutsch.
 10. Tanz: Eddy Weichselbaum
 11. 12. Sketch: Der rote Hirsch/
nach einer Idee von A. Engel von Ferdinand Kaska/
Herr Maier Otto Presser
Frau Maier Erna Weil
“Der rote Hirsch” Robert Fraenkel
Garderrobier Ernst Ignaz Salzer
 12. Heitere Szene: Oskar Deutsch
 13. Lustige Chansons von Leopoldi u.a. gesungen von Kurt Sonnenfeld.
 14. Der Ferramonti Song von Ferdinand Kaska gesungen von Frau Lazar.
 15. Black-Outs (Heitere Kurzszenen).

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Es wirkt mit Die Kapelle Glattauer.

Am Flügel: Kurt Sonnenfeld.

Diese Veranstaltung ist Werk der österreichischen Gruppe des Ex-Internment Camp Ferramonti und findet am Mittwoch, den 22. März 1944 um acht Uhr abends statt.

The concert on March 22, 1944, was organised by the ex-Austrian internees and many Austrian artists took part in it, including Kurt Sonnenfeld – the event itself is mentioned with particular emphasis in his memoirs. The circumstance that such an entertainment was offered by a specific group, individuated through a national connotation, could underline that lingual and cultural background played a considerable role in the forms of association and mutual help, even after the war. Secondly, such a programme presented two sketches: a theatrical piece by the writer Egon Erwin Kisch²¹³ and the other probably created in the camp – or adapted from pre-existing material – by Ferdinand Kaska himself, also author of the lyrics of the Ferramonti-Walzer, possibly the walzer opening the concert. Unfortunately, no references have been found concerning *Der rote Hirsch*, as well as for its authors,²¹⁴ whereas *Die Versteigerung von Castans Panoptikum* has been published together with other works by Kisch.²¹⁵

A short synopsis of this theatrical piece is here reported, in order to provide the reader with an example of comedy which could be performed in such variety-programmes in Ferramonti.

As it is clear from the title, the setting is an auction for selling wax sculptures: among them, renowned figures – such as King Edward VII and Johann Wolfgang Goethe – as well as characters who historically existed – namely, the at those times

213 Egon Erwin Kisch (1885 - 1948) was a Jewish Austrian-Czechoslovak writer and journalist, who wrote in German. Radicalised after WWI, he deserted as the war came to an end and played a leading role in the left-wing revolution in Vienna in 1918. He also entered the Austrian Communist Party the following year. In the '20s he lived in Berlin, where his new journalistic style and his reportages concerning countless journeys all over the world became very popular, especially through collections like *Der rasende Reporter* (1924). As an opponent of Nazism, after the *Reichstagsbrand*, he was arrested and, as a Czechoslovak citizen, expelled, after a short spell in prison in Spandau. He continued traveling and supported the anti-fascist cause, first to London – from where he was again expelled in 1933 for his subversive activities and then to Spain, where he joined the Spanish Civil War in 1937-38. Since Bohemia had been occupied and Paris, his second home, was no longer safe, he tried to emigrate with his wife to New York, but was forced to move on to Mexico, where he remained from 1940 to 1945, joining a circle of European communist refugees and continuing writing.

214 Although Kaska was among the first ex-internees to be transferred to Fort Ontario, after the war probably working for a Swiss newspaper.

215 Egon Erwin Kisch, *Der Rasende Reporter*, 1974, Berlin-Weimar, Aufbau Verlag, pp. 82-98.

famous murderer August Sternickel and Mayer Amschelm Rothschild, founder of the homonymous bank - are going to be sold to the bidders attending the event on the following day.

The narration is divided in three scenes: the first one shows a proxy who wants to secure the statue of Rothschild by negotiating the buying apart with the auctioneer. In the second scene, occurring overnight in the storage, the wax statues come alive and start an intensive conversation among themselves, especially worrying about their uncertain future and the price of their selling, in a colourful and hilarious repartee, where different lingual registers follow one another.

The third scene is set on the next day, as the auction starts: the wax figures of Sternickel, King Edward and Goethe are successfully sold. But as soon as Rothschild is for sale, Castan himself, the previous owner of the waxworks, starts bidding against the proxy, in order to make the price to increase. Nevertheless, as soon as the bid reaches the considerable amount of 30000 DM, the proxy suddenly quit the competition, letting Castan obtain the statue at inflated price. At that moment, Castan realized to have been tricked and tries to contain the expense by selling it on at a considerably reduced price to the proxy, who now shows no interest anymore. As an explanation to him is required, he openly confess that his interest was just to secure the prestige of the Rothschild bank, through the selling of its founder's figure at a respectable price. At the end, he manages to obtain the wax statue for 1500 DM and is praised loudly by M. A. Rothschild himself, to everyone's astonishment.

One of the most relevant features of *Die Versteigerung von Castans Panoptikum* is the recourse to a sort of meta-theatre, despite the shortness and the simplicity of the plot: the main characters of the theatrical piece, indeed, are wax figures – supposed to be inanimate – which actually come alive in the central scene and stage a sub-narration in the main narration. The resulting dramaturgy is therefore enhanced through the elementary but effective device of a multilevel narrative.

A further aspect which deserves to be mentioned is the variety of lingual registers and styles: possibly a kind of (conscious or unconscious) theatrical stigmatization of the heterogeneity of languages in the camp. This is evident for instance in the highly literary German employed by the character Goethe, who speaks almost always in verse, in the parodic “half-English half-German” used by King Edward VII and in the odd accents of the slang spoken by Sternickel, probably presenting Polish inflections.

Morover, a further noteworthy element is the self-irony, which clearly emerges not only from the use of different registers, but also in representing characters such as the rich Jewish banker Rothschild and in the surprise ending, that recalls a typical feature of Jewish humorous forms.

5.6.4 Concerts on Jewish Feasts

The Jewish community living in the camp after September 1943 re-organised several aspects of ordinary life,²¹⁶ including musical performances, especially connected with the main Jewish feasts. Two programmes, dated December 10, 1944 (Hanukkah) and February 26, 1945 (Purim) respectively, witness how Jewish feasts were celebrated in the camp, basically resembling the Programme on December 6, 1942.

From a musical viewpoint, it might be noticed the appearance of a further pianist, namely Anita Hoffmann as an interpreter of some piano solos on both occasions (a Rondo and a Cantabile by Beethoven and a Vazer by Chopin). Sonnenfeld appeared as an accompanist in several dances listed in the first programmes, but in early 1945 he was probably replaced by Manfred Eisenhard, as a consequence of his departure to Milano. Most remarkably the Jewish anthem Hatwikah was again

216 Cf. ASCDEC/Kalk Archive II. “Ferramonti-Tarsia” b. 2, fasc. 31: “Organizzazione del campo dopo la Liberazione”.

sung on both occasions and the second concert was explicitly offered by Z.O. (Zionist Organization). In both cases, there was a special attention for children, to whom some English poems were read before the gift-giving. Children contributed to the performance with dances on Purim, too. Particular occasions – like the 70th birthday of an inmate – were also celebrated. Remarkably, at the end of the second concert, also the Calabria Jazz Band entertained the audience. It is unknown whether (at least some) of its members were ex-internees or the ensemble was made up by Cosentino musicians: in the first case, some musicians may have moved to Cosenza but remained bouded to the camp. In the second case, the presence of external musicians prove a cooperation among (ex-)internees and civil population at least after the liberation.

Surely jazz music and rich buffets (as promised at the end of the invitation) helped to leave back the hard times of the war.

V P r o g r a m m .

1. Walzer.
2. Prolog. Verfasst und gesprochen von Arthur Deutsch.
3. Liedernotpourri.
4. Sketch: Eine Versteigerung im Wachsfigurenkabinett. / von Egon Erwin Kisch. /
Der Auktionator: Arthur Deutsch
Der Prokurist im Hause Rothschild: Oskar Deutsch
Misserl "Besitzerin des Kabinetts":
"Tanzlokals "Zur fieschen Misserl " Erna Weil
Präsescher, Besitzer des Wachsfigurenkabinetts: Ernst Ignaz Salzer
W a c h s f i g u r e n :
King Edward VII. Robert Fränkel
Anselm Maier Rothschild Otto Presser
Goethe Hugo Weil
Sternickel, ein Raubmörder Berthold Rosenfeld
Ein Spanier Eddy Weichselbaum
5. Schubert-Lieder, gesungen von Dr. S. Metzger
6. Heiteres aus eigener Feder: Ferdinand Kaska
7. Sketch: In der Ordination.
Der Arzt Robert Fränkel
Der Patient Felix Blumenfeld
Der dritte Ernst Ignaz Salzer
8. Musik.
9. Musik. P a u s e .
10. Heitere Vorträge: Arthur Deutsch.
11. Tanz: Eddy Weichselbaum
12. Sketch: Der rote Hirsch / nach einer Idee von A. Engel von Ferdinand Kaska /
Herr Maier Otto Presser
Frau Maier Erna Weil
"Der rote Hirsch" Robert Fränkel
Garderobier Ernst Ignaz Salzer
13. Heitere Szene: Oskar Deutsch
14. Lustige Chansons von Leopold u. a. gesungen von Kurt Sonnenfeld.
15. Der Ferramonti-Song von Ferdinand Kaska gesungen von Frau Lazar.
16. Black-Outs (Heitere Kurzszenen).

Es wirkt mit

die Kapelle Glattauer.

Am Flügel: Kurt Sonnenfeld.

Diese Veranstaltung ist Werk der österreichischen Gruppe des
Ex-Internment Camp Ferramonti und findet am Mittwoch, den 22. März 1944
um acht Uhr abends statt.

cdec

*The programme of the concert performed on March 22, 1943
ASCDEC – Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25,
"Istituzioni culturali e artistiche", fl. 29.*

P R O G R A M M

zu der am 10. Dezember 1944 stattfindenden Chanukah-Feier 5705.

R e g i e : Trude BRAUN, Max HOFFMANN.

I. T e i l : Chanukah-Feier.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Prolog. Verfasst und gesprochen von | Leon FRIEDRICH |
| 2. Andante von Beethoven. Gespielt von | Anita HOFFMANN |
| 3. Chanukahgedicht von Hugo Zuckermann. | |
| Vorgetragen von | Robert FRAENKEL |
| 4. Zünden der Chanukahlichter. | Leon FRIEDRICH |
| Mo aussur jeschu ossi | Der Kinderchor |
| Rezitation. | Max HOFFMANN |
| 5. Ansprache zum 70. Geburtstag | |
| Chajm Weitzmanns | Israel WEINBERGER |
| 6. Jommy-jommy. Gesungen von | Peter KREILLISHEIM- |
| | Sabine Falig |
| | Josy BAHR |
| 7. Englischs Kindergedicht. Gesprochen von | Liane KANNER |
| Mitwirkend: | Marisa SINGER |
| | Elvira KNOBLAUCH |
| | Jan HERMANN |
| 8. Ansprache an die Kinder. | |
| 9. H A T I K W A H. | |
| 10. Bescherung der Kinder. | |

P A U S E ! ! ! !

II. T e i l : Allgemeiner Unterhaltungsabend.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Walzer von Chopin | Anita HOFFMANN |
| 2. Lustige Plauderei. | Robert FRAENKEL- |
| | Martin BRAUN |
| 3. Wiegenlied | Meta KANNER |
| 4. TANZ: Faustwalzer | Trude BRAUN- |
| | Eddy WEICHSELBAUM |
| 5. "Jiddisches" Lied. | Annie LAZAR |
| 6. Parodistischer Vortrag | Robert FRAENKEL |
| 7. TANZ: Bolero | Trude BRAUN- |
| | Eddy WEICHSELBAUM |
| 8. Lied | Annie LAZAR |

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Die musikalischen Darbietungen werden am Flügel begleitet von
Frau Anita HOFFMANN.

Die verbindenden Worte spricht Herr Robert FRAENKEL.

Dekoration und Bühnenbeleuchtung: Kurt BACHMANN.

Nach Schluss der Darbietungen spielt zum allgemeinen Tanz
Herr Kurt SONNENFELD.

R E I C H H A L T I G E S B U F F E T ! ! !

*The programme of the concert performed on Hanukkah 5705, December 10, 1944
ASCDEC – Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25,
"Istituzioni culturali e artistiche", fl. 29.*

P R O G R A M M
KKK KKK

zu der am: 26. Februar 1945 von der Z.O. Ferramonti veranstalteten

P U R I M F E I E R 5705

1. T e i l :
1. Begruessung .
2. Klaviersolo: rondo von Beethoven Anita HOFFMANN
3. Puringedicht von Hugo Zuckermann Robert FRAENKEL
4. Schmetterlingtanz : Sabine FALLIG , Liane KANNER, Liane LABI
Jossi BAHR , Elvira KNOBLAUCH.
(Buehnenbild : Bruno ENGELHARD und Chaweroth des Moadon)
5. Kinderlied Die Kinder des kleinen Moadon.
6. In der Schule . Kindertanz Die Kinder des kleinen Moadon.
7. Schulssbild mit Prolog und Epilog von Leo FRIEDRICH
Mitwirkende: Muschi KANNER, Annie LAZAR, Ossi DRECHSLER
Gisella WEISZ, Leo FRIEDRICH, Isi WEINBERGER
8. H a t i k w a h .
9. Ansprache an die Kinder mit anschliessender Bescherung.
" _ _ _ _ _ "
2. T e i l :
1. Einleitungconference Robert FRAENKEL
2. Klaviersolo Anita HOFFMANN
3. Doppelconference Robert FRAENKEL, Ossi DRECHSLER
4. Jiddisches Lied "Rebenju" Muschi KANNER , Ossi DRECHSLER
5. Sketch: "In der Weinsube zu Susa in Persien"
Entworfen von Frau ENGELHARD, gedichtet von Leo FRIEDRICH
6. Lied Annie LAZAR
7. Tanznummer. Wikon - Stepp Eddy WEICHSELBAUM, Salomone TAKONE
8. Sketch: "Die heilige Erde" Muschi KANNER, Ossi DRECHSLER
9. Die Calabria Jazzband spiel . - - - - -
10. Doppelconference Robert FRAENKEL, Ossi DRECHSLER
11. heiteres Lied Annie LAZAR
12. Sketch: "Die glueckliche Ehe " Muschi KANNER, Ossi DRECHSLER, Robert FRAENKEL
13. Tanznummer. Banda D'Affori/ Eddy WEICHSELBAUM, Salomone TAKONE
14. Black-outs!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Die musikalischen Darbietungen werden am Fluegel begleitet von:
Anita HOFFMANN und Manfred EISENHARD

Conference: Robert FRAENKEL
Regie der Kinderszenen Ossi DRECHSLER und Muschi KANNER
Fuer die Ideen, sowie fuer die Einstudierung der Kindertaeenze sorgt
Eddy WEICHSELBAUM

Kuenstlerische Leitung Max HOFFMANN.

Nach Schluss der Darbietungen spielt zum allgemeinen Tanz die:
CALABRIA JAZZBAND aus COSENZA
in der Camerata : 35

!!!!!!!!!!!! R E I C H H A L T I G E S B U F F E T !!!!!!!!!

*The programme of the concert performed on Purim 5705, Februar 26, 1945
ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25, fl. 29,
"Istituzioni culturali e artistiche".*

5.7 Comparisons with Musical Activities in Other Camps

One of the main obstacles in reconstructing the general and the musical life in Italian internment camps like Ferramonti consists in the trivialization of such a phenomenon and its reduction to a “pale imitation” of the internment policies perpetrated by the Nazis.

Obviously, the higher figures of the Holocaust in the Third Reich and the massive presence of extermination camps has primarily captured the attention of scholars, in comparison to which the fascist internment has been implicitly classified as a “minor phenomenon” and consequently less investigated. Although other crimes and right violations perpetrated by the fascist regime have been widely studied (e. g. *Tribunale Speciale*), the internment ordered for xenophobic and racial reasons has been neglected for decades. To embrace Ferramonti in a general prospective and understand its specific features, including the possibility to perform music, in comparison to Nazi camps, some differences from the Nazi internment should be preliminarily pointed out. Firstly, the establishment of German camps dated back to 1933 - *Jahr der Machtergreifung* - whereas from 1925 to May 1940 the only punitive measures for political opposers and dangerous elements in Italy was either the imprisonment in jail or the isolation. As already pointed out, no specific places for reclusion where planned before the entrance in WW2. Moreover, the chronological development of the internment system in Germany present different phases, which has been effectively summarised by Fackler and others as follow:²¹⁷

- 1) 1933-1936: *Frühe Konzentrationslager* - Dachau, Boergermoor and Ersterwegen: under state agencies or local party groups' control. Dachau will be the only early camp to survive and be renewed, all the others will be dismantled.

217 Fackler, *Die Lagers Stimme*, p. 34.

- 2) 1936 - Winter '41-42: systematization, enlargement and centralization - Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald are the models of “modern” camp, organised according to a uniform scheme. Apart from 1936 Sachsenhausen, established in 1936, and Buchenwald, in 1937, further examples include Flossenburg and Mauthausen, both built in 1938, and Ravensbrück (1939). The beginning of the war in September 1939 naturally caused the increase in the number of prisoners in the camps and the general worsening of life condition.
- 3) Winter '41-42 - May 1945: *Zwangsarbeit und Völkermord* - The last phase is characterised by the creation of a Satellitsystem, a universe including several Aussenlager connected to the main ones. Furthermore, the racial extermination plan is now oriented to the maximal economical effectiveness. As known, the awareness of an imminent capitulation, between Autumn 1944 and May 1945 pushed the Nazis to the *Auflösung* which, with the consequent forced marches and evacuation measures, caused an extreme increase of dead among prisoners.

Under these circumstances, it is easily understood that the role played by music and even its conditions of existence could be very different from the situation on Ferramonti.

In general, some scholars²¹⁸ stressed for instance that music appearances in several contexts, rather than being a pleasant relief, were a clear manifestation of social inequality: depending on nationality, personal skills, social “superimposed” level and a vast quantity of random factors, prisoners could deserve very different treatment as long as food rationing and distribution, accommodation, assignment to forced work (a distinctive feature of Nazi camps, absent in Italy), allocation of free time and special permissions were concerned.

218 Cf. for instance Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*.

All these factors obviously projected the prisoners into very different physical and psychological status, on which the possibility/impossibility of devoting to leisure activities and especially music was almost completely dependent. In Sachsenhausen,²¹⁹

Opportunities for participations differed according to hierarchy, measure of free time, a stable physical condition, the leniency of the Block- or Stubenälteste and, sometimes, the leniency of the guards. [...] the most substantial voluntary music-making generally took place within groups united by national, political or religious affiliation.

Furthermore, Gilbert identifies the usual time for recreation activities during the free time at evenings or Sundays, when most prisoners were not required to work. Some remarkable differences from Ferramonti are already evident: the life conditions of prisoners did not differ so much from each other; the accessibility to leisure activities was generally widespread and often cooperative – instead of competitive – interaction among prisoners was present. For instance, the inmates decided measures like an auto-taxation in order to help the poorest inhabitants of the camp and the establishment of facilities and institutions of public interest, like a canteen and a school.

To these aims, the absence of any coercion to work and the payment of a personal pension by the Italian Minister to each internee who could not survive through his/her own means, played a fundamental role. Although the amount of money was not enough and considerable discriminations existed on the base of genre and age (men received at the beginning L. 6.50, whereas women only L.4 and children L. 2), such forms of individual purchase power and of property rights, the co-living with ones' relatives – sometimes in special barracks for single-families, instead of common dormitories – represented the residual dimensions of human dignity and constitute the space for artistic expression.

