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Duello nel ghetto: A Twice-Told Story of a Jewish Fighter in Occupied Rome

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ABSTRACT

By drawing from the historiography devoted to Italian collaborators, implicated subjects, and bystanders as well as that concerning those Jews who were not deported, this article focuses on one of the most recent books of popular history about the Nazi occupation of Rome and the persecution of Jews in the capital: *Duello nel ghetto* (2017) by Maurizio Molinari and Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi. It shows how oral testimonies and unpublished diaries have been reworked and assimilated into a text which successfully intermingles historical data, personal memories, and literary strategies, and discusses the use of literary works in the process of recollection. Finally, it considers how this book fits and expands Italian Holocaust narrative, while prompting reflections on the importance of overcoming dichotomous, often oversimplified representations of victims and perpetrators.

SOMMARIO

Attingendo alla storiografia dedicata a collaborazionisti, 'soggetti implicati' e 'astanti' italiani, così come a quella relativa agli ebrei che scamparono la deportazione, questo articolo si concentra su uno dei più recenti libri di popular history sull'occupazione nazista di Roma e sulla persecuzione degli ebrei nella capitale: *Duello nel ghetto* (2017) di Maurizio Molinari e Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi. L'articolo mostra come testimonianze orali e diari inediti siano stati rielaborati e assimilati in un testo che intreccia dati storici, ricordi personali e strategie letterarie e discute l'uso delle opere letterarie nel processo di memorizzazione. Infine, considera come questo libro espanda la narrativa italiana della Shoah, sollecitando al contempo riflessioni sull'importanza di superare rappresentazioni dicotomiche, eccessivamente semplificate, di vittime e carnefici.

KEYWORDS

Rome's Nazi occupation; Holocaust literature; implicated subjects; popular history; cultural memory studies

PAROLE CHIAVE

occupazione nazista di Roma; letteratura della Shoah; implicated subjects; popular history; memoria culturale

Recollection and omission go hand in hand. Societies, as we do, concentrate on some events, focus on some details, and interpret data while fostering an image of the past and its memory. Events, details, and data which are not in line with official narratives

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can be omitted — on purpose — or (un)consciously forgotten. The representation of the past varies, evolving according to different socio-historical, political, and cultural periods.

In Italy, the memory and discourse surrounding the Holocaust are segmented into cultural phases aligned with sociohistorical and political shifts from the conclusion of the Second World War to the establishment of a democratic, republican Italy, from the Cold War and the cultural Americanization associated with the economic boom to the Years of Lead, from the era of globalization and multiculturalism to the present day.[1] Interest in the Holocaust has undergone diverse and occasionally conflicting transformations throughout these phases.

When in 1945 Jewish survivors of extermination and concentration camps went back to Italy and started reporting their experiences, they were not listened to.[2] This widespread indifference lasted until the beginning of the 1960s, when the trial of Adolf Eichmann aroused interest in the persecution, deportation, and murder of Jews in Italy and, more broadly, in Europe. In the new democratic, republican Italy, persecution, deportation, and murder were presented and perceived as crimes solely committed by the Nazis. Such a narrative was in line with the fostering of two foundational myths: the myth of the Resistance — Italians, broadly speaking, resisted Fascism and the Nazi occupation — and of 'italiani brava gente' — in comparison with the brutality and violence associated with the Nazi troops.[3] It was only in the 1980s, when new forms of antisemitism emerged and increased attention was given to the Racial Laws of 1938, that this prevailing perception of the persecution and deportation of Jews in Italy was contested. Attention started to be paid to the involvement of the Italians first in the process of discrimination, between October 1938 and September 1943, and then in the persecution from October 1943 to April 1945. The progressive development of international, national, and local memorialization practices, including the establishment of the International Holocaust Remembrance Day in 2001, contributed to the evolution of the national narrative about Fascism and the Second World War.

Recent years, which have witnessed the rise of both nationalist parties and incidents of antisemitic attacks, have seen a development of research projects focusing on aspects of the Holocaust which go beyond the study and the representation of the experience of extermination and concentration camps in the attempt to avoid commonplaces such the crystallized and limited understanding and portraits of victims and perpetrators.[4] Consistently with a growing interest in collaborationism around Europe, scholars, including Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi (2005 and 2020), Simon Levi Sullam (2015), and Sara Berger (2016), have been paying attention to the active role of Italian citizens in the process of discrimination against Jews and, above all, persecution of them, by defining the contour of Italian perpetrators, implicated subjects, and bystanders, thus contradicting the two myths of the Resistance and 'italiani brava gente'.[5] Also, in line with the growing number of studies devoted to historical accounts of European Jews who tried to escape deportation by living out of sight or under false documentation, Susan Zuccotti (2005) and, more recently and extensively, Liliana Picciotto (2017) published two works devoted to the 81% of Italian Jews who during the Nazi occupation of Italy evaded deportation by living in hiding, finding refuge in the dwellings of their helpers or ecclesiastical institutions, or reaching Switzerland or (more rarely) the south of Italy — which had been liberated in August 1943 — as well as joining more or less established anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist movements.[6] Zuccotti and

Picciotto implicitly expand the category of Holocaust survivors to include those Jews who evaded deportation, thus offering another, somehow unexpected perspective on the Holocaust in Italy.