219 Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, p. 101.

Other remarkable differences were the absence of political prisoners till the last phases of the war and the tolerance of the guards.

For instance, Ferramonti never faced a restriction in the possession and circulation of the instruments; on the contrary, music was supported and participated by the authorities. On the other hand, there are no evidence of forced music performance for propagandistic aims: this is fundamental in people's perception of music; therefore, music never assumed the character of a persecution or hilarity. In addition, murdering and marches have never taken place in Ferramonti, where on the contrary even the three daily calls, planned according to the regulations of the camp, were actually soon disattended, as nobody perceived a real need of them.

Some considerations concerning national and religious affiliations could be here mentioned: Ferramonti had indeed the exclusive peculiarity of being a camp hosting foreign, mostly Jewish, sexually-mixed internees, including also entire families and children. This was an *unicum* in the South of Italy, where all the other internment places were mostly populated by Italians, mainly Catholics or atheists, and rigorously divided between male and female places of reclusion. In the Venezia Giulia, instead, internment camps were especially arranged for Yugoslavian opponents in the occupied territories: consequently, although destined to foreign people, presented a stronger homogeneity.

Consequently, Ferramonti was the camp representing the highest variety of nationalities and countries of origin, due to the subsequent arrivals of prisoners between 1940 and 1943. Under such circumstances, naturally the national identity was felt as a distinctive feature, at least with regard to the linguistic factors and the possibility to communicate with other inmates – it is often reported in the memoirs that for instance Serbian people or the Chinese community, just to mention few examples, constitute self-standing groups, at the beginning with little interaction with the others – in the school classes in Serbian were initially arranged.

The possibility of learning new languages – offered to children, but also to adults – together with the other abovementioned cooperative factors, helped to avoid

creating close groups. At a musical level, the largest correspondance between identity factors and repertoires can be observed as far as religion is concerned: obviously each confession tended to observe its own traditions and religious repertoire during the services.

Important signals of openness, however, came from the public character of such celebrations, especially on occasion of important feasts: so it can be stressed that all the Jewish celebrations for Hannukkah were open to non-Jewish inmates, as it can be read in the event programmes. Similarly, Jews were welcomed to take part in catholic services on Christmas day and other festivities.

A clear example of such a synergy was offered by the choir – which officiated the religious services of different worship, often with the same members singing at each one. As both Jewish musicians, Mirski conducted the catholic choir and Sonnenfeld played the organ: a more than unusual circumstance also nowadays in the Catholic Church, according to the canonical right.

In this context, a remarkable role was played by the presence of spiritual leaders for each community, not only as spiritual guides, but also supporting several forms of integration and dialogue.

In comparison, in Nazi-camps faith and perception of spiritual matters were not always peacefully experienced. If, for instance, in Dachau the abundant presence of representatives of Polish clergy helped to keep calm and supported expressions of devotion while facing terrible life conditions, in Sachsenhausen the songs with religious themes often assume the tones of protest and cynical castigation of God for ignoring the suffering of the inmates. Of course, the isolation suffered by several prisoners, the impossibility of communication due to linguistic factors and the limited opportunities to reliving activities negatively influenced their experience. Most songs in internment camps were based on pre-existing musical materials: especially melodies were often popular Lieder later readapted with different texts. Furthermore, such a vocal repertoire was an outstanding communication means and could move from camp to camp with the transfer of prisoners. Gilbert discusses the apparent paradox existing between the contents of

several Lieder – hailing to the illusion of forthcoming freedom and retrospective moral victory over the oppressors – and the absence, in Sachsenhausen, of any prohibition or restriction of such a repertoire. She is in favour of the thesis that such performances actually did not represent a real threaten and on the contrary contributed to fulfilling the aims of the Nazis, by keeping the prisoners calm and occupied and in this way easing the pressure of the camp's daily life.

6. The Instruments in the Camp

6.1 *The Grand Piano*

Although several photos certify the presence of a grand piano in Ferramonti, the reconstruction of how instrument was brought in the internment camp is anything but solved. In Sonnenfeld's memoirs,²²⁰ indeed, it is reported that the piano was stolen in Cosenza and transported into the camp, profiting from the oversight of the guards. Though fascinating, such a narration seems quite unbelievable, as it leaves several questions unsolved: how could it be stolen? How could it be moved? How is it possible that the guards did not notice a grand piano in the camp, since it was publicly performed, in some cases in authorities' presence?²²¹ Suppositiond in this regard sound anything but convincing. Indeed, already in Sonnenfeld's paper there is a correction made in different handwriting – probably belonging to Kalk – with a marginal gloss stating that the piano had been rented by Mensa dei Bambini and brought to Ferramonti on purpose.²²²

This version would sound more trustworthy and it could be confirmed by the comparison with the balance sheets of the Association,²²³ in which at least from July 1942 the entry «Pianoforte» or «Klavier» monthly appear. Although the instrument destined for the camp was with no doubt a grand piano and not a vertical piano, it could be a generical way to indicate the cost (the documents are edited partially in German and partially in Italian, so quite a confusion between the terms «Klavier» and «Flügel» might be possible). In this case, the dates would coincide with the ones proposed by Sonnenfeld, according to whom the piano arrived some months after his interment. Furthermore, there is no evidence of the

220 See Appendix A.

221 Cf. ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, Album 5 Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia: fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yddish e inglese". A photo showing authorities at a concert in the camp can be watched at p. 150.

222 The correction reports: «NO! È stato affittato dalla Mensa dei Bambini».

223 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive VI. "Circolari, Allocuzioni, Corrispondenza" b.4, fasc. 51, fl.67. See p. 146.

presence of a piano in the seat of the association *Mensa dei Bambini* in Milano – where nevertheless musical activities also took place. Consequently, the most probable explanation concerning the grand piano is that its rental represented a further donation, in contrast to what other scholars have asserted on the only base of Sonnenfeld's memoirs.²²⁴

This case would represent nothing more than a trivial misunderstanding, if it did not closely recall another almost identical case, this time concerning the presence of a grand piano in Terezín. Paradoxically enough, also the related research concerning this case has been facing similar ambiguities, which have been dissolved in recent years by Peduzzi:²²⁵ thus, these episodes become warning lights of a dangerous tendency to a narrative that tries to build up fictions at any cost, although facts at the present state of research cannot support it or, worse, contradict it completely.

In the mentioned study, Peduzzi claims that, according to Solarová, Klein had an important role in making the grand piano to be brought to Terezín:²²⁶

Terezín had not yet been evacuated by Czech population, when Gideon [Klein] managed to find an old piano in the Sokolovna gymnasium, which lay outside the ghetto boundaries. The instrument stood on two wooden trestles because it had not leys, and a few keys and strings were also missing. – When this piano was secretly taken to an attic within the ghetto, a few weeks later, Gideon tried to turn it into a usable instrument [...] he repaired the mechanism as well as he could, and we started to practice.

On the contrary, however, as Peduzzi notices, other witnesses - like Erich Weiner - assert that the piano was brought later and that it was repaired by a tuner named Mag. Pick (again Weiner and, remarkably, four musicians among whom Gideon Klein self). Moreover, although Solarová pretends the musical activities of Klein

224 Cf. Raffaele De Luca, "Musik und Musiker im italienischen Lager Ferramonti" in *Musica Reanimata*, 2016 Berlin, pp. 7-17, p. 10.

225 Lubomir Peduzzi, *Musik im Ghetto Theresienstadt: Kritische Studien*, Barrister & Principal, Brno, 2005.

226 Peduzzi, *Musik im Ghetto Theresienstadt*. p. 43-44.

to be very intensive in the Ghetto - a sort of *spiritus agens*, as Peduzzi named it - this is again not corresponding to the truth:²²⁷

Kleins Aktivitäten als Pianist in Theresienstadt waren doch nicht so gross, wie berichtet wird. In der Rangliste der Pianisten steht Klein nach der Anzahl der gespielten Kompositionen erst auf Platz 5, hinter Edita Steinerova-Krausova, Alice Sommerova-Herzogova, Bernard Kaff und Renée Gärtner-Geiringer.

Peduzzi keeps on demonstrating that also his pretended leading role in founding the Fröhlich-Quartett as dedicatee of one of his compositions, proved to be false according to chronological details which do not fit with each other.

Eventually, also the positive influence of Klein on Pavel Haas has to be drastically resized, but the reported investigation already reveals enough concerning «Missgriffe» and «Desinformationen» and their negative effects, whenever witnesses and statements are just reported without an appropriate check of the facts and documentary proofs. The narratological issues overcome the tendency to an objective reconstruction and risk superimposing a perhaps plausible, possibly pleasant perspective, however fictitious and not responding to the historical reality.

6.2 Guitars and Other String Instruments

The manufacture of string instruments was widely widespread in Calabria already in the XIX century. Families of liuthers, like the Mozzani, Gallinotti, Bellafontana, Pabè, were specialised in the construction of guitars, especially the traditional model named *chitarra battente*, a typical Calabrian instrument, attested also in several photos from Ferramonti.

²²⁷ Ibid.

| | | Kassa | Doppio | Entrata | Uscita |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------|--------|----------|------------|
| 1942 | | | | L | L 1.225.-- |
| 4.5. | Saldovortrag | | | | 50.-- |
| 6.5. | Nachtragszahlung per Mai an Heller | | | | 13.20 |
| | Milch für Judith Roth | | | | 30.-- |
| 9.5. | Schuldiener 2-9/5. | | | | 10.-- |
| 13.5. | Spesen auf 7 Pakete Nr.111/117 | | | | 100.-- |
| 14.5. | Herrn Lehmann Taut-Brief Kalk 3/5. | | | | 20.-- |
| | Spende N.N. | | | | 30.-- |
| 16.5. | Schuldiener 10-15/5. | | | | 100.-- |
| | Baumkuchen Paul Hirsch | | | | 50.-- |
| 18.5. | Unterstützung Frau Malinowsky | | | | 6.-- |
| 20.5. | Papier für "Festa dei Bambini" | | | | 30.-- |
| 23.5. | Schuldiener 16/5-23/5 | | | | 145.-- |
| | für Photos an Frl.Marx | | | | 13.20 |
| 25.5. | Milch für Judith Roth | | | | 4.-- |
| 26.5. | Spesen auf 4 Pakete | | | | 15.-- |
| 29.5. | Rosenreparatur Nagler | | | | 58.-- |
| | Photos an Frl.Marx | | | | 30.-- |
| 30.5. | Schuldiener 23/5-29/5 | | | | 30.-- |
| 3.6. | Unterst. 2 Kinder Rosenbaum | | | | 30.-- |
| 6.6. | Bahnspesen für Badewanne | | | | 12.20 |
| | Badewanne - Spesen Mongrassano-Ferramonti | | | | 80.-- |
| | Spesen auf Pakete Nr.119/121 | | | | 4.-- |
| 7.6. | Schuldiener 30/5-5/6 | | | | 30.-- |
| 12.6. | 10 kg Kirschen für Schulschluss | | | | 37.-- |
| 13.6. | Schuldiener 6-12/6 | | | | 30.-- |
| | Scheck | | | 3.000.-- | |
| 17.6. | H.Weiser für Kurs Fingesten | | | | 50.-- |
| 19.6. | Spesen Pakete 122, 124 u.125 | | | | 3.-- |
| 20.6. | auscidio pro Juni | | | | 1.600.-- |
| | Schuldiener 13-19/6 | | | | 30.-- |
| 21.6. | Gönczi (Kindergartenlehrer) pro Juni | | | | 50.-- |
| 27.6. | Schuldiener 20-26/6 | | | | 30.-- |
| 29.6. | Kinderjause | | | | 135.-- |
| 2.7. | Spesen auf Pakete | | | | 5.-- |
| 3.7. | Unterstützung Wreschinski | | | | 50.-- |
| | Schuldiener 27/6-2/7 | | | | 30.-- |
| 10.7. | Photo | | | | 3.-- |
| 11.7. | Schuldiener 3-9/7 | | | | 30.-- |
| 13.7. | Anstreichen der Schultafel | | | | 10.-- |
| 14.7. | Spesen auf Paket Nr.130 | | | | 1.-- |
| 15.7. | Kinderbett für Judith Roth | | | | 95.-- |
| 16.7. | Scheck | | | 2.000.-- | |
| 18.7. | Schuldiener 10-17/7. | | | | 30.-- |
| 19.7. | Schuhe für Seff Weingarten u.Chawiwa Blumenfeld | | | | 100.-- |
| 21.7. | auscidio Juli 12 a 50.-- | | | | 600.-- |
| | 44 " 25.-- | | | | 1.100.-- |
| | Pianoforte pro Juli | | | | 100.-- |
| 24.7. | Spesen Paket Nr.131 | | | | 1.-- |
| 25.7. | Schuldiener 18-24/7. | | | | 30.-- |
| 28.7. | Schwimmgürtel für Schwimmunterricht | | | | 25.-- |
| 1.8. | Schuldiener 25.7.-31.7. | | | | 30.-- |
| 14.8. | 1 Besen | | | | 12.-- |
| 16.8. | Trinkgeld für Koffer bei Besuch Kalk | | | | 5.-- |
| 19.8. | Besuch Ing.Kalk: Ewald für Bedienung etc. | | | | 35.-- |
| | Kinderjause | | | | 153.90 |
| | Küche für Verpflegung | | | | 30.-- |
| | Wagen nach Mongrassano | | | | 60.-- |
| | diverse Spesen | | | | 100.-- |
| 23.8. | Pianoforte pro August | | | | 100.-- |
| 24.8. | Klopfer für Mappe für Kalk | | | | 150.-- |
| | Klein für Photos | | | | 114.50 |
| Transport L 5020--L 7031.-- | | | | | |

Balance sheet of Mensa dei Bambini - ASCDEC - Kalk Archive, II. Ferramonti-Tarsia b. 2 fasc. 25, "Istituzioni culturali e artistiche", fl. 29.

As long as the guitars and mandolins playing in Ferramonti are concerned, they were most probably manufactured by the most famous luthiers' family living and working not far from the camp itself: the De Bonis of Bisignano, Cosenza.

The origins of De Bonis' instrumental production date back to XVIII century, but through time, they adapted their high-quality products to the moderate demand of their customers:²²⁸

Il M° Giacinto II da giovane progettò di rivoluzionare l'attività tradizionale della liuteria popolare bisignatese, ricercando e studiando altri modelli per inserirsi nel contesto neoclassico in voga sullo scorcio del XIX secolo ed accostarsi per alcuni aspetti alla produzione artistica dei liutai delle regioni centro-settentrionali d'Italia [...] ma i suoi sforzi e i suoi tentativi giovanili vennero frustrati e resi vani dalle condizioni miserevoli e di abbandono in cui versava il Mezzogiorno d'Italia e la Calabria in particolare.

It was actually his nephew Nicola III De Bonis, together with his brother Vincenzo II, who finally managed to change the quality standards of the production line. His activity can be divided in two phases: from the '30 to the end of the war and from 1946 to 1979, the year of his death.

The first phase – including the years of Ferramonti's existence – was characterised by strong experimentalism, mixing features of the popular and the typical Italian guitar. Such instruments have been defined quite “eccentric” and stylistically very personal – they often present marquetrys and a *baffo* bridge.

The *Chitarra battente* itself was a quite unusual instrument: known by musicologists in two variants – “historical” and “folk” – it seems to originate from a baroque five string guitar, with mostly double or triple courses – either five courses with two strings each or four courses and a bordone string, called ‘scuordo’ or ‘scordino’. The bridge is mobile, as in the Neapolitan mandolin, and the fretboard ends with a long head. *Chitarre battenti* are attested in three different sizes, all of them

228 Angelo Gilardino, Mario Grimaldi, *Il legno che canta: la liuteria chitarristica italiana nel Novecento*, 2013 Milano Curci.

presenting an elongated shape and less accentuated upper and lower bouts, as well as waist. The sound hole is often closed with a pierced decorative paper rosette. The tuning of the instrument deserves some attention, since the lower strings can be tuned to higher pitches (so-called “re-entrant” tuning system). Eventually *chitarra battente* was often played both as a solo or as an ensemble instrument to accompany singing or dancing, obtaining a huge variety of effects through plucking, strumming and beating both the strings and the wood. Besides, the manufacturing was also conditioned by the availability of materials:²²⁹

Il periodo della Seconda Guerra Mondiale fu critico: il legname per costruire gli strumenti era quello reperibile nella zona: noce, acero silano, ciliegio, pioppo canadese, e per la filettatura il salice e l'arancio. Il legname più stagionato, utile soprattutto per i restauri, veniva cercato nelle chiese o negli antichi palazzi ormai in rovina.

These, however, were the instruments that most probably the internees in Ferramonti could handle. It is possible that the first contacts with Nicola III De Bonis occurred as the luthier needed cares – in Ferramonti several professional doctors were interned, so it was anything but rare that local population turned to them to be nursed and provided services or goods in return.

As Maria Piro reports, quoting Vincenzo De Bonis, the inmates were “the only customers” with a – although limited - stable income available:²³⁰

Dopo la fine della guerra gli strumenti De Bonis cominciarono a circolare fuori dalla Calabria. I primi contatti furono con gli ebrei del campo di concentramento Ferramonti a pochi chilometri da Cosenza. Vincenzo racconta che [...] vi erano professionisti ed artisti. Uno di loro possedeva una chitarra Guadagnini che aveva bisogno di essere riparata e Nicola fece il lavoro. Gli ebrei del campo [...] percepivano cinque o sei lire al giorno e

229 The author recalls that some wood was recovered from the ruins of the bombed Teatro Comunale “A. Rendano” in Cosenza.

230 Maria Piro, *Liuteria in Calabria: tradizione e innovazione nella famiglia De Bonis*, tesi di laurea in organologia e storia degli strumenti musicali, Università degli Studi di Bologna, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, a.a. 1997-1998, p. 19.

probabilmente erano tra i pochi della zona a potersi permettere l'acquisto di uno strumento.

The second one brought the luthier to the building of professional concert guitars,²³¹

A fine Guerra, sempre a Ferramonte [sic], due ufficiali dell'esercito americano notarono quelle chitarre De Bonis e colpiti dalla loro bellezza proposero a Nicola di portare la sua arte in America. Nicola non andò in America, ma da quel momento iniziò a viaggiare partecipando ai concorsi di liuteria ottenendo premi e riconoscimenti ovunque [...]

6.3 *The Harmonium*

The Harmonium was donated by the Vatican on request of Pater Lopinot, in order to accompany the Catholic liturgy.²³² According to father Lopinot, it was transported as war good from Lecco to Ferramonti, although the instrument was manufactured in Borgo Valsugana (Trento) by Egidio Galvan. It is nowadays saved in Capuchin monastery in Cosenza.

At the end of the XIX c. Egidio Galvan,²³³ realised his first small accordion, using leather and wood: a typical *trentino* model, a button accordion producing a delicate sound only during air compression phase (cf. French *musette* accordion). He improved his technique in a handcraft in Bolzano and later opened his own laboratory in Borgo Valsugana, where fifty different accordion models were produced by almost several workers. Among them, the *organetto trentino* was still present and many of his instruments were exhibited in all regions of the Austro-

231 Ibid.

232 See the annotation in Lopinot's diary dated May 19, 1942, p. 84 and reported in Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*, p.120.

233 Cf. Antonio Carlini, Mirko Saltori, *Cent'anni di musica a Borgo: le armoniche di Egidio Galvan, 1901-1944*. Borgo Valsugana, Amici della musica, 2001.

Hungarian Empire, in Switzerland and awarded with prizes at the international exhibitions of Rome, Liège, Brussels.

Early in the XX c. Egidio Galvan began suffering from the concurrence of other laboratories, such as the ones Castelfidardo, which will become the world capital of accordion production, which started using recently discovered plastic materials. During the First World War Egidio Galvan, a former friend of the Italian irredentist and patriot Cesare Battisti was forced to fight into the Austro-Hungarian army. Captured in the great battle of Luzk, he managed to survive. After the war, he dedicated himself to the production of harmoniums with his young son Ettore. His instruments were required by schools, seminars, churches, and music teachers and various models were produced.

Galvan's harmonies were widespread in various churches in Italy, in missions of Africa, in Latin America and after the Second World War, the Galvan harmonium ended up in the chapels of Raffaello and Michelangelo; while a model of S. Cecilia found its place in the private chapel of Paul VI in the Vatican.

Consequently, they represented reliable instruments already chosen for different contexts and this might be the reason why a Galvan was sent to Ferramonti.



ASCDEC – Kalk Archive, Album 5, “Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia: fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yiddish e inglese”.



Choir members and a singer accompanied by an accordionist (possibly Dr. Zins) and a pianist, respectively. All the singers hold their written parts.

*Album 5, "Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia:
fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yiddish e inglese".*



Several string instruments: guitars, a battente guitars, mandolins and also violins playing in the Lagerkapelle. Album 5, "Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia: fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yiddish e inglese".



Male choir. Album 5, "Il campo di Ferramonti di Tarsia: fotografie con didascalie di Israel Kalk in italiano, yiddish e inglese".



*The harmonium by Egidio Galvan
- Courtesy of Prof. Dr. Mario Rende.*

7. The Interned Musicians: Some Portraits

As previously mentioned,²³⁴ the names of several musicians have been obtained by concert programmes and primary sources saved in the Kalk Archive. For each one of them, it has been attempted to retrace biographies, education preceeding the war and possibly life after the internment. Generally, the chronology has been based on the information collected in Anna Pizzuti's database, on its turn referring to related folders in ACS (State Central Archive – Rome) and other sources.²³⁵ Although many of the ex-interned musicians had studied with utmost professors at leading European Conservatoires, no references were found in the main music dictionaries, with the exception of Lav Mirski, who is mentioned as Leo Fritz in the *Croatian Biographical Lexicon*.²³⁶ In few cases, further information was actually found in other documents in the Kalk Archive or in secondary literature, where the names of musicians are sometimes incidentally quoted in witnesses' reports.²³⁷ In addition, it should be considered that most of them, after the war, actually tended to omit their past as internees, perhaps because this was perceived as "less dramatic" than the one suffered by their correligionists elsewhere in Europe, or just due to the hardship in bearing witness, or eventually because they tried to disconnect themselves from the past and rebuild their own life. For some musicians, especially who survived till the beginning of the research concerning the camp, further information has been collected in their living and work place.²³⁸ For others, the only information available are unfortunately learnt from the documents related to the internment itself.²³⁹ Eventually, in few cases only the names and dates

234 The main general sources for the present research are listed in § 2.

235 See n. 47 and n. 54.

236 Trpimir Macan (edited by), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, 1990 Zagreb, Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, available online at: <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/projekt.aspx>.

237 See § 2.

238 See especially reports in ASCDEC/Kalk Archive II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia".

239 See especially "Notizie relative a singoli internati o elenchi di internati" in ACS, Mi, Dgps, AGR, A4bis (Stranieri internati) and G46 ACS, MI, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 (Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri), on which Anna Pizzuti based her research to date birth, internament, displacement and sometimes death of inmates.

of internment in Ferramonti are known, namely: the sopranos Lidia Finger, Dora Mentlich and Elli Laqueur Silberstein,²⁴⁰ the bass Jeremias Metzger, the tenors Leszek Lipowicz, Sigmund Mentlich and Bruno Weiss, the pianists Eisenhardt Manfred and Anita Falk Hoffmann, the violinist Adolfo Messerschmitt.

7.1 Behrens, Walter

(Karlsruhe, January 20, 1901 – n.g.)

Walter Behrens was born in Karlsruhe to Riccardo (Richard) Behrens. He studied medicine and moved to Rome in 1933, probably due to the restriction in exercising his profession in his home-country.²⁴¹ He was among the very first to be deported to Ferramonti in June 1940. There he played the violin in the concerts on March 23 and April 14, 1941 (see § 5.2.1 and § 5.2.2). He was transferred to Potenza on April 28, 1942 and his presence was still attested there one year later (March 21, 1943). After the liberation, he escaped deportation and was in Picerno (PZ).²⁴² No further information concerning his biography is available at the present state of research.

240 For instance, Peter Silberstein, son of the soprano Lilly Silberstein, released a comprehensive interview concerning his experience in Ferramonti only in 2012, but did not mention details concerning musical performance in Ferramonti. Furthermore, I personally got in contact with Riccardo Schwammenthal before his death, occurred in 2016. Although he had interviewed the jazzman Oscar Klein several years before, he could not personally remind of musical activities in the camp.

241 Cf. <http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricerca.php?a=view&recid=3>, reporting data from G35 - ACS, MI, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 (Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri) b.16, f.70: "Roma"; FFO - Ferramonti: in Lager di Mussolini. Gli internati durante la guerra, 1985 Cosenza, Brenner; H49 - Nomi, date e località di internamento di ebrei stranieri in provincia di Potenza, in ASDPZ, F7, SdD, Bertazzoni 3, Carteggi ebrei (1940-1946); D13 - ACS, MI, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 (Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri), b.53, f.59/1: "Potenza".

242 According to the source, Richard Behrens was a pediatrician, among the most prominent doctors in Karlsruhe. Some of them, like the Head Doctor Prof. Dr. Franz Lust were also the main of musical life in the city, through house- and church-concerts. While the latter, after being interned in Dachau, took his life in 1939, Richard Behrens was deported to the internment camp in Gurs (in the South of France), survived and in 1946 was able to travel to Rome to build up a new life, probably joining his son Walter.

See: Josef Verner, Karlsruhe: Stadtgeschichte - Blick in die Geschichte Nr. 92 vom 23. September 2011, available at: https://www.karlsruhe.de/b1/stadtgeschichte/blick_geschichte/blick92/juedischeerzte.de.

7.2 Friž (Mirski), Leo (Lav)

(Zagreb, June 21, 1893 – Osijek, April 26, 1968)

Lav Friž was born to Josef on June 21, 1893 in to a Jewish family. He started moving his first steps into the music world at a very early age, being later taught in the local Conservatoire by eminent artists and pedagogues like Dugan,²⁴³ Lhotka,²⁴⁴ Fabbri²⁴⁵ and Huml.²⁴⁶ He successfully took the entrance examination in 1907, when the institution was chaired by the renowned composer Zajc.²⁴⁷



243 Franjo Dugan (1874-1948) first studied theology and organ with the principal organist of the Zagreb Cathedral, Vatroslav Kolander. In 1893, he started studies in mathematics and physics, later graduating from the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin in 1908 both in composition with Robert Kahn, conducting with Max Bruch and organ with Hugo Becker. He became a director of the Croatian Music Institute (1908) and Zagreb Cathedral's principal organist in 1912, a position which he held until his death. He taught both mathematics and physics in the secondary school (1897-1920) as well as music theory, composition, and the organ at the Zagreb Music Academy (1920-1941), especially holding counterpoint and fugue courses. He composed mostly organ music, but also some vocal and choir pieces, and conducted, among others, the Croatian Choral Society, *Kolo*. He worked as an editor for the sacral music journal *Sr. Cecilija* (1907-43) and was named a full member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1921. Cf. Martina Bratić, 'Dugan, Franjo, Sr.' in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary (18.09.2017).

244 See note 129.

245 Umberto Fabbri (s.d.) was a renowned cellist and pedagogue. He was, together with his colleagues at the Zagreb Academy of Music Václav Huml (first violin), Milan Graf (second violin), Ladislav Škatula - later Miranov (viola), a founder of the Zagreb Quartet, the first permanent and professional ensemble of its kind in the Croatian musical scene, giving its first concert on April 25, 1919. His pupil Rudolf Matz was a crucial figure in the development of cello technique. See also: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=5780>

246 Václav Huml (1880 - 1953) was born in the Czech Republic. He was the founder of the Zagreb violin school. As a violinist, he was taught in Prague at the world-renowned Czech music pedagogue Otakar Ševčík. He was a concert master of the philharmonic orchestra in Lviv (1902-1903), and a member of its string quartet, with which he gave concerts throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Since 1903 he worked in Zagreb, teaching first at the Music School of the Croatian Music Institute and then, from from 1921 until his death, at the Zagreb Academy of Music. In 1919, he was cofounder of the Zagreb Quartet. Cf. Vjera Katalinić, 'Hulm, Václav' in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary (18.09.2017).

247 Ivan Zajc (1832 -1914), according to N Grove, «was the most important figure in Croatian music from 1870 until his retirement in 1908». In 1850, he moved from his hometown Rijeka to Milan, to study at the Conservatoire under Stefano Ronchetti-Monteviti, Lauro Rossi and Alberto Mazzucato. Admiror of Verdi and educated in the tradition of Italian opera, he influenced Croatian music in such an international direction, in contrast with nationalistic tendencies of Lisinski – although occasionally drawing on Croatian folk melodies. His work - including 1202

He graduated in both cello and conducting in 1913 and soon moved to Vienna, where he was admitted as a cellist in the Wiener Symphony Orchestra, playing for a whole year under the baton of the best West-European conductors.²⁴⁸

Mirski came back to Osijek in 1917, as the First World War was coming to an end and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was imminent. He funded the Croatian National Theatre and called Mirko Polić²⁴⁹ as a stable conductor of the operatic season, as a response to the arising interest in opera repertoire manifested by Croatian audiences. In addition to his work in the theatre, Mirski was engaged in other urban activities: he noteworthyly participated in the founding of both the Society for the Advancement of Science and Art in Osijek in 1921 - later becoming the City music school and eventually City Conservatoire - and of the permanent Philharmonic Orchestra in 1924. After his departure from Osijek, from 1926 to 1934 Lav Mirski took the position as director of the Conservatoire; at the same time, the orchestra led by Mirski himself since 1924 raised its standards and regularly performed works of great national and international composers.

opus numbers, of which probably only about 800 actual compositions - is characterised by a strong sense of dramatic effect, use of musical development and a master of melody, to which all other musical elements are subordinated, both in his stage works (operas and operettas), in his vocal and instrumental music and orchestral works. From 1862 to 1870 he worked in Vienna, laid the foundations of a European career. After Lisinski's death occurred in 1854, he came back to Zagreb and found a provincial atmosphere and a stagnant musical life which he managed to revitalize with his 30-year activity as director of the Opera, conductor, teacher, organizer and composer. He dedicated himself to the education of his contemporaries by running school on modern lines. Therefore, such a period became known in Croatia as the "Zajc period" and he died universally honoured. Cf. Lovro Županović, 'Zajc, Ivan' in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary, (18.09.2017).

248 The principal appointed conductor between 1908-1927 was Felix Weingartner.

249 Mirko Polić (1890-1951), born in Trieste, studied composition at the local Conservatory, later remaining there to conduct at the Slovene Theatre, where he initiated operatic performances. His was employed as a conductor at the Osijek Opera (1914-23), Zagreb Opera (1923-4), Belgrade Opera (1924-5), Belgrade Opera (1939-41) and at the Ljubljana Opera (1925-1939 and 1945-1947) of which he was also director, paying attention to increase artistical standards and modernizing the repertory. He introduced recent operatic works based on indigenous and world literature. As a composer, he was particularly interested in opera and his two operas were both produced in Ljubljana: *Mati Jugovičev* ('The Mother of the Jugović Brothers') and his masterpiece *Deseti brat* ('The Tenth Brother'). Stylistically, Polić did not abandon the Romantic tradition, only occasionally enriching his works with neo- or post-Romantic elements and other more recent modes of expression. Cf. Manica Špendal, 'Polić, Mirko', in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary (18.09.2017).

In 1923-24 season, he also assumed the direction of the National Opera Theatre: uniting the responsibilities for the three main musical institutions - Conservatoire, Philharmonic Orchestra and Opera Theatre - of the city under his own mandate, he managed to establish a strong interaction among them and a strict cooperation, which made Osijek as a national model. He also collaborated with the central Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb, as well as in Dubrovnik and Rijeka. Soon his fame crossed the national borders: the Opera Osijek was first invited abroad for a concert in 1940 near Pécs.

In April 1941, after the establishment of the Independent Croatian State, Lav Mirski got extraordinary dismissal from the Osijek Theatre due to its Jewish origin. At first, he was deported to Zagreb, and was then taken to the camp Ferramonti in Calabria.²⁵⁰ Concerning the activities he undertook during his stay in the camp,²⁵¹ he most notably founded and conducted the Lager choir, directed and codirected the musical events and the cultural organization in the camp and was a key-figure for the interned fellows. After the liberation of the camp, he acted as an intermediary among the heads of the Allied Army and the prisoners, being officially appointed as a representative for the internees according to the AMGOT Statute (regulations of the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories).²⁵² At the same time, he served as a conductor in some orchestras of the Allied Army in Bari.²⁵³ He left Calabria with the first of the two expeditions to Palestine, where for three years upon his arrival – from 1944 to 1947 – he was the conductor of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra and of the Folk Opera in Tel Aviv. In addition, he was also a resident member at the radio station in Jerusalem.

Surprisingly enough, once again he was working on the birth of a musical life and

250 Cf. <http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricerca.php?a=view&recid=0>

251 Mirski taught music, as the list of professions practiced by internees show Cf. ACDEC/Fondo Kalk, b. 2, fasc. 18: "Pubblicità uno Ferramonti". Information concerning his activities as a choir conductor can be found in ACDEC/Fondo Kalk, b. 2, fasc. 26: "Vita religiosa ebraica".

252 Rende, *Ferramonti di Tarsia*. See particularly the third chapter, "Relazioni degli ufficiali inglesi che entrarono nel campo", pp. 227-262, pp. 250-252.

253 Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945: žrtve genocida i učesnici narodnooslobodilačkog rata*, Beograd: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980 Belgrade, p. 443.

culture in an early State, which in this case would have been founded the following year (1948).

However, Mirski left the country in 1947, returning to Osijek and assuming the position of Director of the Opera and conductor again. Under his guidance, the institution had a flourishing life: in 1956, he was nominated commissary of the Croatian National Theatre Osijek and in 1961 he conducted his last opera *Ero the Joker*²⁵⁴ sooner after retiring. He died in Osijek on 29 April 1968, being buried in Ana Cemetery, among other great artists of the city. In 2007-2008, on his 100th birthday celebration, the season of National Theatre was dedicated to him. One of the main squares of the city and an international singing competition were named after him, too.

²⁵⁴ *Ero the Joker*, composed by Jakov Gotovac, libretto by Milan Begović, has been considered one of the most successful comic opera since its premiere in 1935 at the National Theatre in Zagreb and one of the most representative operas of the whole Croatian context.

7.3 *Gildingorin (Gorin), Paul*

(Leipzig, July 18 (19?), 1916 – Amsterdam, April 1, 1992)

Paul (Paolo) Gorin (Gildingorin) was born in Leipzig to Russian Jewish parents, owners of a wholesale fur.²⁵⁵ Gorin went in Leipzig to a traditional Jewish school and began singing at a young age at *Thomanerchor* in Leipzig. He made his debut at the age of sixteen in Leipzig, performing Schubert's *Lieder*. In the mid-thirties Paul hastily fled with his family to Italy, where he studied classical singing at the Conservatoire of Santa Cecilia in Roma. He had a quick start in his career as a singer: first in Prague, where he changed his original name, Gildingorin, too long according to the director of the city opera, in Gorin. He also sang in several operatic roles in important Italian theatres such as in Trieste and Parma, during the *Stagione Lirica Carnavale*, in Puccini's *La Fanciulla del West* and Verdi's *Rigoletto*. In 1941, he was arrested and sent to the internment camp in Ferramonti.²⁵⁶ According to archive sources in Cosenza, he was later transferred to Notaresco (TE) on October 8, 1941 and then again to Ferramonti on May 7 of the following year. After his release, Gorin did not miss the first legal boat, the *Battery*, to Israel. He continued his career at the Opera in



255 See De Luca, "Musik und Musiker im italienischen Lager Ferramonti" in *Musica Reanimata*, 2016 Berlin, p. 7-17, p. 10. Cf. also <http://www.401dutchdivas.nl/nl/baritons/333-paolo-gorin.html> (06.05.2016).

256 See: <http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricerca.php?a=view&recid=0>, summarizing information from ACS, MI, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 (Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri)b.16, f.70: Province of Roma; ACS,PS,A4bis (Stranieri internati) b.3.f.4/2: "Elenchi degli spostamenti avvenuti nel campo di Ferramonti", "elenco ebrei stranieri da tradurre da Lubiana a Ferramonti" and "presenze nel campo dedotte dalla corrispondenza censurata".

Francesco *Ferramonti: in Lager di Mussolini. Gli internati durante la guerra*, 1985 Cosenza, Brenner.

Tel Aviv and performed throughout the country, playing a major role in the building of the Israeli Opera. The well-known Israeli composer Marc Lavry (1903-1967) wrote for him the leading role in his opera *Dan Hasjomeer*.²⁵⁷ As a Jewish singer, he also travelled with the Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra to Egypt, where the orchestra performed for the first time. In 1951, Gorin wanted to move to the USA. On his way to New York, however, he was stranded in the Netherlands, being his hometown Leipzig, in the DDR, until he received a visa to the USA. While in the Netherlands he was then offered an engagement at the Dutch Opera in Amsterdam. On August 23, 1951 Gorin debuted as Giorgio (father Germont) in Verdi's *La traviata* in the *Kurhaus* in Scheveningen.²⁵⁸ it was a second start of a long and successful career in Europe, where he got a permanent position as first baritone at the Dutch National Opera which he would stay connected with till its abolishment in 1964, when it was renamed *De Nederlandse Operastichting* (Dutch Opera Foundation), nevertheless being regularly guested by the new institution. In 1962 he eventually received the Dutch nationality. His last appearance was as Frank in Strauss' *Die Fledermaus* on August 28, 1969 in the City Theatre in Amsterdam. Paul Gorin also sang in opera performances as part of the Holland Festival and was also a highly acclaimed concert singer. His major opera roles were Rigoletto, father Germont in *La Traviata*, Posa in *Don Carlos*, Renato in *Un ballo in maschera*, Scarpia in *Tosca*, Sharpless in *Madame Butterfly*, Gianni Schicchi in the homonymous opera by Puccini, Figaro in *The Barber of Seville*, Taddeo in Rossini's *Italiana in Algeri*, Guglielmo in *Così fan tutte*, Escamillo in *Carmen*, Zurga in *Les pêcheurs de perles*, Wolfram in *Tannhäuser*, Tomsky in *Pique Dame*, Masetto in *Don Giovanni*.²⁵⁹ In 1960,

257 Some of Gorin's handwritten letters to the composer dating 1952 are saved in the National Jewish Library in Jerusalem: Marc Lavry Archive, Series K: Letters, Item from n. 228 to n.232.

258 On that occasion Violetta was sung by Louise de Vries and Alfredo by Chris Scheffer.

259 See for instance:

Giuseppe Verdi, *Rigoletto*, Walter Goehr (conductor), Netherlands Philharmonic Orchestra, [195?] UK, Musical Masterpiece Society; Giuseppe Verdi, *La traviata*, Napoleone Annovazzi (Conductor), 1963 Hamburg Radio Symphony Orchestra and Chorus, Saga; Gioachino Rossini, *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Alexander Krannhals (conductor), Netherlands Philharmonic Orchestra, 1955 UK, Musical Masterpiece Society (Paul Gorin singing as Figaro).

he worked in Amsterdam at the première of the opera *Martin Korda* Henk Badings.