Drawing from the historiography devoted to Italian collaborators, implicated subjects, and bystanders as well as that concerning those Jews who were not deported, I will focus on one of the most recent books of popular history about the Nazi occupation of Rome and the persecution of Jews in the capital: *Duello nel ghetto* by journalist Maurizio Molinari and historian Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, published in 2017.[7] I will show how oral testimonies and unpublished diaries have been reworked and assimilated into a text which successfully intermingles historical data, personal memories, and literary strategies, and I will discuss the use of literary works in the process of recollection. By doing so, I am placing Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi's text alongside many other works of popular, narrative, or personalized history about the Holocaust written by historians in Italian as well as international contexts.[8] Interestingly, many of those written and published in Italian relate to the round-up of the Jews of Rome in October 1943.

Quoting, Rewriting, Adapting

The Context

The largest single round-up and deportation in Italy during the German occupation was that in Rome on 16 October 1943. On that occasion, 1259 people, one-eighth of the Jews who lived in the capital, were arrested by 365 SS soldiers who had arrived in Rome a few days earlier. After two days, they were deported to Auschwitz.[9] In the early 2000s, historians started working on the Roman round-up.[10] About ten years later, scholars began to dig into the cultural and collective memory of that event, paying particular attention to the literary texts that have been written about it.[11] Today, the Roman round-up embodies the persecution of Jews in Italy. Its cultural memory has arisen from communal, collective, and literary representations at least as much as from historiography.

Starting from the chronicle–narrative–essay by Giacomo Debenedetti, entitled *16 ottobre 1943* and published in the form of an article in 1944 and of a book in 1945, (semi-)literary works built on the merging of historical data, personal memories, and literary techniques have successfully influenced the evolving memory of 16 October by following different lines of inquiry to explore and discuss the Roman round-up and the departure of Jews from a local railway station, Stazione Tiburtina, to Auschwitz.[12] Some texts display multiple testimonies which provide the readership with various perspectives on the event: besides the above-mentioned *16 ottobre*, examples include *La resistenza in convento* (1999) by Enzo Forcella and *Quer 16 ottobbre* (2016) by Alberto Ciarafoni.[13] Other texts focus on individual stories, thus favouring a sense of identification between readers and characters. The most renowned example is the best-selling historical novel *La storia* (1974) by Elsa Morante, but there are others, such as *Una bambina e basta* (1994) by Lia Levi and *Di razza ebraica* (2005) by Renzo Modiano. Other works discuss the round-up in terms of responsibility and inter- and trans-generational dialogue: *La parola ebreo* (1997) by Rosetta Loy, *La valigia* (2017) by Corrado Plastino, and *La generazione del deserto* (2020) by Lia Tagliacozzo.[14] Others

represent 16 October through a description of the places connected to the arrests and deportation, 'showing that the history of Rome's Holocaust is engraved on stones, buildings, and archaeological sites, and on the ghetto and the intricate web of the streets of the capital'.[15] Examples are *Il treno di Piazza Giudia* (1995) by Gianni Campus and, above all, *Portico d'Ottavia 13* (2013) by Anna Foa.[16] Among the literature devoted to 16 October, one book, *Duello nel ghetto*, combines these characteristics and, briefly, discusses and reshapes the idea available to a non-expert readership of the Holocaust in Italy, and of victims and perpetrators which are too often simplistically depicted.