Apart from the serious repertoire Paolo Gorin was also active in the lighter genre: he sang with great success in the '60s in the musical *Anatevka* the role of Tevye in Düsseldorf, Hamburg and Berlin. Astonishingly enough, the plot of the musical – whose subtitle was *The fiddler on the roofs* – was about a Jewish family, leaving its hometown because of the persecutions in the tsarist Russia. Since 1969 he has been cantor of the synagogue of Amsterdam. This was at that time quite an ordinary iter for several Jewish tenors (including Joseph Schmidt, Richard Tucker and Jan Peerce) who embraced a second career in the religious and language-related repertoire of the Ashkenazic cantorate. As baritons, Joseph Schwarz in Riga and Paul Gorin in Amsterdam were two notable examples. Gorin was not the only ex-internee to howeve: together with him, tenor David Garen a survivor of Terezín, might be quoted. The phenomenon was quite popular also in Italy, often regarding survivors of the internation and deportation: for instance, the famous Italian tenor Vasco Campagnano di Cetra made cantorial record under the baton of Vittorio Veneziano, legendary chorus director at Teatro alla Scala.

In 1969, Gorin was cantor at the Liberal Jewish Community of Amsterdam. In this capacity, he also replaced occasionally Harry Ereira (early in the '60s). He also sang regularly at the services in smaller liberal Jewish communities in the country, combining the bravura of opera with a thorough knowledge of Hebrew and a great sense of chazzanut (i.e. Jewish religious music).

7.4 Gornicki, Mosè

(Zgierz, June 13, 1919 – Auschwitz, April ? 1945)

Morris (Mosè) Gornicki was born in Zgierz, Poland on June 13, 1919 to Zelig Gornicki. He moved to Roma in 1938 and was interned in Ferramonti on July 6, 1940.²⁶⁰ It is likely he met Dr. Walter Behrens in Roma already before they were both interned on the same date. Their names appear in all the first concert programmes in Ferramonti, as a guitarist and violinist respectively. Most probably they were also the first musicians that Sonnenfeld got to know after his arrival, according to his own memoirs. However, Gornicki was soon transferred first to Notaresco on August 2, 1941 and from there to Arcidosso (Grosseto, Tuscany) few months later, in February 1942. There is lack of information concerning the following months: in Arcidosso he was joined by another ex-internee of Ferramonti, Mendel Landmann, a Polish Jew who probably tried to escape with his family via Bengasi but was captured and interned in Ferramonti.²⁶¹ Part of Landmann's family managed to reach Switzerland via Arsiero,²⁶² whereas Mendel Landmann himself, together with his sister Ruth and his brother Simon appeared to be among the internees in Roccatederighi.²⁶³

260 <http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricerca.php?a=view&recid=0>, (14.7.2017) summarizing information from ACS, MI, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 (Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri), b.52, f.34: Province of Grosseto; and b.16, f.70: Roma; ACS, MI, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. Massime M4 (Campi di concentramento) b.137 f.16, s.f.2 (Affari per provincia), ins.41/2,5: Teramo; Id., *I campi di concentramento in Italia. Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940-1945)*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2001; Francesco Folino *Francesco Ferramonti: in Lager di Mussolini. Gli internati durante la guerra*, 1985 Cosenza, Brenner; Liliana Picciotto, *Il libro della memoria*, Mursia 2002.

261 Mendel Landmann was born in Lezajsk, Poland in 1898. During the war he was surely interned in Mauthausen. His presence is afterwards registered in Notaresco (TE), Arcidosso and later Fossoli. There is evidence of his family's internment in Ferramonti, too: however, his name is not in the list of the Calabrian camp, although the fascist custom was to keep family together.

262 see the memoir of Oskar Klein concerning his family's escape, § 7.5.

263 In 1943, Alceo Ercolani, whose unscrupulousness was already evident in the slaughter of eleven young peasants, draft evaders of military service imposed by the RSI, was in service as a Capo della Provincia di Grosseto. On his own initiative, before receiving the official order by Interior Ministry Buffarini Guidi concerning the deportation of Jews to concentration camps, on November 28, 1943 he autonomously decided the establishment of a concentration camp in Roccatederighi, a medieval town at 500 m.o.s. in the Tuscany country yard, destined for all Jewish living in Grosseto area, with no distinction between foreign and Italian (so-called "discriminati") – a difference which had been observed by the regime so far. The most suitable place for such a

Landmann and Gornicki shared an unfortunate destiny: they were both deported to Fossoli on April 7, 1944 and from there to Auschwitz, with the train n. 14 leaving on August 2, 1944 and arriving four days later. Only Mendel Landmann survived till the date of his liberation, on May 5, 1945.²⁶⁴

| Häftlings-Personal-Karte | | KL: | HEIM-Nr.: |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Fam.-Name: <u>Landmann</u> | Oberstellt: | am: _____ an KL. | 121614 It-Jude |
| Vorname: <u>Mendel</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Geb. am: <u>11.11.98</u> Lesjak | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Stand: <u>verh.</u> Kinder: | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Wohnort: <u>Trieste</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Strasse: <u>Via Barzabianka 11</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Religion: <u>Eos</u> Staatsang: <u>Italien</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Wohnort d. Angehörigen: <u>Ehefrau:</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| <u>Elene geb. Marchoni</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| <u>Udine, Via Armando Diaz 60</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Eingewiesen am: <u>4.8.44</u> KL. <u>Au</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| durch: <u>25.1.45</u> KL. <u>M.</u> | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| in KL.: _____ | | am: _____ an KL. | |
| Grund: <u>It.-Jude</u> | Entlassung: | durch KL.: | |
| Verurteilt: | am: _____ | mit Verfügung v.: | |
| Strafen im Lager: | | | |
| Grund: | Art: | Bemerkung: | |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | |
| Bes. Kennzeichen: | | | |
| Charakt.-Eigenschaften: | | | |
| Sicherheit b. Einsatz: | | | |
| Körperliche Verfassung: | | | |

*Card file with names of inmates from Mauthausen camp
Yad Vashem/Jerusalem - The Central Database of Shoah Victims' name*

camp was identified in the Seminario Estivo Vescovile, i.e. a building belonging to the local curia which was rented for this purpose. According to Landini's report, the Bishop in Grosseto, Monsignor Paolo Galeazzi, signed a contract for L.5000 and fixed a salary for five nuns assisting there (L. 300 each) and two servants (L. 600 each). A camp director and heavily armed guards were appointed, a huge amount of money was withdrawn from the register of the Prefecture and later repaid through the properties of the prisoners. Such drastic measures were decided against a number of Jews that did not exceed 149 units – according to the census in 1938, so possibly even fewer at that moment. By 1944, this number had reduced to eighty, among which forty-one Italians and thirty-nine foreign Jews. Few of them – mostly Italians, who could count on personal supports among their compatriots, were released for healthy or age reasons; others managed to leave the prison as soon as Grosseto was freed. Unfortunately, in the first months of 1944, thirty-three Jews, were transferred to the North, and deported to Nazi camps. Only four of them managed to survive. Cf. Fabio Landini, “ Il seminario di Roccatederighi, un campo di concentramento in Maremma” in Corriere della Sera Online, 18.02.2010. Available at: http://lanostrastoria.corriere.it/2010/02/18/roccatederighi_un_campo_di_int/

264 Anna Pizzuti's Database (17.4.2018):

Mendel Landmann: <http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricerca.php?a=view&recid=2.>

Moses Gornicki: <http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricerca.php?a=view&recid=0.>

7.5 Klein, Oscar

(Graz, January 5, 1930 – Basel, December 12, 2006)

The figure of Oscar Klein, internationally renowned jazz musician, could not be more effectively introduced than through his own words during an interview by another ex-inmate of Ferramonti, Riccardo Schwamentahl. The latter, a child just six years old at the time of the internment, whose name appears in the registers of the Ferramonti school,²⁶⁵ later became a passionate jazz photographer and was made famous particularly by the shots that immortalised great jazz-performers.



In 1999 Klein recalled his story and the escape from his native country during his interview:²⁶⁶

Sono nato a Graz il 5 gennaio 1930. Mio nonno era stato cantore in Sinagoga, mio padre si chiamava Alexander e mia madre Agnes Schiller. Mio padre era orologiaio, ma era molto abile e sapeva arrangiarsi con diversi lavori. Inoltre aveva una sorella minore. Nel 1938, dopo l'Anschluss, siamo fuggiti dall'Austria e siamo arrivati in Italia. Mio padre in un primo momento aveva deciso di raggiungere Cipro: varie difficoltà lo indussero a comperare il visto per l'Albania, che era il più economico. Quando eravamo già sulla nave, la *Gerusalemme*, l'Albania fu occupata dall'Italia e il visto di cui eravamo in possesso non era più valido: non si poteva più sbarcare. La nave proseguì per quella che allora era la Palestina, a Jaffa prima e poi a Haifa, ma i nostri documenti non erano validi in quanto c'erano gli inglesi e gli ebrei non potevano decidere per conto loro. Allora il piroscafo proseguì per la Siria, ma lì eravamo noi che non volevamo sbarcare. Infine la nave tornò a Trieste, il porto da cui era partita, ma anche per sbarcare in Italia non avevamo

265 Cf. ASCDEC/Kalk Archive, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia", Busta 2, Fascicolo 24: "Organizzazione scolastica e corsi professionali", fl. 119.

266 Riccardo Schwammenthal "Oskar Klein. Storia e cronaca" in *Il Sismografo: bollettino della SISMA - Società Italiana per lo Studio della Musica Afroamericana*, y.1999 n.29, p.23-26.

documenti ed è stato in quel momento che abbiamo provato per la prima volta l'umanità e la gentilezza italiana: qualcuno, fra le autorità presenti, ha detto «Non si può lasciare una famiglia sulla nave, li facciamo scendere e poi si vedrà».

The family spent almost a year in Trieste, living decorously and without suffering from starvation: in 1940, however, Oscar's father was arrested from home and sent to Chieti. According to Oskar Klein's memories, it was suggested that the family get voluntarily interned in Ferramonti di Tarsia to subsequently ask for family reconjunction.²⁶⁷ That it is why it happened that all the family in few weeks was again together in Ferramonti:

Alloggiavamo in una baracca a due vani, c'era un fornello a gas per cucinare, io andavo alle elementari e mio padre si era ingegnato di far riparazioni di ogni genere [...]. A Ferramonti era permesso ogni tipo di attività e ognuno faceva quello che voleva per vivere.

Not infrequently were some episodes where children were offered some sweets or ice-cream:

Mi è rimasto impresso un tipo, tra l'altro era un calciatore di talento, che preparava dei budini e dopo averli messi nelle scatole di latta che erano usate per il latte condensato, andava in giro a venderlo. Era soprannominato "Pudding" [...] e i suoi budini erano richiesti soprattutto da noi bambini [...]. Il direttore del campo portava i bambini regolarmente a prendere il gelato a Tarsia, con una di quelle macchine molto grosse, un'Aprilia, che sembrava una jeep e prendeva a bordo una ventina di noi. Ci dovevano essere anche delle radio perché ricordo di aver ascoltato lì le prime canzoni: a me piacevano d'istinto le canzoni ritmiche, quelle che risentite adesso hanno un carattere jazzistico.

A Ferramonti la vita era tranquilla, nessuno gridava o sbraitava contro gli internati, l'appello che nei primi periodi veniva fatto regolarmente, pian piano si è diradato per poi scomparire perché ritenuto inutile. Confesso che per me Ferramonti è stato come un campo vacanze, sembra ridicolo ma è vero.

²⁶⁷ See § 4.2.

After another year of detention, the family was invited to leave Ferramonti.²⁶⁸ They consequently found a hiding place with other Jews in Arsiero, a small town near Vicenza, Veneto, where they were allowed to live by small jobs, as for instance producing wooden toys. At that time the first approach to a music instrument dates back:

Quando sono diventato *barmitzva*, a tredici anni, la comunità di Arsiero mi ha regalato il mio primo strumento musicale: un mandolino sul quale ho cominciato subito a suonare a orecchio le canzoni ascoltate alla radio. Durante il nostro soggiorno forzato ad Arsiero iniziai ad assorbire italianità come un aspirapolvere. Andai a vedere tutti i film in paese, [...] lessi tutti i libri della biblioteca parrocchiale e ascoltai ininterrottamente la radio.

The living side by side with the catholic population was peaceful and nice: actually, it was the local priest – don Antonio Frigo²⁶⁹ – to alert the Kleins and other refugees that the place was no longer safe and they had better to escape towards Switzerland. Particularly dramatic is the tale of the boarder-crossing when, having almost arrived halfway, a German patrol occupied the area, obliging the small group of fugitives to deviate their trip and climb the Little St Bernand Pass.²⁷⁰

The trip probably cost life of Oscar's brother who was born after the arrival in Switzerland, but did not resist to the subsequent forced transfer to Basel, where Oscar himself was adopted by a family.

268 Rinaldo Arnaldi et alii, *I Giusti d'Italia. I non ebrei che salvarono gli ebrei 1943-1945*, Mondadori 2006, pag. 294. Anche la famiglia Walter Landman si salva coi Klein.

269 He had a deep friendship in the aftermath of the war with don Antonio Frigo, playing an important role in the Resistance in Vicenza. Cf. Maria Porra, *Il giornale di Vicenza*, 26.01.2013 (available at: <http://www.ilgiornaledivicenza.it/home/cultura/marion-al-confino-libero-e-i-giorni-felici-di-arsiero-1.468918>) and "Le Porte della Memoria", Dispensa realizzata per le Porte della Memoria 2017 dall'Associazione Amici della Resistenza di Thiene, result of an acerbic research by Giannico Tessari on behalf of the Amici della Resistenza Association.

270 *Die letzte Chance*, movie by Leopold Lindberg.

In Svizzera sono stato affidato come bambino profugo a una famiglia di Basilea. Sapevo disegnare bene, per cui mi hanno mandato ad una scuola di arte grafica. Qui ho fatto amicizia con diverse persone e si organizzavano festicciole in cui c'era il grammofoono a manovella e si ballava al ritmo i dischi jazz. A Basilea c'era poi un Hot Club dove ci si riuniva un paio di volte alla settimana e venivano presentati dischi e serate a tema jazzistico: per me queste riunioni erano la cosa più sacra che ci fosse, non mancavo mai. Era il 1945 e arrivavano i film americani con Benny Goodman, Glenn Miller e la mia passione cresceva. Allora mi sono accorto che il mandolino non mi bastava più per cui sono passato al banjo e alla chitarra. In quel periodo sono entrato a far parte di un complesso Dixieland di dilettanti, i Feetwarmers.

The years of Klein's maturity have been narrated by another jazz musician, Lino Patruno, who was in close friendship and professional collaboration with him from the 1960s, when they performed on the stage of the Teatro Nuovo in Milano with the Dutch Swing College Band. Moreover, during some broadcasts for the Swiss Television, particularly with the *Portena Jazz Band* in Buenos Aires, Klein played in trio with the tenor saxophonist Bud Freeman and Patruno himself. However, the most demanding collaboration for its ideological implications took place in Venice, where, during a broadcast for the Italian national television (Rai), Klein played with the jazz pianist Romano Mussolini, fourth-born of Benito Mussolini and Rachele Guidi, with whom later Klein released a CD.



Two CD covers showing Oscar Klein and Romano Mussolini:
Oscar Klein, Oscar Klein's Jazz Show, 1994 Stuttgart, Germany Jazzpoint Records (Cms);
Oscar Klein, Romano Mussolini, Karsten Gnettner, Charly Antolini, Timeless Blues, 1996, Timeless.

Other tours and concerts in Germany followed, notably the one in Munich with the old drummer Freddie Brocksieper who had been part of *Charlie's Band*, the swing-out orchestra wanted by Goebbels during the war.

Klein was also involved in the widespread of jazz music in Italy, for instance by participating in the first European Jazz Stars concert at Teatro Carcano in Milano. Klein's last intentions and dreams included a concert in Calabria at Ferramonti, but the musician died of a stroke on December 12, 2006, before realizing his project.

7.6 *Levitch, Leon*

(Belgrad, July 7, 1923 – Los Angeles, November 26, 2014)

Leon Levitch was born in Belgrad. He was interned with his family in the San Vincenzo della Fonte, a small village in Valle d'Aosta (the town, originally and nowadays called Saint Vincent, was renamed according to the fascist habit of using Italian toponym).²⁷¹ He however remembered his captivity as less dramatic than it could be expected:²⁷²

They interned us in a beautiful resort near the Alps, [...] You see, the Italians will make you prisoners, but they won't deny you of music.

Levitch, together with other Jews, was not only allowed to live in the small town, but also to play the piano few hours a day, usually no more than two:

271 Giorgina Levi "Gli ebrei Jugoslavi internati nella provincia di Aosta (1941-1945)" in *Questioni di storia della Valle d'Aosta contemporanea*, Aosta 1990.

272 Cf. Interview to Levitch "Fort Ontario Refugee Project Oswego Country Oral History Program OH 269" - Special Collections Pennfield Library, Oswego. Available at: http://oswego.edu/library2/archives/oral_history_transcripts/safe_haven_oral_history_transcript_269.pdf (01.10.2017) and a short interview by Lynn Chu in Daly Bruin on 07.03.2013: <http://dailybruin.com/2013/03/07/music-carried-composer-through-hardships/> (01.10.2017)

The mornings were very cold and no one wanted the piano then because your fingers wouldn't work, so I was given the coldest hours [...]. My mother – and I don't know how – managed to get a hold of a hibachi²⁷³ so I could warm my hands and play.

It was probably thanks to this special condition that the livelihood of Leon Levitch as a child was kept alive and his talent for music did not get lost.

Levitch said he began composing music at around six or seven, as he grew up with parents who played the piano themselves. Although he appreciated the free form and creativity of writing original compositions, it seems his father did not approve it. «My father thought my compositions were... nothing serious» Levitch said. «He thought my music should focus on great composers like Beethoven or Mozart».

In spite of this, Levitch said music helped him through his moments of loss and hardship, like when he stayed at the internment camp in the Alps. Not only was Levitch able to play the piano frequently while in the Italian camp, but he also learned from Vera Levenson,²⁷⁴ a fellow refugee



and pianist in the camp who gave him private lessons during his stay. Levitch said he played what he heard and what he was taught, mainly Levenson's favorite pieces by Bach. «She gave me lessons whenever (the piano) was available» Levitch said. «That was a wonderful thing to find her there». But Levitch admitted that except of the horror of escaping the Nazis, there was little else that entered anyone's thoughts during those times, music included. On May 5, 1943 Leon Levitch and

273 A cylindrical open-topped container, made from a heatproof material, designed to hold burning coal.

274 No further information concerning Vera Levenson is available at the present state of research. and her name seems to be mentioned exclusively in Leon Levitch's memoirs.

his family were sent to Ferramonti. During his stay in the camp – about one year and a half – he could notice «a great number of very fine pianists» in the camp:

One of them was teaching me. Another one played Bach like an angel. Of course, I was hanging out by the music room, so-called music room [...] the piano was in constant disrepair.