Comprising a prologue, eleven chapters, and an epilogue, *Duello nel ghetto* reports the impact of the promulgation in 1938 of the Racial Laws governing the Roman Jewish community, the fall of Mussolini, the armistice with the Allies, the Nazi occupation of Rome from September 1943, the round-up, subsequent arrests, and the liberation of the capital in June 1944. The subtitle, *La sfida di un ebreo contro le bande nazifasciste nella Roma occupata*, the cover picture showing from above and behind a man with a raincoat and hat, and the two taglines on the back cover — 'la vera storia di Pacifico Di Consiglio e della sua guerra contro il capo delle bande fasciste' and 'una vicenda drammatica di intrighi e delazioni ai tempi della persecuzione razziale' — suggest that the book mostly revolves around the life of a single person, a Jewish man. But, in order to convincingly portray Pacifico Di Consiglio and report his acts of unarmed and armed resistance, Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi built his story by combining the voices of thirteen people who came to know him with the perceptions of his wife, Fortunata Di Segni (more commonly referred to as Ada), included in her unpublished diary, and corroborating this material with archival research, other ego-documents, and the most recent historiography devoted to the persecution of Jews from Rome as well as to Nazi occupiers and Fascist collaborators and bands.[17]

The Protagonist

Pacifico Di Consiglio, better known as Moretto, was born in Rome in 1921 and lived in the ghetto with his mother and two sisters, while his father moved to Turin to find better job opportunities. At the age of seventeen, he first experienced acts of discrimination.[18] The omniscient, third-person narrator of *Duello nel ghetto* records the first aggressions in autumn 1938 and harshly and sarcastically comments on them:

> Già nell'autunno del 1938 sono cominciati gli atti di ostilità, le violenze, le piccole e grandi umiliazioni. Gli ebrei spesso devono spostarsi in gruppo, per evitare molestie o vere e proprie aggressioni […]. 'Bravate' di adolescenti, come le sassate da cui deve difendersi Moretto? Probabilmente, ma comunque anche un segno che gli ebrei *possono* essere oggetto di scherno, *possono* essere insultati, *devono* essere considerati come qualcosa di estraneo, di diverso, di nemico.[19]

Jews tried not to respond to threats and aggressions, but 'Moretto […] non è d'accordo. Non condivide la strategia del silenzio, del basso profilo di fronte alle angherie, alle ingiustizie' (*DG*, p. 48). The narrator shows him as a fighter, and paves the way for the portrait of a character with whom readers can easily empathize for his courage and the ability to ponder events while these were in progress. He did not join the collective enthusiasm when, on 25 July, the Fascist Grand Council removed Mussolini from

power, and he was suspicious and worried when, on 8 September, Marshall Badoglio announced the armistice with the Allies: 'l'euforia sembra filtrare persino tra le vecchie pietre del Ghetto […]. Moretto, stranamente, se ne sta appoggiato a un muro, solo, senza amici' (*DG*, p. 73).

On 9 September, Marshal Badoglio, Mussolini's successor, fled to Bari with King Vittorio Emanuele III. Left with no instructions, the Italian army rushed to a tragic and disorganized defence of Rome. On 10 September, Moretto was among the civilians who showed up at Porta San Paolo to assist the Italian troops in trying to stop the Nazis from entering the city. With paratactic sentences and a succession of adverbs, the narrator stresses his courage and urgency in fighting together with other Romans. His need for a sense of belonging after years of segregation and insidious micro-traumas due to discrimination is stressed by the use of the possessive adjectives:[20]

> È riuscito a farsi dare una pistola da un ufficiale e con quest'arma *tragicamente* insufficiente va a combattere i paracadutisti tedeschi. È una follia. Andare incontro ai carri della Wehrmacht armato *soltanto* di una pistola è *praticamente* un suicidio. Ma Moretto vuole combattere, difendere la *sua* città e la *sua* gente. Non gli importano i rischi. Non ha nemmeno un minimo di addestramento militare ma il coraggio, *evidentemente*, non gli manca. *Finalmente* ha un'arma ed è deciso a utilizzarla. (*DG*, p. 80, my emphasis)

In these pages, Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi collate passages from ego-documents. They include passages from personal, published diaries — 'Piero Modigliani […] scrive nel suo diario: "l'idea che i tedeschi possano occupare Roma mi terrorizza"' (*DG*, p. 82) — and rewrite reflections from unpublished ones: 'sembra che sulla città si sia steso un manto nero […]. Il silenzio è teso […]. Regna una tranquillità di morte' (*DG*, p. 82). Direct and indirect quotations of pages from personal diaries are significant for at least three main reasons. First, they offer readers first-hand testimonies of the fear and understanding of the Nazi occupation, recreating the immediacy of thoughts and worries. Second, they fulfil readers' expectations by incorporating and analysing a diverse range of intertwined sources in the context of a popular history book. Third, they serve to portray Moretto with even greater heroic connotations, given his choice to fight against the occupiers.

With the Nazi occupation of Rome, and Italy, and with the formation of the collaborationist Italian Social Republic (RSI), headed by Mussolini, the life of Jews drastically changed: they began to be persecuted. Significantly, here, the authors provide an account of the choices Roman Jews had to make in September 1943. They refer to those Jews who decided to leave Rome in an attempt to find refuge in the countryside where nobody knew them, to those who hid in ecclesiastical institutions, and to those who could not leave their homes because of infants, the old, or the sick, or because their resources had been greatly diminished after the Racial Laws had restricted their ability to work and earn money. The authors quote, rewrite, and adapt personal testimonies — left in the form of interviews and or (un)published diaries and memoirs — and thus circulate them while feeding our imagination of a past we have not witnessed. They foster forms of episodic memory by including detailed descriptions of everyday life, reworked from the primary sources, and using present-tense voice to convey embodied and seemingly immediate experiences together with direct questions within the narrative. On the one hand, such mnemonic and narrative

strategies contribute to the formation of 'the subjective feeling of *remembering*' by creating the sensation of direct experiencing of the event.[21] On the other, by reproducing spontaneous forms of communication, they invite readers to reflect on historical events and adjust their perceptions of the past while forging ties within and across generations.[22] The authors' questions trigger readers' sense of involvement while sketching the fears, doubts, and (un)awareness of the Jewish community:

> A pochi giorni dall'occupazione, Mario Tagliacozzo annota sul suo diario: '14 settembre. […]. Al portone d'ufficio ho incontrato Enrico e il suo amico il dottor Calabi che mi comunicano tristi notizie. Sembra che i tedeschi si siano fatti dare dalla questura le note degli ebrei e che già dall'orfanotrofio israelitico si stiano preoccupando di riconsegnare i ragazzi alle famiglie per non averne la responsabilità se dovesse succedere qualcosa'. Dopo una giornata di discussioni e di dubbi, la famiglia decide di partire e di trasferirsi fuori Roma, cominciando un'odissea che però porta alla salvezza […].
>
> Nascondersi, scappare, andare verso l'ignoto sono scelte rischiose. Bisogna pensare alle famiglie, è in arrivo l'inverno, chi esporrebbe mai i propri figli a una vita di sfollati? Chi ammonisce che *tutti* gli ebrei stanno per essere arrestati e deportati nell'Est europeo, verso un destino orribile, è trattato da allarmista. Tutti gli ebrei? Anche le donne e i bambini? E i vecchi? E i malati? Ma vai! (*DG*, p. 84)

The Round-up

Duello nel ghetto effectively portrays those who decided to join resistance movements as Moretto did — 'per gli ebrei è giunto il tempo di combattere' (*DG*, p, 87). The narrating voice bluntly intervenes to clarify a false and misleading image that has been passed on over a long period: 'l'immagine, usata da molti, in cui [gli ebrei] si fanno condurre passivi "come pecore" alle camere a gas di Auschwitz è un luogo comune che non risponde alla realtà. Sono tanti gli ebrei romani che decidono di imbracciare le armi' (*DG*, p. 87).

Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi retrace the round-up and events that preceded and followed it through the lens of Moretto's experience. When, on 26 September, Herbert Kappler, the head of the German police and security service in Rome, threatened that 200 Jews would be deported if the Roman Jewish community did not hand over 50 kg of gold within the following 36 hours, Moretto firmly refused to collect the gold — 'lui e diversi altri sostengono che l'oro non servirà a niente' (*DG*, p. 93) — and started urging some of his friends to leave Rome and join the partisans. Moretto's perceptions and willingness to fight are embedded with the multiple perspectives of the dwellers of the ghetto and the reflections of the narrator related to a collective understanding of these facts at the time they were happening. The authors include direct dialogues based (as two juxtaposed quotations show) on oral testimonies collated by Alberto Di Consiglio, Moretto's son, and then published as a book by himself and Molinari in 2009:

> 'Qui non possiamo combattere' dice ai suoi amici. 'Andiamo via da Roma, uniamoci ai partigiani.' Pare che a nord della città si stanno [sic] organizzando gruppi di resistenza. Lì potranno avere armi, appoggio, mettersi al lavoro per riprendersi Roma e il Ghetto.
>
> 'Ma le nostre famiglie hanno bisogno di noi' protesta qualcuno. 'E se i tedeschi tornano alla carica?'
>
> 'Per questo dovremmo andare tutti via' dice Moretto con foga. 'Tutti gli uomini. Ai nazisti non rimarrebbe nessuno da prendere, e intanto potremmo combattere.' (*DG*, p. 94)

> Insieme ad altri cinque amici decidemmo di andare via da Roma verso nord, sentivamo notizie di gruppi partigiani, pensavamo che unendoci a loro ci saremmo potuti difendere. Certo non mi sarei mai mosso da Roma se avessi solo immaginato che il 16 ottobre avrebbero preso tutti, vecchi, donne e bambini. Ma chi lo poteva pensare? Credevamo che solo gli uomini rischiassero la deportazione. Ma che arrivassero a tanto no! Non lo credevamo possibile. Altrimenti chi avrebbe mai lasciato la propria famiglia? [23]

Both quotations refer to a significant and mistaken belief at the time by the majority of Italian Jews that the Nazis would arrest and deport men only, and only to labour camps.