According to his memoirs, Strauss²⁷⁵ was the only teacher of the young talented Levitch during the war, while Sternberg²⁷⁶ was his tuning instructor. In an interview, Levitch also underlines how «incredible» was learning the science of «making harmony [in such a context]: It's ironic to the n-th degree».²⁷⁷

After the freeing of the camp, they were «among the about a thousand Jewish refugees allowed into the United States and housed at the Oswego military base in New York until the end of the second world war».

After the camp in Oswego was dismantled, Levitch attended the Los Angeles City College for a brief period and afterwards received his Master of Arts in Composition from UCLA. He began a professional career and studied under musicians who became his greatest inspirations, including the Florentine composer Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Viennese composer Eric Zeisl.²⁷⁸

275 Samuele Strauss (b. 1891, imprisoned in Ferramonti on August 19, 1940) is the only person which Levitch could refer to. Strauss was among the prisoners transferred to Fort Ontario, too.

276 See Sternberg, Uri § 7.10.

277 De Luca, “Musik und Musiker im italienischen Lager Ferramonti” in *Musica Reanimata*, 2016 Berlin, pp. 7-17, p. 15.

278 Eric Zeisl (1905-1959) was an Austrian composer. A student of Richard Stöhr, Joseph Marx and Hugo Kauder, he achieved early recognition, publishing his first songs at the age of 16 and winning the Austrian State Prize in 1934 for the *Requiem concertante* (1933–4). He was forced to leave Austria and went first to Paris, then to New York (1939) and from there first to Hollywood (where he worked for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) and eventually to Los Angeles, where he became professor of theory and composition (Los Angeles City College) in 1949. His gifts for melody, orchestration and dramatic expression were first developed in the songs of his Austrian years, although in the USA he devoted himself to instrumental pieces, sacred music and especially dramatic works, which powerfully express his Jewish heritage. Cf. Malcolm S. Cole, ‘Zeisl, Eric’ in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary (18.09.2017).



Group portrait of Jewish youth dressed in Purim costumes at the Fort Ontario refugee shelter. One of them is dressed as Adolf Hitler. Left to right (front row): Ivo Svencenski, Jacob Broner, unknown, unknown and Leo Levich.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Dr. David Hendell - Photograph n. 38543, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1127046>.



Jewish youth living at the Fort Ontario refugee shelter sing songs accompanied by an accordianist. The picture includes Leon Levitch.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Dr. David Hendell - Photograph n. 38547, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1127050>.

7.7 Marton, Rodolfo

(Sarajevo, November 11, 1916 ? – Auschwitz, April 10, 1944 ?)

Rodolfo Marton was born in Sarajevo to Ludwig Marton and Paola Kajon on November, 11 1916 (1915 according to Anna Pizzuto's database). He was captured in Bocche di Cattaro-Kavaja with other Jews and deported to Ferramonti on October 27, 1941.²⁷⁹

His name appears on the program of March 8, 1942 as a baritone: there is no evidence whether he was a professional or amateur musician. He was transferred to Bedonia, Parma on September 15, 1942 from where he tried to escape on September 8, 1943. His name is however registered in Scipione di Salsomaggiore (Pr) on December 16 of the same year and later in Fossoli, from where he was deported on April 5, 1944 on board of the train n. 9 and arrived five days later at Auschwitz, where he perished.

7.8 Sonnenfeld, Kurt

(Vienna, 1921 – Milano, 1997)

Kurt Sonnenfeld was born in a Wiener Jewish family in 1923 and in the mitteleuropean capital of the music started his musical education as a pianist and composer, as a pupil, among the others, of Edmund Eysler,²⁸⁰ a Jewish composer renowned for Kabarett-Musik. He managed to complete his studies only in piano, as the consequences of the Abschluss prevented him from attending the Conservatoire, which was closed the following year. The Sonnenfelds were

279 Cf. <http://www.annapizzuti.it/database/ricerca.php?a=view&recid=6> (21.04.2016), basing on ACS, MI, Dggs, Dagr, Cat. A16 (Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri), b.53, f.50: Province of Parma; Francesco Folino *Ferramonti un lager di Mussolini - Gli internati durante la guerra*, Brenner – Cosenza; Marco Minardi, *Gli invisibili - Internati civili nella provincia di Parma 1940-1945*, 2011 Ed.Clueb etc.

280 Edmund Eysler (1874 - 1949) was an Austrian composer who became famous as an operetta composer, although generally overshadowed by Lehár, Fall, Straus and Kálmán. He was particularly appreciated for a homely, more old-fashioned Viennese style. Cf. Andrew Lamb, 'Eysler, Edmund' in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary, (10.09.2017).

overcome by the racial policy and of the whole family, only Kurt managed to save his life, probably as his parents forced him to go to Italy in July 1939, while they were captured by the Nazis and perished in Maly Trostenez camp.²⁸¹

On his arrival in Italy, Sonnenfeld, identified as a foreign Jew, was captured and interned initially in the prison of San Vittore - Milano (February 1, 1941) and then transferred to Ferramonti (March 11), ca. nine months after the camp was opened.²⁸² There, he got soon in contact with other interned musicians: an accordionist (probably Bogdan Zins), a tenor (Paul Gorin) and Isko Thaler, quoted in Sonnenfeld's memoirs as the



founder of the Musikkapelle.²⁸³ Like other pianists in Ferramonti, however, he could not immediately take part in musical performances, due to the lack of keyboard instruments. Only after the arrival of a grand piano,²⁸⁴ the musical evenings became recursive appointments, increasing the quantity and quality of the performances in the camp.

281 Maly Trostenez was Nazi death camp located near the homonymous village of on the outskirts of Minsk in Reichskommissariat Ostland. It operated between July 1942 and October 1943, by which date, all Jews remaining in Minsk had been murdered and buried there.

282 Cf. Anna Pizzuti, *Ebrei stranieri in Italia durante il periodo bellico*, database online: <http://www.annapizzuti.it/index.php> (28.02.2017).

283 ASCDEC/Fondo Kalk, II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b. 02, fasc. 25. Sonnenfeld ricorda «Nach einiger Zeit, lernte ich Meister Thaler kennen, welche eine kleine Kapelle gründete. Von jenen Tag an, nahm die musikalische Kunst ihren Aufstieg».

284 The arrival date of a grand piano to Ferramonti probably represents the only relevant discrepancy between Sonnenfeld's memoirs and the documentary evidence: according to the pianist and composer, indeed, the piano would have been stolen from Cosenza. Nevertheless, the manuscript of his witness presents a correction through a different handwriting, perhaps due to Kalk himself, stated that the piano was rented by Mensa dei bambini for L. 100. Such a thesis would be confirmed by a corresponding purchase item in the association's financial report.

Among Sonnenfeld's activities during his stay in Ferramonti, the accompaniments of Catholic rites at the harmonium should be mentioned.²⁸⁵ It is possible, though not supported by documentary evidence, that Sonnenfeld had chosen to convert to Catholicism, although conversion was never a clause on his assignment.²⁸⁶ He was also the composer of the *Lagerlied* on Ferdinand Kaska's text: a sort of hymn that, similarly to what was happening in the Nazi camps, ended up to represent an element of identity for the internees.²⁸⁷

After his release, Sonnenfeld returned to Milan, where he lived until his death in 1997, teaching and continuing to devote himself to composition.²⁸⁸ The memories of Kurt Sonnenfeld are the most important statement of the musical life in Ferramonti, together with those of father Lopinot. Although they were written after the internment, and consequently from the author's memory, they became indispensable to reconstruct the events in Ferramonti.

285 Cf. the note on May 19, 1942 by Callisto Lopinot: *Diario 1941-1944 Ferramonti-Tarsia*, tr. di R.M. Reiner, in F. Volpe, *Ferramonti: un Lager del Sud. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 15/16 maggio 1987*, Orizzonti Meridionali Ed., Cosenza 1990. According to father Lopinot, the harmonium was gifted by the Holy See and delivered as "military goods". It is today saved at the Capuchin cloister in Cosenza and was released by E. Galvan's factory at Borgo-Valsugana (TN).

286 Cf. nota del 7.XII.1942, *ibid.*

287 ASCDEC/Fondo Kalk, b. 02, fasc. 25.

288 The corpus of his works is currently accessible at Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Milano (I-MC).

7.9 Steinfeld, Sigbert
(Berlin, January 13, 1909 – ?)

The baritone Sigbert Steinfeld was born in Berlin on January 13, 1909 by Gustav. The only information about his early career comes from a very positive review of one of his concerts together with the legendary pianist Grete Sultan,²⁸⁹ quoted in *Rebellische Pianistin: Das Leben der Grete Sultan zwischen Berlin*.



The excerpt is here fully reported, since it offers an interesting insight in the musical life of the Ghetto in Berlin:²⁹⁰

Für den Juedischen Kulturbund, wie der Kulturbund Deutscher Juden seit August 1935 heisst, darf Grete Sultan jedococh weiterhin spielen. Ende 1935 gelangen in einem Hauskonzert bei Gertrude Weil neben Bagatellen und Liedern von Beethoven Lieder und Arien von Francesco Paolo Tosti, Brahms und Mendelssohn-Bartholdy zur Aufführung.

Grete tritt gemeinsam mit der Altistin Agnes Lenbach und dem rumänischstämmigen Bariton Sigbert Steinfeld auf. [...]

Dieses Konzertleben “im Ghetto” erwies sich von Anfang an als moralische Unterstützung der plötzlich vom Volksganzen abgeschnitten jüdischen Popolation; doch produziert es auch eine Erfahrung von Alltäglichkeit und gesellschaftlicher Norm, welche geeignet war, die tätsechliche Lage zu verharmlosen und zu ververschleiern, im welchem Ausmass die physische Existenz der Juden bedroht war. Wenn es kulturell so weitergehen durfte wie

289 Grete Sultan (1906 - 2005), born in Berlin, was a virtuoso pianist renowned for her repertoire spanning from Frescobaldi to Cage. She dedicated a relevant part of her activity to contemporary music (acquaintance with Theodor W. Adorno, Ferruccio Busoni, Henry Cowell, and Arnold Schoenberg). She studied with Leonid Kreutzer at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik (1921–1925), Richard Buhlig (1925–1926), Edwin Fischer (1927–1936), and Claudio Arrau (1937–1938). Performing both as a soloist and with Fischer and the cellist Enrico Mainardi. In 1941, she immigrated via Portugal to the United States and settled in New York City, where she had a close friendship with John Cage, whose piano works premiered as dedicatee. After the war, she concertized both in the USA and, among others, in South America, Japan and Europe. Cf. Sabine Feisst, ‘Sultan, Grete’ in *NGrove Music Online Dictionary* (12.12.2017).

290 Moritz von Bredow, *Rebellische Pianistin: Das Leben der Grete Sultan zwischen Berlin und New York*, 2012 Mainz, Schott Music, p.132.

gewohnt – zumal unter Obhut und mit taetiger, keineswegs nur zensurierender Anteilnahme einer NS-Behörde, der ein hoher SS-Offizier vorstand -, dann konnte es doch so ganz schlimm nicht mehr werden. Dass genau dies, “Ruhigstellung” und Täuschung, das Ziel der NS-Kulturpolitik war, liegt auf der Hand, Die wenigen, die dies derchsauten, kamen gegen den Optimismus der Mehrheit nicht an. Der Musikbetrieb, traditionell und an Geschmack und ästhetischer Bildung einer wohlhabenden, kulturfreudigen Oberschicht orientiert, verlief selbst ausserhalb der Kulturbünde, im privaten Kreis, nach gutter Gewohnheit. Nach wie vor fanden sich auch “arische” Musikfreunde, die den allgemein formulierten Boykottaufrufen trotzdem und weiterhin mit judischen Freunden in deren Wohnungen Hausmusik machten. Auch private Mäzene veranstalteten immer noch Konzert. So empfing beispielweise in Berlin die Mäzinin Frau Weil regelmaessig Künstler und Publikum in ihrem Hause, ganz in der Art des romanischen Salons nach jüdischer Tradition, die eine Kombination von Reichum und Kunstliebe von jener als Verpflichtung wertete. “Bei Weil” war ein Geheimtip für Kenner und Liebhaber. Die Programme hier umfassten Klassik und Moderne im kammermusikalischen und solistischen Genres einschliesslich Solonummern aus dem Opernrepertoire.

The musicians who attended the salon of Frau Gertrude Weil²⁹¹ suffered different destinies: while Grete Sultan managed to escape to the USA via Lisboa, the pianist Heinz Fischer²⁹² was arrested and deported to Łódź and then to Chelmno, where he found death, as well as the abovementioned alto Agnes Lenach.²⁹³ Steinfeld

291 Cf. Leonard Rogoff, *Gertrude Weil: Jewish Progressive in the New South*, 2017 Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina;

292 Heinz Fischer (1903 – 1942?) was born in Pankow. He completed his training as a pianist at the Berlin Musikhochschule, and as Grete Sultan was admitted to the class of Leonid Kreutzer. Already in July of the next year he played "Mussorgskij" during a lecture evening "Pictures of an exhibition". Several public appearances of his are documented; he premiered some contemporary works, like the ones by Norbert von Hannenheim, a pupil of Schönberg. However, as Nazi ideologues began systematically to be widespread, there were hardly any opportunities for him to pursue his profession and perform publicly. This was only possible in Jewish cultural events, which were still tolerated. Two such performances are documented: a house concert by the Jewish music patron Gertrud Weil in January 1936, where he also performed premieres of contemporary Jewish composers, and a concert at the Synagogue in Lindenstraße in Kreuzberg held in December 1937. In the autumn of 1939, he was forced to do compulsory work as a cartographer and labourer. In October 1941 Heinz Fischer - together with his mother and sister – was interned in the *Sammellager* in the synagogue in Levetzowstraße, from there deported to Litzmannstadt (Łódź) on October, 24 1941 and eventually to Chelmno (Kulmhof) on May, 4 1942. Cf. <http://www.stolpersteine-berlin.de/de/biografie/7519>

293 At the beginning of her singing career, Lenbach took several engagements at opera stages. In 1914, she was engaged at the Stadttheater Lübeck, two years later at the Stadttheater in Stettin and

probably reached Italy and was later interned in Ferramonti, where indeed he arrived neither with the group from Bengasi, nor with the castaways of the Pentcho. According to the documents, he was among the first prisoners arriving at the camp on July 7, 1940, at the age of 31. His name indeed appears in several early concert programmes and it is possible that he took many of his “arie di baule” to Ferramonti (*Lieder* by Tosti, Mendelssohn and Beethoven are recurrent in the programmes)²⁹⁴. In May 1942, he turned out to be in Picinisco, another reclusion place. It might be supposed that he is the musician to whose departure Lopinot’s sadly alluded in his diary, without mentioning the name of the artist.²⁹⁵

However, he was freed and apparently managed to come back to Berlin, if it is true that

Das fünfzigste Konzert im Haus Weil fan dim Mai 1963 statt – als Jubiläumsveranstaltung: Dr.Hans Nathan hielt eingangs ein Referat, das in Form eines Rechenschaftsberichts Geschichte und Erdnige der Weilschen Konzerte untersuchte. Dann sangen, am Flügel begleitet von Dr. Werner Liebenthal, Sigbert Steinfeld und Jenny Hanff Liedern und Opernarien.

the following year at the Stadttheater in Mainz. In 1918, she signed a contract with the United Town Theater in Chemnitz, where she remained until 1920. Two years later, she moved to the Stadttheater in Königsberg (East Prussia). In 1924 or 1925 she returned to her hometown and at the Hamburg Stadttheater, she performed for the last time a firm commitment as an opera singer. In early documents, she carried the name Leimdörfer, but later she appeared under the name Lenbach. In addition to her theatrical activity, Lenbach also regularly appeared as a concert singer in Berlin, Hamburg, Hanover, Leipzig, Dresden, Königsberg, Insterburg and Meiningen, and so fort. In 1933 her public career came to an abrupt interruption with the rise of the National Socialists. She moved to Berlin where she performed at the Jewish Cultural Union, she took over the role of Kathinka in Bedřich Smetana’s *Prodaná nevěsta* (*The Bartered Bride*, Cf. Stephan Stompor, *Jüdisches Musik- und Theaterleben unter dem NS-Staat*, Europäisches Zentrum für Jüdische Musik, Hannover 2001, p. 43) at the beginning of 1935. At the end of the year she performed with the pianist Grete Sultan (Cf. Moritz Alexander von Bredow, *Rebellische Pianistin: Das Leben der Grete Sultan zwischen Berlin und New York*, Schott, Mainz 2012, p. 132). After she had been expelled from the *Reichsmusikkammer*, she was also deprived of her education permit in November 1936 and probably deported to the Ghetto in November 1941, then her tracks got lost.

294 Cf. 5.2.

295 See Lopinot’s diary on September 29, 1941.

7.10 Sternberg, Ladislav (Uri)
(July 3, 1914/1916? – ?, 1984)

Ladislav Sternberg was born in Yugoslavia – his birthplace is unknown – on 1914 (according to Anna Pizzuti) or probably on 1916 (according to Dušan Mihalek) to Alexander Brcko Sternberg. He received his piano training in Osijek, at private lessons with Russian teachers, and went on to improve it as a refugee in Italy during World War II. He was interned in Ferramonti on October, 3 1941, coming from Trieste, from where he was probably trying to reach Palestine. He remained in Ferramonti till the arrival of the Allies and his presence was later registered in Bari (August, 1 1944). Sternberg probably had the opportunity to play some concerts in the South of Italy, before leaving for Palestine, especially for the American army. The review of one of his concerts is indeed reported in *The Tower*, a weekly journal of the the 464th BG's²⁹⁶ camp newsletter. It was published between August 1944 and 1945, substituting other journals circulating among the squadrons: *The Bomb Blast* and *The Putt Putt*. If these latter looked like simple typed sheets, with very few notes, some satirical vignettes, etc., *The Tower* closely resembled a real journal, both in his editing and riches of articles, recensions, first lingual and survival aids for American soldiers at their first experience «somewhere in Italy», as many commentaries say. The review clarifies that Sternberg was not only appreciated on that occasion, but was already held in great consideration as a world-renowned interpreter.²⁹⁷

296 The 464th Bombardment Group, consisted of four Squadrons, namely the 776th, 777th, 778th and 779th, who were activated at Wendover Field, Utah, on 1 August 1943. After temporary stations in other bases and training, on February 9, 1944, the Air Echelon departed first reaching the staging area at AAB, Lincoln, Nebraska a few days later and from there aircraft crews took off for their overseas destination, the first arriving in North Africa (Oudna) on March 9, 1944 – whereas the Ground Echelon departed by troop train for overseas service.

After training at Oudna, the Group flew to the temporary Base at Gioia del Colle, Italy on April 21, 1944 and flew their first combat mission few days later, with the Marshalling Yards at Castel Maggiore, Italy as the Group's first combat target. More than two hundred combat sorties were flown. For further details, cf. Tony Schneider, Secretary/NL Editor (464th, 776), from the 464th 2000 Reunion booklet, reproduced at: <http://www.americanairmuseum.com/unit/4052> (05.07.2017).

297 “Con molto Espressione” December, 31 1944, p. 2.

CON MOLTO (*sic*) ESPRESSIONE

To those of you who did not hear the piano concert in our chapel two days before Xmas I can only report that the performance was a complete success. The music lovers who where (*sic*) present realize this. Mr. Sternberg, the pianist, proves to be all and more than he was publicised to be. He succeeded in adding variety to the show with his few explanatory remarks prior to the renditions of some of Schumann's and Chopin's works. In short, Ladislav Sternberg, the personality as well as the musician, gave us a full evening.