The pages devoted to 16 October are characterized by references to the impact of the round-up on the Roman Jewish community — 'il 16 ottobre segna la memoria collettiva degli ebrei romani, catturati non solo attorno alla Piazza ma in ogni quartiere, anche i più periferici' (*DG*, p. 105) — and by comments which draw readers' attention for their bluntness and sarcasm — 'il 16 ottobre è anche una prova generale dei nazisti per capire quale può essere la reazione della popolazione italiana e del Vaticano alla liquidazione degli ebrei. E la prova va piuttosto bene' (*DG*, p. 105). The authors prompt reflections on collective responsibility when the narrative voice accuses the Vatican and non-Jewish Romans of having done nothing to oppose the deportation of Jews while they were gathered in a temporary detention centre:

> Per due giorni gli ebrei restarono rinchiusi nel Collegio militare, senza che nessuno osi alzare la testa e protestare. È una vergogna collettiva: nonostante la razzia si sia svolta sotto gli occhi di un'intera metropoli, e le 'pratiche' della deportazione di 1022 persone inermi vadano avanti per due giorni (dagli arresti alla partenza del treno), non c'è alcun tentativo per impedire un tale orrore. Sul ruolo dei non ebrei, o su ciò che hanno visto, cala rapidamente un oblio condiviso che rappresenta meglio di qualunque altra prova il senso di colpa di un'intera città. (*DG*, p. 106)[24]

Moretto left Rome before 16 October. Together with six other men, he took a train to the Marche region, where he knew the first fights against the Nazi occupiers had occurred. But he could not find any armed group. After a couple of days spent in Ancona trying to find partisans, Moretto decided to go back to Rome on foot. Upon his arrival, he was randomly informed of the round-up: '"Ma come non sapete niente? Ma da dove venite?" "Siamo andati via da Roma subito dopo la consegna dell'oro" gli spiega Moretto. "Allora non sapete che il 16 ottobre hanno svuotato il Ghetto"' (*DG*, p. 126). It is from this point onward that the accounts of fights, arrests, imprisonments, escapes, and resistance begin. And yet, as the narrative voice points out, 'chi, come Moretto e gli altri giovani ebrei, non fa già parte di un partito antifascista o di un'unità militare, non ha neppure idea di dove e come combattere' (*DG*, p. 123). Through the intervention of the narrator, the authors explain that, unlike those Jews who before the occupation already formed part of, or had contacts with, anti-fascist movements and groups, Moretto 'è solo, ma non per questo rinuncia al combattimento' (*DG*, p. 130), thus effectively highlighting his determination.[25]

The Hunt

While delving into the core of Moretto's story, Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi devote pages to those Italians who took advantage of the discrimination and persecution of their Jewish fellow citizens and show examples of various forms of brutality as well as physical and

psychological torture. They offer examples of responsibility for the interlocking nature of oppression in Italy by focusing on some of the stories of those 835 Roman Jews who were arrested by Italian police officers or individual citizens motivated by antisemitism and/or pro-Nazism between the round-up and the liberation of Rome in June 1944. Among them, the authors describe the activities of those who were more closely related to Moretto: above all Luigi Rosselli and, then, Gino Bardi, Giuseppe Bernasconi, Pietro Caruso, Giovanni Cialli Mezzaroma, Guido Garulli, Pietro Koch, Giovanni Pastore, Guglielmo Pollastrini, and Celeste di Porto, also known as 'Pantera nera', a Jewish woman living in the ghetto who betrayed 50 Jews by informing on them and thus being directly responsible for their arrest. Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi collate and rewrite testimonies coming from the Archivio centrale dello Stato, the Archivio di Stato di Roma, and the Archivio di Stato di Milano, while including considerations by scholars who researched Italian collaborators. They offer to their intended audience a limited but vivid report of Italian collaborationism: 'per quanto sia difficile da credere, finire nelle mani della Gestapo non è la sorte peggiore che può capitare […]. A Roma, come in tutta Italia, operano gruppi semi-autonomi di collaborazionisti italiani, le famose "bande"' (*DG*, p. 146).[26]

At this point, the authors frame the story of Di Consiglio by offering an image of Luigi Rosselli who, born in 1899 in Rome, lived in the ghetto his whole life. After having joined up during World War I at the age of 18 and serving in the Arditi, Rosselli aligned himself early on with the Fascist ideology, actively participating in the march on Rome on 28 October 1922. Despite this, he did not ascend to any rank within the army or fascist dictatorship, instead pursuing sporadic employment, including a position in a gymnasium — where Moretto engaged in training before the promulgation of Racial Laws (he was an amateur boxer). After the German occupation and the establishment of the RSI, Rosselli started extorting money from Jews through coercive means. Eventually, he joined the group of Cialli Mezzaroma and, having always lived in the ghetto, became one of the most dangerous informants. Systematically identifying and reporting, he facilitated the arrests of Roman Jews. But, 'per Luigi Rosselli e per i suoi, gli ebrei sono tutti uguali, tranne uno. Moretto è speciale. Da settimane gli danno la caccia' (*DG*, p. 204).

Moretto was well known among the fascists who patrolled the ghetto. He had never conformed to the regime and consistently maintained a defiant stance. At the beginning of the occupation, he started fighting against fervent fascists and informers who persistently sought him out. On this occasion, the narrative voice incorporates a dual perspective, that of the fascists — 'Moretto è troppo noto […], tutti ricordano quell'ebreo arrogante che si è sempre rifiutato di fare il saluto fascista, che è andato a menarli dopo il 25 luglio, che non ha mai chinato il capo' (*DG*, p. 162) and that of Moretto and the Jews — 'la situazione è ormai troppo pericolosa, anche per uno spericolato come Moretto […]. Deve lasciare la città, è chiaro, ma non vuole scappare, vuole andare dove può rendersi utile' (*DG*, p. 210). Through this approach, the authors refrain from flattering their protagonist and instead succeed in crafting a multifaceted character whose complexity encourages readers to contemplate the implications of his actions as well as reconsider their knowledge of the facts narrated.

During the occupation, Moretto was arrested twice. Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi at this point largely use Moretto's 1988 interview for the Shoah Foundation now transcribed in *Il*

ribelle del ghetto. Moretto was first caught on 1 April 1944. Together with companions, he escaped the Polizia dell'Africa Italiana (PAI) police station in Piazza Farnese on the same night by jumping out of a window. In their process of selecting and rewriting information, the authors retain all the elements and details that evoke sympathy for Moretto and further amplify his depiction as a hero:

> Uno di loro si rompe un piede, Moretto un polso, […]. Un terzo è caduto di schiena e ha preso una botta troppo forte, non riesce a rialzarsi, […] Moretto se lo mette in spalla […]. Quando arrivano a Monteverde, Moretto è esausto: l'amico che ha portato sulle spalle gli indica il garage dov'è nascosta la sua famiglia, e si rifugiano tutti lì almeno per una notte. (*DG*, p. 207)
>
> Saltammo uno a uno, chi si ruppe un piede, io un polso, […] uno era rimasto a terra caduto di schiena, lo presi sulle spalle, ci allontanammo in fretta nonostante i dolori, […] non so come arrivai a Monteverde, esausto con il mio amico sulle spalle. Lo portai in un garage dove erano nascosti i suoi. La mattina dopo dovetti andare, lì non c'era più posto, era pieno. (*RG*, p. 14)

A month later, on 4 May, he was caught again in a café. This time he was brought to the SS prison in Via Tasso. He was asked to reveal hiding places of his Jewish fellows. He did not answer. Tortured and beaten until he was unconscious, he was then transferred to Regina Coeli. His experience of the prison is reconstructed from the testimony he left. The authors use almost the same words:

> 'Tieniti la fame, ebreaccio' quasi sputa.
>
> Moretto lo aggredisce fulmineo, con uno dei suoi colpi precisi da boxeur esperto. Il guardiano urla e cade. Accorrono rapidamente altre guardie, si sentono grida in tedesco. Si scagliano tutti su Moretto, dopo un po' sanguina dappertutto: dalla bocca, dal naso.
>
> 'Ora sì che sembri un pugile' scherza debolmente uno dei suoi compagni di cella, mentre cercano di aiutarlo come possono. Gli danno un po' della loro minestra lo rattoppano alla meno peggio.
>
> 'Moretto però devi calmarti' lo ammoniscono. 'Non puoi fare così, quelli ti ammazzano.' (*DG*, p. 216)
>
> 'Non ti do niente ebreaccio!'. A quelle parole ho fatto tilt [sic] anche quel giorno, non ci ho più visto, gli ho tirato un pugno con tutta la forza che avevo e se non lo prendevo al volo sarebbe caduto dal terzo piano. Si sentono grida da tutto il piano, vengono su i tedeschi, quello aveva indicato chi lo aveva colpito, mi arrivano altre botte, mi usciva sangue dalla bocca e dal naso. Finita l'opera, i miei amici cercano di aiutarmi, mi danno un po' di minestra, mi rattoppano. 'Moretto calmati non fare così altrimenti vedi . . ..' (*RG*, p. 18)