In an informal interview following the concert we learned that he has been on world wide tours, which possibly accounts for good though broken English. His enthusiasm and eager cordiality was then shown as we listened to Beethoven's "Moonlight Sonata" and Chopin's famous "Polonaise in A major" both of which in themselves were worth coming to the chapel to hear. If this is "only the beginning" of the concerts series to come, then we are in for a very enjoyable music season.

On Monday, January 8th, the second of this series will feature the concert violinist Antonioni. It promises to be good so don't forget to come. (EM)

The concert was still remembered the following week, on January, 7 1945, while the ensemble scheduled on that week was badly reviewed, instead:²⁹⁸

Last week we were honoured with the presence of one Ladislav Sternberg
– a great pianist indeed.

According to Mihalek,²⁹⁹ he was awarded a American-Israeli grant to study in the USA, whrere he obtained his Doctorate. He had a brilliant carreer as a piano teacher in Israel and nowadays his note collections, is saved at the Be'er Sheva Conservatorium, his last work-place. Several pieces of music were taken there from Osijek, as well as at the Hebrew University Library in Jerusalem, which represents an important collecting point for data on the Music culture of Jews of Croatian origins. From the 1920s, indeed, several Jewish communities from the Diaspora used to send results of their artistical activities, including sheet music. As a result,

298 "Con molto Espressione" January, 7 1945, p.3

299 Mihalek, Dušan, *Echoes of Croatian Music Culture in Israel*, URL (01.10.2017):

https://www.academia.edu/3636085/Echoes_of_Croatian_Music_Culture_in_Israel

many issues of the *Zagreb Omanut* have been kept intact in the *Eventov Archive* at Hebrew University, as well as manuscripts of Rikard Schwartz's compositions, which were considered lost for a long time, were preserved in the Archive by mere chance.

Other of Sternberg's distinguished working activities included teaching at Negba Kibbutz, where he taught a host of students, including the prominent composer Meir Mindel. and the recordings for the Israeli Radio. He was also an outstanding teacher for the accordion.



464th Bombardment Group Choir - from the Collection of Howard Walker (776).

7.11 Thaler, Isko (Isak)

(Bohorodczany, January 17, 1902 – n.g.)

Ich bin am 17. Januar 1902 in einem kleinen ukrainischen Dorf geboren. Im Alter von etwa 4 Jahren machte ich die ersten Musizierungsversuche. Einige Jahre später erhielt ich den ersten Unterricht im Violinspiel; zugleich erwachte die Lust am Komponieren. Ich schrieb kleine Duette und Tänze. Erst vom Jahr 1917 an erhielt ich regelnden Unterricht in Harmonie-lehre und Kontrapunkt an der Wiener Musikakademie (Dr. Mandyczewski).³⁰⁰

Jetzt bin ich Schüler von Franz Schreker.³⁰¹ In der Hauptsache schrieb ich Lieder. Ein Chor mit breiteren Anlagen und verschiedenes Andere sieht seiner Vollendung entgegen.³⁰²



Isko Thaler introduced himself on *Neue Musik Zeitung* with this few lines, in first person. At the age of 22, he was one of the emerging artist in the German panorama, appearing in such a prestigious festival together with composers like

300 Eusebius Mandyczewski (1857-1929). Son of a Greek Orthodox priest of romanian origin, he grew up in a German environment. He studied music history with Hanslick and music theory with Nottebohm at Universität Wien. In 1879 he met Brahms, who became his lifelong friend and to whom he later became amanuensis. He succeeded Pohl as the director of the archives of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, became director of the orchestra in 1892, and professor of music at the conservatory. Between 1887-1897 he edited a *Schubert Gesamtausgabe*. He worked also at a critical edition of Beethoven and brought out a second volume of Nottebohm's *Beethoveniana*, a series of pioneering essays in Beethoven scholarship. Moreover, he was active as a composer of vocal and choral works (religious ones, in particular) for use in his activity as a teacher and as a conductor. He was the Viennese correspondent to the *Musical Times*. He was joint editor of the Brahms Gesamtausgabe with Hans Gál. Cf. M.J.E. Brown and V. Sandu-Dediu 'Mandyczewski, Eusebius' in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary, (18.09.2017).

301 The renowned composer and conductor Franz Schreker (1878-1934) had been offered a provisional teaching appointment at the Conservatory in Vienna. In early 1913 he was appointed full professor and in 1920 became director of the Musikhochschule in Berlin, where he taught, among the others, Berthold Goldschmidt, Alois Haba, Jasha Horenstein, Julius Bueger, Ernst Krenek, Zdenka Ticharish and Grete von Zieritz. Cf. Ch. Hailey. 'Schreker, Franz' in Grove Oxford Music Online Dictionary, (18.09.2017).

302 *Neue Musik Zeitung*, Heft 8: *Das Donaueschinger Programm*, 1924 Stuttgart, Verlag Carl Grüniger Nachf. Ernst Klett.

Arnold Schoenberg and interpreters like Erwin Schulhoff. The exact programme included, besides some Lieder by Thaler, the most outstanding composers: *Hölderlinlieder* by Josef Matthias Hauer, a String Quartett by Heinz Joachim, a *Serenade* for seven instruments and *Baßstimme* by Arnold Schoenberg, some piano works by Erwin Schulhoff, a String Quartett by Yosip Stolcer, *Streichquartettsätze und Lieder mit Quartettbegleitung* von Anton Webern, *Streichquartett* von Georg Winkler, Among the performers: Das Amarquartett, das Zikaquartett, Alfred Jerger, Erwin Schulhoff and a Wiener Kammerorchester under the baton of Arnold Schönberg.

So Isko Thaler, despite his young age, was already receiving the honour to be performed by worldwide artists. The performance was also positively reviewed:

Isko Thaler erwies sich als ein temperamentvoller Musiker, der in seinen Gesängen für Alt und Klavier oft überraschend bilderreiche Phantasie von erstaunlicher Schlagkraft zeigt. Wenig Kopfschmerzen hat er sich noch über die Grenzen der Lyrik und der menschlichen Stimme gemacht, mit der er barbarisch umspringt. Es bedurfte einer so grundmusikalischen und technisch überlegenen Sängerin wie Martha Fuchs, um nicht ein klägliches Ergebnis zu zeitigen.

In his early career, he also got in touch with Joachim Stutschewsky, an emphatic promotor of modern Jewish music,³⁰³ and contributed with some piano solo pieces to an anthology of him.

303 Joachim Stutschewsky (1891-1982) was a cellist, composer, music writer and musicologist, stemming from a Klezmer family in the Ukraine. In 1909 he moved to Leipzig to study at the local Conservatory with Julius Klengel. After graduating in 1912, he developed an intense concert activity, as a member of the Jena String Quartet. In 1914 he moved to Switzerland, where he joined Zionist circles and organised the first concerts of Jewish music from 1918 onwards. His own compositions in the tradition of the New Jewish School date back to 1923-24. He moved to Vienna soon afterwards and together with the violinists Rudolf Kolisch, Fritz Rothschild and viola player Marcel Dick, founded the Wiener Streichquartett, which began premiering works by the Second Viennese School around Arnold Schönberg. He left the quartet in 1927. In Vienna, Stutschewsky continued developing his career in Jewish music as a composer, interpreter, publicist and organizer and he was a co-founder of the Zionist newspaper *The Voice*, in which he directed the section "Jewish Music". He was one of the protagonists of the Association for the Advancement of Jewish Music, founded in Vienna in 1928, increasing his importance as a theorist

Unfortunately, as a renowned Jewish composer, Thaler was included in the *Lexicon der Juden in der Musik*,³⁰⁴ an encyclopedic work by Herbert Gerigk and Theophil Stengel listing Jewish musicians, composers, conductors, musicologists and editors: practically, a prescription list. In the entry related to Thaler, his name, datebirth, profession and city of residence is reported.

According tot he sources on September 16, 1940 he was registered in Ferramonti, together with ather prisoners coming from Bengasi: he probably tried to reach Palestine and was arrested with his family.

They were all transferred to Capranica on October 22, 1941 and came back to Ferramonti at the beginning of 1943, where they remained till its liberation. On August 16, 1944 Thaler family was registered in Bari. During his short stay in the camp, however, Isak managed to distinguish himself in planning musical activities, as the several appearances of his name on concert programmes reveal. After the war, Thaler remained in Italy. He was active in Bari as a composer and arranger. In the '50, he also worked as a song-writer and arranger for crossover artists.

7.12 Zins, Bogdan

(November 21, 1905 – ?)

Bogdan Zins was born in Stanislawow, a small town belonging to Poland at that time and currently to Ukraine. His father Karol (Carl or Carlo) was most probably among the pioneers of *Wandererkino*, a sort of ambulating cinema very popular at

of the New Jewish School in Europe. He organised concerts in many European countries and coordinated an extensive network of Jewish music organizations. In 1938, shortly before the invasion of the Nazi troops, he fled to Switzerland and subsequently emigrated to Palestine. Initially, he was the music representative of the Jewish National Council at the centre of musical life. His engagement played a prominent role in the approach of modern Israeli music, giving also lectures all over Israel. Since the 1950s, he has been intensively involved with Jewish music folklore: he collected Chassidic melodies and published his research results on Eastern European Jewish music traditions.

304 Herbert Gerigk and Theophil Stengel (edited by), *Lexicon der Juden in der Musik*, 1940 Berlin, Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag.

the beginning of the XX c. There is not certain information about his childhood: it is however almost likely that he learned several languages - perhaps by travelling - since he was employed as an official translator at censorship office as soon as he was prisoned by the fascists on September 16, 1940 in the camp of Campagna. It is unknown where and how he learnt to play music, whether he started playing the piano and during his captivity learnt also the accordion - since pianos were not



always available in the camps where he lived - or if he had an education in both instruments. Although in all the concert programmes where he is mentioned, his name is reported with a doctor title, it was actually impossible to determine if this was referred to his musical education or perhaps to another profession - in his visa of 1946 to Brazil at the entry "profession" he is described as a "technician of

transport", although this might simply be a "front" to ease his emigration to South America.

The reason of his stay in Italy at the time he was captured is even unknown: it might be supposed that, as many other Polish, he was escaping from other countries, where racial laws and deportations were already in force, attempting the life of many Jews. It is certain that he arrived to Campagna without his parents, still there are no information about other relatives – anyway, in 1946 he appears to be married.

Many sources report him organizing musical activities in Campagna camp and personally accompanied Catholic services at the harmonium. After his arrival to Ferramonti, since no keyboards instruments were available till June 1942, he kept on participating in concerts by playing the accordion. After the



liberation of the camp, he was transferred to Aprica, in another internment camp which in the previous months hosted several Croatian Jews, mainly deported from Zagreb in 1940, as soon as the Independent Ustasha State was established. Zins might have been among the refugees who managed to flee to Switzerland, since the only subsequent track of him is a visa to Rio de Janeiro, that he required to the Brazilian Embassy in G eneve. The document reports that Zins' passport was sent from Poland to Bern.

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REP BLICA DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DO BRASIL
FICHA CONSULAR DE QUALIFICA  O

MODELO S.C. 139 224822

Esta ficha, expedida em duas vias, ser  entregue   Pol cia Mar tima e   Imigra  o no porto de destino.

Nome por extenso **BOGDAN-DANIEL ZINS**

Admitido em territ rio nacional em car ter **permanente**
(classificado em permanente)

Nos termos do art. 9  letra - do dcc. n. 7.957, de 1945

Lugar e data de nascimento **Stanislawow, 21 / NOV / 1905**

Nacionalidade **polon s** Estado civil **casado**

Filia  o (nome do Pai e da M e) **Karol Zins e Julia Haber-**
-Hernioz Zins Profiss o ** cnica em transportes**

Resid ncia no pa s de origem **n o tem**

NOME IDADE SEXO

FILHOS
MENORES
DE 18 ANOS

010353/723/1758

Passaporte n. expedido pelas autoridades de Consulado da
Pol nia em Berna na data 5/AGO/46

visado sob n. 280

ASSINATURA DO PORTADOR:
Dr. Bogdan Daniel Zins

7 de outubro de 1946

SELO CONSULAR

Consulado Geral do Brasil
em Genebra

Jo o Oros-Vimpreta
C sul-Adjunto

Encarregado do Consulado Geral

NOTA—Esta ficha deve ser apresentada   aduana pela autoridade consular, sendo as duas vias em original.

Bogdan Daniel Zins' immigration card –

[https://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-](https://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=5499&h=21590&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=oRe3&phstart=success.Source)

[bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=5499&h=21590&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=](https://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=5499&h=21590&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=oRe3&phstart=success.Source)
[oRe3&phstart=success.Source](https://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=5499&h=21590&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=oRe3&phstart=success.Source)

As it appears from the short biographies presented in this chapter, such a group of musicians reveals very heterogeneous features with regard to their origins and age at the time of internment – some were already accomplished artists, who had studies in renowned European Conservatories and Institutions (as for instance Paul Gorin, Lav Mirski, Sigmund Steinfeld), others had not yet completed their studies (see Kurt Sonnenfeld). Eventually, some of them first approached music while staying in the camp (e.g. Oscar Klein and Leon Levitch). This is obviously due to the age variety of the internees. The racial laws prescribed the internment of people between 16 and 70 years, but these restrictions were often ignored and there is evidence of babies and elderly people living in Ferramonti.³⁰⁵ Moreover, all the above-mentioned musicians shared with most prisoners the status of refugees, due to their Jewish origins - even though they often belonged to different traditions.

It is easy to detect a considerable presence of singers and a moderate number of accompanists. Apart from keyboardists, violinists are quoted in the sources and the guitarist Moses Gornicki (cf. § 5). Although in the photos further instruments appear, it is easy neither to acquire their owners' names nor to draft a complete list of them. There is especially lack of information concerning instruments of considerable size, like cellos or basses. Some references can be found in Peter Georg's novel *Ferramonti*, where the author reports about a concert performed by (at least) a violinist, a cellist and a baritone.³⁰⁶ However, as it was clarified in § 2, such a narrative is highly fantasised and it is unfortunately impossible to verify the truthfulness of the description.

However, the numerous presence of both professional and non-professional singers should not be surprising: the voice represented the only instrument immediately and everywhere available, which did not require particular means or preparation.

³⁰⁵ See the list of internees in Ferramonti in Anna Pizzuti's Database.

³⁰⁶ Georg, *Ferramonti*, pp. 82-83.

Moreover, singing was the easiest way to involve also musically uneducated inmates in performances, for instance by taking part in the choir, and therefore contributing to create stricter relationships within the community of the internees. As already pointed out, this was not only a possibility to strengthen fellowships; on the contrary, conflicts could emerge, too. It is noteworthy to mention a report by Kalk, stating that part of the Jewish community was for instance disturbed by the attendance of several choristers and soloists to the catholic choir and rites. This led the most orthodox part of the Jewish community to get separated from the other Jews and to found another synagogue:³⁰⁷

Tra i frequentatori del grande Tempio serpeggiava già da tempo un certo malcontento e ciò perché il dirigente del coro della sinagoga Lav Mirski e i diversi membri del coro che deliziavano venerdì sera e sabato mattina i frequentatori della sinagoga con i loro canti liturgici ebrei facevano la stessa cosa alla messa domenicale nella chiesa cattolica del campo frequentata se non esclusivamente almeno prevalentemente da ebrei convertiti al cristianesimo. Il Prof. Lav Mirski invitato dai maggiorenti della sinagoga a fornire spiegazioni in proposito giustificava il suo operato con l'asserzione che pur essendo ebreo militante egli è un artista e che la direzione di un coro in una chiesa non infirma affatto la sua ebraicità. [...] I coristi, tra i quali alcuni cantanti di professione, si giustificavano pressappoco con i medesimi argomenti [...]. Se non ché un bel giorno il chazan (cantore) Weiss manda al Presidene della sinagoga Dott. Max Pereles una lettera, nella quale dichiara che la sua coscienza non gli permette di continuare le ufficiature [...] se il coro non espellerà i suoi membri che cantano in chiesa.

The episode is symptomatic of how music making could positively or negatively affect the social dynamics in the camp. At a more general level, this involves some considerations on the social role of the artists in the camp, to be considered not only in an aesthetical light, but also in their ethical and social function, as key-figures in a *non-lieu* like Ferramonti.

307 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive b. 2, fasc. 26, fl. 41-42.

8. *Lagermusik* as a Response to the Aporias of the Camp?

8.1 *Specific Features of Musical Performances in Ferramonti*

Music in Ferramonti was characterised by specific characteristics, namely:

- a) voluntary participation – as no form of coercion and little restrictions concerning music apparently existed;
- b) performance in both formal and informal contexts – a considerable amount of performances occurred in everyday life, e.g. for educational and entertainment purposes, as well as classical concerts, devotional music accompanying official events;
- c) wide social background – as it was always open to the whole community in Ferramonti, including both prisoners, guards and staff in service in the camp and possibly an external audience;
- d) high active attendance – performances always involved groups of prisoners and no solo performances are attested. Therefore, they represented an occasion for enforcing shared values and identify the participants as a community.

From these specific features, particularly the last one, musical performances can contribute to illuminate our understanding of the particular historical and social context of Ferramonti: in other words, music performances may have a potential value as a historical source in reconstructing and representing historical events and can offer an insight into internees' experiences and responses to them.

Nevertheless, there is of course criticism against it, considering for instance that sources connected to everyday life and events - as music performances - represent “unofficial sources”, more often created by the victims themselves. Similarly to oral history, also the ‘historical use’ of ‘non-historical sources’ has been facing disapproval, being accused of ‘inaccuracy’ for a long time and preventing historians in the immediate post-war years from taking them into due account.³⁰⁸

308 See Lynn Abrams, *Oral history theory*, 2010 London-New York, Routledge.

The first oral testimonies, indeed, were produced by individuals in the aftermath of traumatic events and appeared inappropriate to describe much beyond one's immediate experiences, they often selected and emphasised some aspects while consciously or unconsciously deforming, replacing or omitting others. Moreover, often they could not be properly informed about the larger context within which their experiences had happened and their memoirs might reveal discrepancies and inconsistencies with the general understanding of historical phenomena. Eventually, they were affected by the complex process of readapting themselves to society in the post-war period.

In the same way, artistic expressions appear partial representations of the reality, inaccurate, altered or subjectively influenced and anyway mere testimonies of everyday life. Furthermore, they represented the feelings and the expression of a part - potentially a literate and educated "elite" - of the camp. Thus historians, working to compile a body of verifiable evidence about a past event, may appear justifiably wary of reports whose content is even partially inaccurate.

Anyway, the importance of such sources especially emerges by considering some complementary aspects:

Performances and especially songs are a relevant body of texts originating from the time and the Lager itself, whilst most testimonies are subsequent to the events and offer a retrospective understanding of them. In this light, for instance, the corpus of Ferramonti's Lieder is a part of «a unique legacy: fragments of shared ideas and interpretation, orally conveyed and preserved, from communities that otherwise left few traces».³⁰⁹ Consequently, considering them together with other contemporary sources facilitates the understanding of the uncertain and changing perspectives of inmates during their stay at Ferramonti.

With reference to the music, it is noteworthy that the first concert programmes seemed less complex, with an exiguous number of performers involved and mainly

309 Gilbert, "Music as Historical Source: Social History and Musical Texts" in *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol.36, n.1 (June 2005), pp. 17-134, p. 123.

consisting of sung performances.³¹⁰ On the contrary, after the Armistice in September 1943, as soon as Ferramonti assumed the status of a DP-camp, more sophisticated performances made their appearance,³¹¹ including entertainment music (Kabarett) and theatrical events with scenography.