The quotations above set out sensorial and bodily descriptions. As Madelaine Hron points out, 'the body is a universal signifier, shared and recognised by all human beings, and bodily signs — scars, injuries, or physical ailments — prove universally intelligible markers of suffering' — thus helping readers to become more involved in the story and feel closer to the character.[27]

On 20 May, two weeks after his arrest, Moretto was herded onto a truck together with the other Jewish prisoners to be deported to Fossoli and, later, Auschwitz. He managed to escape on this occasion too by jumping out of the truck once it reached the countryside.

The End

The end of *Duello nel ghetto* can be summarized through two words: liberation and reconstruction. After getting back to Rome with the help of two shepherds, Moretto

found refuge in the apartment of a partisan of the group Partito d'Azione. He picked up weapons and started fighting again. The narrative voice pays attention to the places where Di Consiglio and generally the partisan fought as well as to the enthusiasm perceived:

> Moretto combatte in via Marmorata, assieme alle avanguardie americane. Le sue avventure si concludono proprio negli stessi luoghi dov'erano cominciate, nella zona di Porta San Paolo e della Piramide, ma questa volta sono i nazisti a scappare. È il 4 giugno […]. È una delle date più memorabili che la città, nella sua lunga storia, ricordi. Roma non ha forse mai sperimentato una esplosione di gioia di tali dimensioni, di così grande intensità. (*DG*, p. 224)

And yet liberation is not characterized only by joy and euphoria. Molinari and Guerrazzi delve into the conscious and unconscious responses to the traumas endured by Roman Jews:

> i giorni successive alla Liberazione sono quelli della rivincita: per le vessazioni del regime, a partire dalle infami leggi razziali, per anni di umiliazione fino al luglio del 1943, e poi le persecuzioni, i tradimenti, gli arresti, le torture, le deportazioni. (*DG*, p. 231)

In doing so, they reflect on the roles of implicated subjects, to use Rothberg's definition, or 'mediocre demons', in Forti's words, who prioritized their own survival, often at the expense of those subjected to discrimination and persecution.[28] They report: 'nonostante il fronte in movimento e gli americani alle porte, le bande hanno proseguito imperterrite nella loro opera di delazioni e arresti […] nella fretta di racimolare qualcosa' (*DG*, p. 225). They also record the pervasive feelings of rage and vengefulness felt by Roman Jews. These quickly attacked the houses of fascists and hunted collaborators and informers: 'in via del Foro Piscario abita un certo Nello, noto come spia: sono stati deportati in molti per colpa sua. Che sia vendetta partigiana o popolare, viene giustiziato con una rivoltella in pieno petto' (*DG*, p. 231).

Long passages are devoted to Nazis and fascists leaving Rome to seek refuge in the north. The authors report that 'all'alba del 4 giugno, in via Veneto, si forma una colonna di macchine, autobus e camion' and specify 'sono tutti i comandi tedeschi in fuga […] e poi tutto il fior fiore dei collaborazionisti' (*DG*, p. 227). Rosselli fled too — to Brescia, where he stayed until the end of the war. At that point, he went south again. Celeste Di Porto, for her part, remained in Rome. The Jews of the ghetto tracked her down: 'il 5 giugno, di prima mattina, via della Reginella si riempie di gente. Sono gli ebrei, i parenti dei deportati e delle vittime delle Fosse Ardeatine. Vogliono la Pantera nera' (*DG*, p. 233). Di Porto was arrested multiple times but always managed to be released, until she was recognized in Naples by two Roman Jews, arrested again, and put on trial together with Rosselli and Cialli Mezzaroma whom she denounced. In the epilogue, there is an account of the trial. The authors report the shouting from the Jews present in court: they yell 'traditrice' against Celeste, 'assassini' against them all (*DG*, p. 245). Interestingly, Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi also include the text of a song addressed to Di Porto and kept in the Archivio di Stato di Roma to give a sense of the atmosphere:

> fu una stella infame […] la sua patria negò. Grida una voce grida, fosti la stella del terror […] fosti la spia di piazza Giudia, voglio cantare così una serenata finché la stella del porto viene ammazzata. (*DG*, p. 243)

Moretto is at the trial. He is described while making his way in the crowd: 'un pugno in piena faccia. L'aguzzino barcolla. La folla esulta, il giovane ebreo ribelle è più che mai il loro eroe' (*DG*, p. 245).