In both the pre- and post-Armistice context, music played a fundamental role as a communal activity: on the one hand, by allowing groups to spend time together, cultivating a sense of community in the face of hardship and sharing experiences and responses and finding temporary reprieve from the camp world. On the other hand, though, the social makeup of the camp might become detectable: social diversities within communities, differences in experiences between religious, and national origins, and eventually the wide range of personal attitudes towards what was happening, alternating optimism, despair, fear and even humour. Differently from experiences in other camps, however, in Ferramonti disparities and discriminations tended to be less evident and collaborative rather than competitive attitudes characterised the relationships among inmates.³¹²

Not only was music a strong medium inside the camp, but it also facilitated the preservation of pre-war identities while simultaneously engaging new experiences.³¹³ Therefore, it offers an insight into origins, pre-war education and communal background of single and large groups of prisoners respectively and contributes to lightening the complex framework of a contradictory reality like Ferramonti. This is particularly evident in the biographical portraits of the main professional musicians interned in the camp (§ 7): it would be hard to imagine a more heterogeneous association of artists in a different context collaborating in the same artistic projects.

It should also be assumed that these materials most probably constituted a relevant part of internees' exchange from camp to camp. Differently from elsewhere, it is true that in Ferramonti, beside Lieder-texts, several forms of writing were allowed

310 See § 5.2 The *Konzertveranstaltung* in Ferramonti.

311 See § 5.5.2 Concerts after the liberation: The concert of the Austrians in 1944.

312 Cf. § 4.4 The camp between January 1942 and September 1945.

313 Cf. § 4.1 and § 7.

and consequently more written documents survived, but it is also remarkable that written communication was controlled by a strong censorship, while oral forms of transmission were most likely difficult to control. Songs were an effective means of sharing information and might have served as a mnemonical device to record internees' impressions.³¹⁴ Moreover, considering various musical sources, Lieder-texts and educational programmes, it may be possible also to compare the situation in several Southern-Italian internment camps, with regard to both life conditions and cultural organizations, as for instance between the camps of Ferramonti and Rhodes or Campagna.³¹⁵

Of course music does not represent the only source. Visual materials remaining from the time, of which photographs constitute the most substantial part, can give us some ideas of the concrete circumstances of internment, by providing documentary evidence of everyday life.³¹⁶ Though, in contrast with music, the scarcely surviving photos were taken on specific occasions – it should be reminded that it was forbidden to own cameras according to camp regulations. Most of the visual sources were consequently illegally taken by Kalk himself on his visits. The materials coming from the Imperial War Museum of London, instead, including the first video-recording concerning Ferramonti, date back to the liberation days and offer a limited and sometimes propagandistic insights into the camp.

Furthermore, other forms of artistic creation that existed to a relevant degree were literature and drawing. It should be remembered here that in the camp a library existed and at least one literary competition was organised. Besides, in Ferramonti some painters were interned, among whom Michel Fingesten (1884-1943)³¹⁷ was definitely the most relevant. Drawing itself was one of the teaching activities in the Lager-Schule, as the collection of children's drawings in the Kalk Archive at CDEC

314 Cf. § 5.3 *The Lieder*.

315 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive III-IV. "Confinio e altri campi" b.3 and b. 4.

316 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive III-IV. "Confinio e altri campi" b.3 and b. 4. See also § 5, pp. 152-156.

317 Michel Fingesten was a painter and graphic artist, among the most prolific graphic artists of 20th-century ex libris.

shows.³¹⁸ However, unlike other art forms, music was usually a group activity, involving people either as active participants or as an informal audience.

Eventually, like other sources, the musical texts pose problems, often lacking information about composers, lyricists, the context within which certain pieces would have been performed and the exact extent of prisoners exposed to them. As a result, the scope and impact of certain kinds of musical activity are difficult to establish. Post-war testimonies are sometimes helpful in this regard and song texts sometimes allow for fairly reliable assumptions concerning their use.

8.2 *Is Lagermusik a Genre? Some Considerations on Music and Literature*

The research on *Lagermusik* actually shares many problems with the literature from internment and extermination camps, with memoirs as a literary genre and more generally with writing as a means to remember. How should such materials be regarded by musicologists and researchers? The issue already debated in a literary context may turn out to be helpful in order to identify a music corpus lacking a precise definition.³¹⁹ In a strict sense, indeed, all the works aimed at fixing a decisive experience and at passing it on to new generations belong to the wide category of “writing as a remembrance”, being created and addressed not only to an individual, but by an individual who deeply participated in a collective dimension.

318 Cf. ASCDEC/Kalk Archive – VIII. Bozzetti letterari e disegni dei bambini internati a Ferramonti-Tarsia.

319 Cf. Elena Rondena, *La letteratura concentrazionaria: opere di autori italiani deportati sotto il nazifascismo* 2013 Novara, Interlinea ed.; Veronica Ujcich, *L'esperienza concentrazionaria nella letteratura italiana: alcuni percorsi*, Dissertation a.y. 1997-1998 Università degli Studi di Trieste; Frediano Sessi, “La letteratura concentrazionaria tra verità e finzione a partire da Primo Levi” in Ada Neiger (edited by), *Primo Levi: il mestiere di raccontare, il dovere di ricordare: atti del convegno*, Trento, 14 maggio 1998, p. 17-31.

In literature, such a production includes different kinds of texts: diaries and memoirs of internees, contemporary literary elaborations connected to historical events, social and historical works and essays asf., with organic or fragmentary characteristics. In any of the previous cases, however, the “narrative agreement” between the author and the reader is (or should be) connotated through an ideal of sincerity, in accordance with historical facts and including few variations which may become elements of specific interest. Thus, memory in this meaning should not be defined as the opposite concept of forgetfulness, but a mix of remembering and forgetting, namely consisting of series of saving, eliminating and re-configuring operations.³²⁰ Aharon Appelfeld called such processes «spots of memory»,³²¹ a sort of epiphany which should be carefully approached, in order to detect not only what it clearly witnesses, but also “what is lacking”.

In this meaning, art and music may act as «spots of memory», whose function does no consist in remarking the weak distinction between objectivity and subjectivity while fixing or reconstructing experiences; on the contrary, they more convincingly result in a search for meaning.

For this scope, actually music can either be helpful or strongly misleading, as will be stressed. Both literary and musical art forms, indeed, raise the issue concerning the scopes of memorializing, the responsibility of remembrance and its ethical meaning, as well as the grade of trustworthiness of testimonies, considering that the only true witnesses have perished and are thus neither able to fulfil their function as witnesses nor to interpret their own memoirs.

320 Cf. Mario Barenghi, “Perché crediamo a Primo Levi?” in *Lezioni su Primo Levi*, n.4, 2013 Torino, Einaudi.

321 Cf. Aharon Appelfeld, *Beyond Despair: Three Lectures and a Conversation With Philip Roth*, 1994 [s.l.], Fromm Int.

8.3 *A Philosophical Perspective on the Understanding of Lagermusik*

Although musicological research has already answered several questions concerning historical contextualization, methodological approach, stylistic classification asf., the aesthetical question which underlies of such a musical production and its reasons is far from being univocally answered and is still questioning «the survivals of Auschwitz», who, according to Primo Levi's definition, should not be regarded exclusively as the generation who literally escaped extermination, but also – and perhaps most significantly – all the generations following «Auschwitz», here meant as a symbolic turning point of history, which divides humankind who faced its own intrinsic limit from the previous one (Adorno).³²² Auschwitz itself, after all, can be thought of as nothing else but a limit: according to Levi, all the people who authentically faced the Shoah are dead and cannot bear witness. Actually, the only ones able to speak, namely 'the survivals', did not live it completely, right because they literally 'out-live' such a limit. This is one of the main issues faced by the writer in his *The Drowned and the Saved* (chapter: *The Grey Zone*):³²³

We survivors are not only an exiguous but also an anomalous minority: we are those who by their prevarications or abilities or good luck did not touch bottom. Those who did so, those who saw the Gorgon, have not returned to tell about it or have returned mute, but they are [...] the submerged, the complete witnesses, the ones whose deposition would have a general significance. They are the rule, we are the exception.

Furthermore, one of Adorno's most quoted but rarely detailed assertions, concerning the impossibility of art after Auschwitz («to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric»)³²⁴ threatens to push the discussion towards a paradoxical

³²² The last chapter of *Negative Dialectics* by Theodor W. Adorno is focused on Auschwitz and its interpretation.

³²³ Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, p. 83-84.

³²⁴ Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, 1973 Routledge, London and New York, tr. by E.B.

end. Indeed, among residual testimonies, musical and artistical expressions survive, which with their mere actuality keep on questioning the survivor. Therefore, how should Shoah art be regarded? What about remembrance through art? It should here be clarified that Adorno's attempt was not to silence poets and artists, unavoidably condemning them to an aporetic condition. This appears more evident in a reformulation of his thought thirteen years later, in the *Negative Dialektik*, where it is actually the concept of «Barbarei» to be better articulated. The first and most obvious form of barbarism is indeed individualised in the on-living condition to (or better, in spite of) Auschwitz, here as a symbol of the *Endlösung*.³²⁵

After Auschwitz, our feelings resist any claim of the positivity of existence as sanctimonious, as wronging the victims; they balk at squeezing any kind of sense, however bleached, out of the victim's fate.

Such a complex expression stigmatizes the failure of metaphysics to trace a positive meaning of human existence, to find a sense transcending the imminence. According to this, any cultural expression and articulation of concepts (i.e. also art) - *per se* affirming what should have been radically negated (on-living) – seems to be logically inadmissible and therefore «barbaric». The paradox of survivors' guilt would signify that any mode of existence continuation, including art, is barbaric. Though negation is a no longer available option.

The second sense refers to the fact not only metaphysics, but also culture has irremediably failed, since it was incapable of preventing Auschwitz from happening. Worse, besides not serving as an antidote against barbarism at all, art and culture even contributed to Nazi ideology and propaganda and thereby became complicit in the most radical way. According to Adorno:³²⁶

Ashton, p. 361.

325 Ibid.

326 Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, 1973 Routledge, London and New York, tr. by E.B. Ashton, p. 366.

[...] Auschwitz demonstrated irrefutably that culture has failed. That it could happen in the midst of all the traditions of philosophy, of art and of the enlightening sciences, says more than that these traditions and their spirit, lacked the power to take hold of men and work a change in them. [...] Whoever pleads for the maintenance of this radically culpable and shabby culture turns into its accomplice, while the man who says no to is directly furthering the barbarism which our culture showed itself to be.

Anyway, not even silence may represent a solution; on the contrary, in the subsequent lines what he called a «new categorical imperative [...] imposed upon unfree mankind by Hitler», demand individuals «arrange their thoughts and actions so that Auschwitz will not repeat itself, so that nothing similar will happen»,³²⁷ as a response to barbarism.

It is true that human beings are «unfree», meaning that the process of civilization has not worked as a tutelage against barbarism and not released them. Consequently, it is also true that any appeal to universal reason (the so-called Kantian “*Vernunft*”) for alleged salvation is no longer plausible: nevertheless, human responsibility shall first and foremost to confront itself with its own irreparable failure. Consequently, also Shoah art – both intended as art from and concerning Shoah – finds a possible deep meaning, an *ubi consistam*, even in Adorno's radical discourse, if approached under some circumstances.

Namely, as a first prerequisite, the ideal distinction between documentary and celebrative intentions should be mentioned. Such a theme has been effectively faced, among others, by Roberto Taradel.³²⁸

327 Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, p. 365.

328 Taradel in *Musica per l'abisso*, p.165-66, clarified that in approaching such a repertoire, two concepts are often – and sometimes intentionally – confused and overlapped, namely ‘document’, as a documentary object, and ‘monument’, as a memorial structure. Indeed, both take part in the artistic production from or concerning the Shoah. Thus, their boundaries are often unclear with reference to a historical event and it is anything but obvious deciding whether the artistic object stands for a “document”, (etymologically from Latin *doceo* “proof, example, written evidence”) or for a “monument” (etym. from Lt. *moneo* “admonishment, reminder”). In order to get a deeper comprehension, as suggested by Taradel, common sense should be rejected, renouncing ensuring and predictable answers, in favour of overturning perspectives.

In short, the boundaries between documentation and celebration are often confused and not easily detectable, nevertheless one should be aware that monumentalizing processes more often impoverish instead of enforcing meaning. A trivialised, oversimplified and reassuring approach to Shoah art - raising such artistic forms to implicit paradigms of human endurance or spiritual superiority to hardship – would surely adhere to narrative models in accordance with epic canons and heroic ends, either historically given or as a spiritual victory *a posteriori*, but they would definitely miss the point in providing authentic documentation and self-representation of humankind. The criticism against such an approach has already affected several kinds of narratives connected to the Shoah – both in literary and cinematographic genres – but appears even more significant in musical art.

Secondly, distinguishing its aesthetical criteria from the Nazi aesthetics, with no demand towards a metaphysical achievement – since this human attempt has already been prevented and even «ridiculed» by Auschwitz, as aforementioned. Rather than restoring ancient so-called «Kantian spectres»,³²⁹ archetypal and mystifying ideals connected to the ennobling and edifying functions of the art, Shoah art should represent the «sole adequate praxis after Auschwitz [...] to put all energies towards working our way out of barbarism».³³⁰ Indeed, Shoah art and any artistic-musical expression in comparable extreme circumstances offers an opposite gateway. Such a music originated as a reaction to the abovementioned aesthetical model and by no means can be assimilated to it. Practically, such a

329 According to Distaso, such a ghost of Kantian thought still underlies to the idea of art prominence and the Shoah art seems to enforce such a paradigm: «il contrappunto tra l'orrore della Shoah e la produzione artistica che si squaderna al suo interno è perfettamente congeniale a questo tipo di interpretazione, da cui questo paradigma esce rafforzato e confermato, anziché confutato» - p. 170.

The most astonishing aspect of such an aesthetical interpretation of Shoah art would be represented by its closeness to national-socialist aesthetical model: the fascist aesthetic indeed still reintroduce the triad of well, good and true – without of course inventing it, considering its deep roots in Romantic philosophy – and decline it in the light of a racial distortion, assuming art as the result of a genius, who is no longer a particular individual or human society, but an ancestry, which takes the name of race and is identified on biological basis.

330 Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, p. 367.

reaction must remain a utopia, literally intended as a restoration which can have no place, anyway calling for responsibility from within an aporetic condition.

Adopting an Adornian perspective, it might be asserted that the supposed aim of the Shoah was not the annihilation of millions of people, but the obliteration of the individual, by reducing the human being as «specimen».³³¹ Indeed, the most powerful negation of any form of *principium individuationis* did not consist in nullifying some aspects connected to life – in terms of rights, freedom, etc. – but in denying an individual, singular death.³³² To such a death threat the inmates in Ferramonti were only partially exposed;³³³ nevertheless, their artistic and musical expressions could be interpreted as an expression of their *principium individuationis* and as an attempt to give value to their present lives – their *hic et nunc* – by no means trying to restore a metaphysics *tout court* or once and for all providing their (and more in general human) existence with meaning.

On the contrary, it is a sort of “metaphysics” which actually accommodates contingency, in which well, good and true cannot coincide any longer.³³⁴ At the same time, the contingency is not merely given as an epiphenomenon of the nihilism and reification ideology: this would correspond to misunderstanding such artistic expressions, which possibly represented the utmost way of undertaking human responsibility.

Therefore, the aesthetic dealing with Shoah music cannot be consolatory, as well as musical works do not represent a promise of redeemed humanity, since they “saved” - from an ontological viewpoint - neither the performers at the time, nor the contemporary listeners.

331 Ibid.

332 Through the «bureaucratization» of death, which in Heideggerian terms would represent «the most original form of the possibility of existence».

333 With the only exceptions of few internees killed during the Allied bombing in September 1943 or captured after their escape from Ferramonti and deported to other camps.

334 According to Distaso, this is a possible interpretation of Adorno’s assert on the impossibility of art after Auschwitz.

Auschwitz nullifies the attempt to re-build the meaning of immanence, which could transcend the present and find a positive existential dimension.

Nevertheless, if it is true that not only was Auschwitz possible, but primarily possible, also «artistical and musical expressions in internment camps like Ferramonti and in KZ-Lager were possible, *though* Auschwitz and *because of* Auschwitz: in such a context, these art forms have preserved, witnessed and provided the possibility of the art»,³³⁵ possibly calling for a radical change in our definition of musical art, its nature and boundaries.

³³⁵ Distaso, *Musica per l'abisso*, p. 163 (own translation).

Appendices

A. Transcription of Sonnenfeld's Memoirs

(Source: ASCDEC/Kalk Archive II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b.02, fasc.25, fl. From 32.1 to 36.2)

Kurt Sonnenfeld, geboren am 24. Februar 1921 in Wien (Österreich), wurde im Jahre 1939 durch die Judenverfolgungen gezwungen auszuwandern, indem ich nach Mailand kam. Am 1. Februar 1941 wurde ich verhaftet und ins Gefängnis (San Vittore) eingeliefert, wo ich 3 Wochen verweilte, wonach ich dann nach dem Internierungslager Ferramonti verschickt wurde. Man sah dort nichts anders als eine trostlose Gegend mit Baracken von Hügeln umgeben.

Ich sehnte mich um ein wenig Musik, zum Glück wies man mich zu der 14. Baracke wo sich zwei junge Leute befanden, die auf dem Akkordeon u[nd] der Gitarre täglich ihre Weisen zu Gehör brachten.

Es war natürlich eine gewisse Beruhigung für mich. Nach einiger Zeit, lernte ich Meister Thaler kennen, welcher eine kleine Kapelle gründete. Von jenem Tag an, nahm die musikalische Kunst ihren Aufstieg.

Eines Tages lass man folgende Anschrift:

(I)

Ich konnte leider bei solchen Konzerten nichts beitragen, da kein Klavier vorhanden war. Es vergingen ca. 3 Wochen und ein abendliches Konzert wurde veranstaltet unter dem Titel "Opern(~~abend~~)arien" gesungen von Paul Gorin (Bariton), Dr. Bogdan Zins, begleitete auf seiner 80 bassigen Fisarmonica mit unglaublicher Fingerfertigkeit und Expression.

Weitere Konzerte fanden statt unter Mitwirkung von Sigmund Mentlich, (Tenor), und Dora Mentlich (Sopran).

Unser Publikum brachte immer den Künstlern große Begeisterung zum Ausdruck.

Um nun die schlimme Vergangenheit jedes Einzelnen zu vergessen, trachtete man ein wenig Heiterkeit ins Lager zu bringen, mit einem Wort eine kleine Varieté-Vorstellung zu veranstalten, in der auch ich als Wiener Liedersänger teilnahm. Unter anderen brachte ich einen Schlager vor, dessen Text u[nd] Musik von mir geschrieben ist.

(II)

So verging 1 Jahr, als plötzlich eine Gruppe Jugoslawen im Lager eintrafen, darunter befand sich Meister Mirsky (Operndirektor) und zahlreiche Sänger.

Meister Mirsky organisierte einen Chor welcher für unsere Gottesdienste im Tempel bestimmt war. Jeden Freitag Abend und besonders an jüdischen Feiertagen war unser Gotteshaus vollgesteckt mit Menschen, man hatte fast gar nicht [den] Eindruck interniert zu sein. Rudi Marton (Tenor), Bruno Weiss (Bariton) und Michael Adler (Bass) produzierten sich mit Erfolg als Solisten. Besonders der Psalm, "Adonaj Maloch" blieb uns unvergesslich.

Doch Meister Mirsky befriedigte (sic) sich nicht, er verstärkte den Chor mit einer Reihe von Slowenen welche das Publikum mit ihren herrlichen Stimmen berauschten.

Unermüdlich wurde geprop[sic]t, nachdem man sich für ein großes Konzert vorzubereiten hatte. Der Chor umfasste ca. 40 Männer, für ein Lager eine unvorstellbare Angelegenheit. Es wurden an verschiedenen Stellen des Lagers Plakate befestigt in denen geschrieben stand:

(III)

Dieses Konzert war für uns ~~auch~~ ein besonderes Ereignis.

Meister Mirsky organisierte einen Chor für die katholische Kirche in der meistens Slowenen teilnahmen. Auch Bruno Weiss, Paul Gorin und Elly Silberstein beteiligten sich als Solisten, begleitet auf dem Harmonium dessen Klang einer Orgel gleich war. Nachdem später Meister Mirsky Lagerdirektor wurde, übernahm ich oftmals seine Stelle, denn es mangelte ihm an Zeit. Ich zeichnete mich jedoch zu seiner Zufriedenheit aus.

Die Perosi Messe war eines der schönsten Werke welche aufgeführt wurde.

Ich übte mich fast jeden Tag am Harmonium indem ich Werke von Frescobaldi sowie Präludien u. Fugen von Johann Sebastian Bach spielte. Es wurde auch eine griechisch-

ortodoxische [sic] Kirche errichtet, in der wir zu Weihnachten sangen. Schön und zu gleicher Zeit neu waren für uns jene heiligen Gesänge. Dies waren bis jetzt die musikalischen Eindrücke vom Lager Ferramonti, doch der Höhepunkt war noch nicht erreicht. Es wurde weitergearbeitet und organisiert.

Ganz unerwartet wurde eines Tages ein langer alter Flügel aus Cosenza ins Lager transportiert welcher von Postmeister aufgefördert wurde. Unsere Direktion kaufte später den Flügel welcher uns Internierte bis zur Auflösung des Lagers zur Verfügung stand. [Handwritten correction, probably by Kalk: No! È stato preso dalla Mensa die Bambini]. Es[sic] wurde in eine leere Baracke gestellt, welche sich dann in einen Theatersaal verwandelte. Diejenigen, welche die Fähigkeit besaßen zu spielen, konnten sich für das Klavier abon[!]ieren, es wurde zu diesem Zweck ein Stundenplan geschaffen. Viel leichter war es auch, Konzerte zu veranstalten. Wir bereiteten ein reichhaltiges Varietéprogramm vor unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Artisten. Nehmen wir Einblick:

(IV)

Lächelnd und zufrieden verließ das Publikum die Theaterbaracke. Für uns Künstler war es eine große Genugtuh[!]ung.

Inzwischen bereitete sich Meister Mirsky für ein drittes Konzert vor indem er einen Frauenchor beifügte, doch diesmal hatten wir leider nicht das Glück unsere Arbeit zu vollenden, da sich der Krieg bis zu unserem Lager zog. Cosenza, welches 37 km von uns entfernt war, wurde bombardiert. Die Deutschen welche glaubten die Invasion der Alliierten auf Sicilien aufhalten zu können, waren gezwungen wieder nach dem Norden zu ziehen.

Die meisten von uns flüchteten in die Berge und verblieben so lang, bis die Alliierten (es war im September 1943) unserer Lager befreiten. Es wurde bald darauf Ordnung hergestellt und [wir] konnten wieder unsere Arbeiten mit Ruhe fortsetzen. Wir lebten diesmal in unsrer heißersehnten Freiheit.

Café's wurden errichtet, man zerstreute sich bis in die Nacht hinein, Prof. Steinberg spielte auf seiner Fisarmonica, man vergaß die Schrecken, welche man vor kurzem mitmachen mußte.

Am 31. Dezember (Silvesterabend) veranstalteten wir ein reichhaltiges Varietéprogramm mit folgenden Nummern:

1. Ein kleines Kind Namens Marina begrüßte die Anwesenden
2. Die Conferens[!]e hielt Kurt Bachmann
3. Herr Prinz präsentierte sich mit seinen Zauberstücken
4. Anni Lazar und Kurt Bachmann produzierten sich mit einer Modeschau die aus Decken und Vorhängen unseres Lagers stammten
5. Regina und Marco Tassoni tanzen einen spanischen Rumba
6. Anni Lazar sang ein Wiener Liederpotpourri
7. Auch mit einem Feuerschlucker hatten wir zu tun
8. Weiters folgte eine Zirkusnummer
"Das Gewichtsstemmen" welcher von Robert Fränkel und Moritz Rochmonsky aufgeführt wurde
9. Und nun einen Schlager mit dem Titel "Con te Amor" welcher von Regina Takani und Kurt Sonnenfeld im Duett gesungen wurde
10. Frau Kanner und Kurt Sonnenfeld sangen das spanische Lied "Heiße Nächte" Musik von Kurt Sonnenfeld
11. Russisches Quartett unter Mitwirkung von Herrn Herrmann, Moritz und Else Rochmansky und Sig. Mario
12. Der Direktionstisch wiedergegeben von unserem bekannten Ensemble
Kanner – Hermann - Steiner
13. Eine Jazzimitation vorgebracht von Kurt Sonnenfeld
14. Am Brunnen (Ereignisse unseres Lagers) unter Mitwirkung von Frau Basch, Frau Kanner und Frau Hermann
15. Nun eine impressionierende Vorführung "Der Se[!]belschlucker" Selenak [?]
16. Zur Abwechslung, sang Anni Lazar ein Wiener Lied
17. Der Stierkampf (Habanera) vorgebracht von Herrn Herrmann (der Torero) und Salzer-Rosenfeld
18. Negerstepp: Im Duett getanzt von Salomon Takani und Kurt Sonnenfeld (bei dieser Nummer lachte man Tränen)
19. Zum Schlusse pre[!]sentierte sich das gesamte Ensemble mit dem Schlager "Calabresina"

Nach zwei Monaten fand ein weiteres Varietéprogramm statt, dessen Veranstaltung das Werk der österreichischen Gruppe war.

Möchte hervorheben das[!] der Sketsch „Eine Versteigerung im Wachsfigurenkabinett[“] auf Wunsch unseres Publikums in diesem Programm unter anderen wiederholt werden musste.

(V)

Außer jenen großen Programmen wurden inzwischen auch kleine Vorstellungen gegeben wie zum Beispiel “Kindernachmittage”

Lisl Bader stellte sich als l. Tänzerin vor, welche vom Kinderballett umgeben war. Die Tänze wurden von Eddy Weichselbaum welcher von Beruf Tanzlehrer war, einstudiert.

Weiters wurden jüdische Liederabende veranstaltet, es sangen Herr Introta sowie Herr Rosenstein. Letzterer wirkte sehr komisch, doch wir nahmen es nicht tragisch und unterhielten uns dabei recht gut. Ich erinnere mich als ich an jenen[!/m] Tage mit Herrn Rosenstein die Probe abhielt an einer[!] von ihm verfaßten Frase welche folgend lautete: Auch wenn das Klavier mit meinem Gesang nicht übereinstimmt das spielt keine Rolle, Hauptsache wir treffen uns am Schluß. Schade das niemand dabei anwesend war, es wäre wirklich ein großer Erfolg gewesen.

Weiter folgten 3 Konzerte.

„(Aus) Opernarien

1. Konzert Dr. Herbert Neuwalder (Tenor)

2. “ Dr Geremia Metzger (Bass)

3. “ Sigismund Mentlich (Tenor)
Dora Mentlich (Soprano)

Und nun nehmen wir Einblick in das Programm jenes Konzertes welches in Cosenza abgehalten wurde. Riesige Menschen mengen sich zu den Kassen um sich rechtzeitig Plätze reservieren zu können.

(VI)

Dieses Konzert war leider das letzte, den[!] die Jugoslawen wurden samt Meister Mirsky nach Palästina abtransportiert. Der Abschied war rührend, da man gewöhnt war lange Zeit beisammen zu sein.

Blos[!] Die Slowenen blieben ~~blos~~ zurück. Ich übernahm die Vertretung von Meister Mirsky in der katholischen Kirche, um jenen dafür bestimmten Chor aufrecht zu erhalten, während es in unserem Tempel einsah[!]mer wurde, da die meisten Jugoslawen waren, die der Chor bildeten. Das Lager wurde immer leerer und leerer. Jeder einzelne war mit Zukunftsplänen bewaffnet.

Das Klavier stand mir vollkommen zu Verfügung, ich war nicht böse darüber, da ich Jahr lange außer Übung gewesen bin.

Ich verließ im Jahre 1938 das Neue Wiener Konservatorium und hatte seitdem keine Gelegenheit mehr mich fortzubilden, letztens schrieb ich einige klassische Kompositionen.

Im September 1945 wurde ich von der U.N.R.R.A. nach Milano gebrachte[!].

Nun konnte ich wieder als freier Mensch leben und frequentierte bald darauf symphonische Konzerte im Theater Nuovo und im Theater della Scala. Nun studiere ich weiter Komposition und Klavier und hoffe sobald wie möglich meine Karriere als Dirigent und Komponist antreten zu können.

Zum Schluß lieber Leser wünsche ich Ihnen gute Unterhaltung zu den Versen welche ich beilege. Es ist eine Parodie aus den bekannten Schlägern deren Musik von Hermann Leopoldi stammt.

B. Ferramonti Lieder

All the Lieder-texts collected in the Kalk Archive³³⁶ - probably sent by Sonnenfeld himself - seem to be parodies of Lieder by Hermann Leopoldi,³³⁷ provided with slightly different lyrics, adapting the meaning of the original song to the situation in Ferramonti. For instance, toponyms are replaced and allusions to particular happenings in the camp – possibly involving illegal actions by internees – are denounced. Here below, two examples are reported, comparing parodies with Leopoldi's original versions: *In einem kleinen Café in Hernals* and *Schön ist so ein Kartenspiel* (the latter a parody of *Schön ist so ein Ringelspiel*). Additionally, also the other Lieder attached to Sonnenfeld's memoirs (*In Langenlois*, *Schinkenfleckerl* and *Ueberlandpartie*) present homonymous titles as in Leopoldi's corpus.³³⁸

N.B. All Ferramonti-Lieder are reported as diplomatic transcriptions.

In einem kleinen Cafe in Hernals

In einem kleinen Cafe bei Herrn Salz
Steht der Herr Kohn beim Radio schon,
Ma hoert kan Ton.
Da genuegen schon zwei Baeckerein
Um ein paar Tage ganz neger zu sein.
In einem kleinen Cafe bei Herrn Salz
Triffst taeglich du die Direktion jedenfalls
Und geben zwei Haendler sich dort Rendezvous.
Drückt der Herr Kanner ganz diskret ein Auge zu.

336 ASCDEC/Kalk Archive b. 2, fasc. 25, fl. 27.

337 Hermann Leopoldi: see n. 177.

338 Ronald Leopoldi et alii (edited by), *Leopoldiana: Gesammelte Werke von Hermann Leopoldi und 11 Lieder von Ferdinand Leopoldi*, Beiträge zur Wiener Musik, 2011 Wien, Nachlassverwaltung Hermann Leopoldi und Institut für historische Intervention.

In einem kleinen Cafe in Hernals
(lyrics by Peter Herz, music by H. Leopoldi)
- refrain -

In einem kleinen Café in Hernals
Spielt's Grammophon
Mit leisem Ton
An English-Waltz –
Dort genügen zwei Mokka allein
Um ein paar Stunden so glücklich zu sein!
In einem kleinen Café in Hernals
Klopft manches Herzerl hinauf bis zum Hals
Und gebn zwei Verliebte sich dort Rendezvous
Drückt der Herr Ober ganz diskret ein Auge zu!

Schön ist so ein Kartenspiel

Schön ist so ein Kartenspiel.
Wer gescheit ist, der riskiert net viel.
Sie wissen, dass sich jedermann
Die Karten leicht markieren kann.
Dann setzt man sich in einem Cafe
Und wartet auf an schoenen W...
Man kan sagen, was man will,
Schoen ist so ein Kartenspiel.

Schön ist so ein Ringelspiel
(lyrics by Peter Herz, music by H. Leopoldi)
- refrain -

Schön ist so ein Ringelspiel!
Das is a Hetz und kost net viel...
Damit auch der kleine Mann
sich eine Freude leisten kann.
Immer wieder fährt man weg
und draht sich doch am selben Fleck.
Man kann sagen, was man will,
schön ist so ein Ringelspiel!

In Langenlois

Im Campo hier, im Campo hier,
Da wird es jetzt schoen langsam stier,
Mit einem Wort unsere Jiden
Verlassen allmaelich den Sueden.
In Napoli, in Napoli
Liegt auf der Strasse die Marie
Man bückt sich a bissel und schon
Erwischt ma a ganze Million.

Schinkenfleckerl

Warum gebn die Einheitskuechen
Uns das Fleisch stets nurzum Riechen?
Ham die selbst net mehr
Oder geben es bloss net her?
Nur immer Ceci, Reis und Pasten
Fast wärsn besser ganz zu festen.
I vergiss direkt,
wie a Wiener Schnitzel schmeckt.
Und bild ich mir schon? ein, heut gibts a Fleisch
Da seh ich bald, dass i mi täusch.
Je warum die Eidenheitskuechen
Uns das Fleisch stets nurzum Riechen?
Kennen Sie den Grund?
Die ham Angst, die ham Angst, die ham Angst,
Wir bleiben net gesund.

Ueberlandpartie

Wie wärs mit einer schönen, kleinen Barifahrrerei
Abar gar ka Idee. No was ist da schon dabei.
Sie brauchen sich nicht fürchten vor der Campopolizei
Aber gar ka Idee. No wer ist da schon dabei.
Beim Vordertor hinaus, doch von hinten hinein
So hat niemand Schererein.
Wie wärs mit einer schönen, kleinen Barifahrrerei
Abar gar ka Idee. Also gehma alle zwei
Abar gar ka Idee.

C. Ferramonti-Walzer

II Ferramonti-Walzer *Ferramonti-Walzer* *van Lind Senne nfeld*

1. Ganz ab-ge-sehn von den schrecklichen Leb'n was wir bis jetzt hab'n müssen er-tragen
 2. So viel Ver-wandte und so viel Be-kannte was hien g'it hat niemand noch g'seh'n
 3. Ob-ge-Her-um laufen kann man hier ein-kaufen was ein's mein Herz nur be-zoh'r't

ist es ganz schön das man uns hier laßt geh'n das uns schertst g'st das
 Man hört da Sach'n es ist ja zum Lach'n man kann es ja
 Auch a schon's Ma-dl geht nicht aus dem Schöpl das ist ja schön

Manch-mal da kniet man ein
 Ei-ner will gleich nach A-
 Die Hun-ten mach'n se-

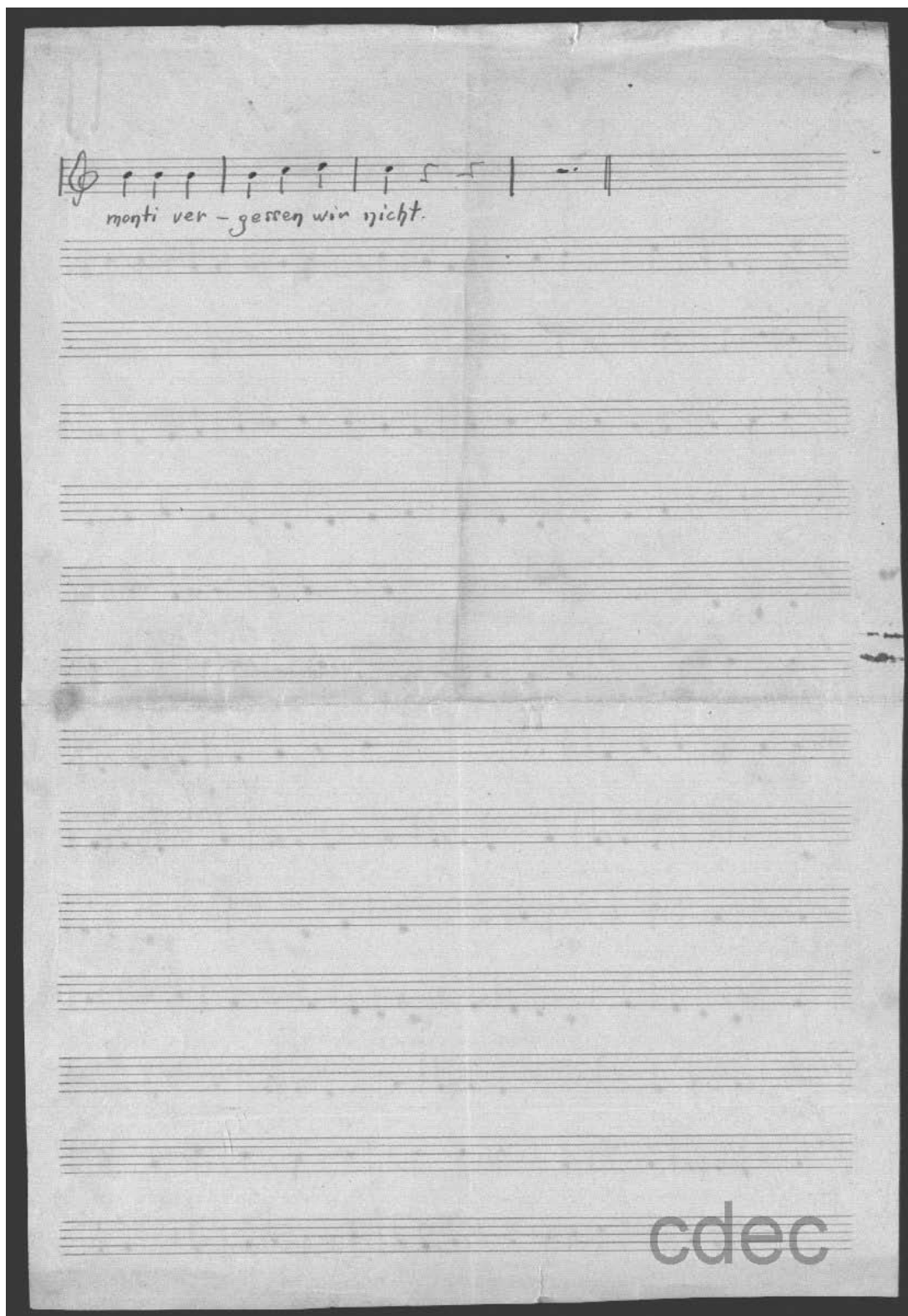
gros-s'n Zorn weil man halt hat solch-e schreck-Lichen Seng's. Ven
 nie-ri-ka zu sei-ner Schwestern die E-ke-ka-mol
 man so wie war und die Mi-Lis die ist auch da-für so

gesen ist al-les im Nu und jeder von uns singt da-
 bis er da fahrt ist noch Zeit zum Schlaf ist es ihm doch zu
 und wir har al-le bei-samm was liegt den schon ei-gent-lich

zu weit draus Das schönste Land, was so be-kannt das kann man sag'n ganz ob-ne
 Schand das ist ja nur Fer-ra-monti And wer es

hat so oft ge-sehn der kannes sag'n, wie wunderschön es ist in
 Fer-ra-monti Zeitlich am Morgenman erwacht und die
 Sonn' d'unkelsten lacht das kann ja nun sein Fer-ra-monti

Und jede Frau die es hien gibt ist gleich je-d'stark verliebt, Fer-ra-



ASCDEC/Kalk Archive II. "Ferramonti-Tarsia" b.02, fasc.24, fl.57.1-57.2.

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