The urgency of reconstruction also characterizes the concluding pages of *Duello nel ghetto*. The narrating voice reports: 'il 4 sera, il Tempio viene riaperto dai soldati della Brigata ebraica. La prima urgenza è riportarlo in condizioni dignitose, per cancellare le tracce della profanazione tedesca, e la Comunità si mette subito al lavoro con impegno' (*DG*, p. 229). Moretto is among those Jews. In the 1988 interview for the Shoah Foundation, to the question about the first thing he did after the liberation, he replied: 'pulire il Tempio. Con tanti altri, aiutati da scope e stracci, iniziammo a pulire il Tempio che era un tappeto di polvere dopo essere rimasto per molti mesi chiuso, abbandonato. Fu una festa riaprirlo, e anche un grande orgoglio' (*RG*, p. 25). Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi use Moretto's words but also provide readers with further details of his story coming from the unpublished diary of his wife-to-be, Ada, thus merging collective and personal perception together:

> L'emozione è doppia. Da una parte la gioia di poter rientrare nella sinagoga, silenziosa, invasa dalla polvere, e di darsi da fare con scope e strofinacci per riportarla alla vita. Per i volontari è una festa e un grande motivo di orgoglio: sono sopravvissuti e hanno fatto sopravvivere i valori in cui credono. D'altra parte, per Ada e Moretto è il primo vero incontro da liberi. Lei è imbarazzata […]. La ragazza tiene la testa china sullo strofinaccio e sul lavoro. Moretto, con la scusa di spazzare, cerca di avvicinarsi a lei. È una specie di balletto un po' tenero e un po' struggente che dura fino a sera. (*DG*, pp. 229–30)

The reopening of the Temple and the gathering within it embody the desire of Roman Jews to leave their hiding places and come home, to meet family members and their community — in other words, to go back to life. The description of the flirting between Moretto and Ada reinforces the representation of a widespread need for the reconstruction of both social and private life. And yet this newfound freedom was quickly accompanied by the dramatic discovery of the killing of the 88 Jews who were murdered at the Fosse Ardeatine, the traumatic experience of recognizing the decomposing bodies of family members and friends, and, at last, listening to the few survivors who returned from Auschwitz, balancing a need to look forward and a need not to forget.

Fitting, Broadening, Shaping

Duello nel ghetto offers the public a previously overlooked narrative of persecution, specifically in occupied Rome, and of the Holocaust in Italy more broadly. The fact that a journalist, Molinari, and a historian, Osti Guerrazzi, worked together on the book surely helped spread the debate about it in newspapers and academic circles on a national and international level.[29] Given the very recent entry of *Duello nel ghetto* into the corpus of literature devoted to 16 October and the Holocaust in Italy, its impact is still in the making. However, an initial, and significant, influence can already be registered. On 25 April 2022, the Jewish Contemporary Documentation Centre (CDEC) launched an online project run by (among others) Liliana Picciotto and devoted to Jews in Italy who joined the Resistance.[30] The project is still in progress. So far, the biographies of sixteen Jews have been posted on the website. That of Pacifico Di

Consiglio is included.[31] The webpage devoted to his life in occupied Rome shows pictures of Moretto and Ada, letters he sent from Regina Coeli to his sister, a photograph of the voucher of reparation for the imprisonment endured,[32] and the reproduction of the Tessera della Confederazione nazionale perseguitati politici e antifascisti. It also provides (e-)visitors with a twelve-minute podcast and a summary of his story with two bibliographical references: *Il ribelle del ghetto* and *Duello nel ghetto*. Less than a month later, on 22 May, a forty-one-minute episode on Pacifico Di Consiglio was released on the amateur podcast series 'Holocaust Histories' devoted to Jewish boxers fighting against Nazi occupiers and collaborators in Europe and North Africa.[33] Interestingly, in the list of sources this time *Duello nel ghetto* is not mentioned, but online articles devoted to it are included and show the extent of the public discussion in Italy after its publication.

Duello nel ghetto fits and expands Italian Holocaust narrative. It fits in because it presents events through widely established schemata and frames. First, the understanding of Moretto's experience comes through a sense of the wider sociopolitical context: how did the Italian Jewish community experience the promulgation of the Racial Laws, the fall of Mussolini, the armistice, the Nazi occupation, subsequent arrests, and liberation? Second, the phenomenological representation of Moretto's story favours the involvement of readers in the past as a lived experience. Third, by including references to widely known and narrated characters such as Pietro Koch, Giovanni Cialli Mezzaroma, Celeste Di Porto, or Elena Di Porto — the woman who had warned the Jews of the forthcoming round-up on the evening of 15 October — it captures readers' attention by inspiring them to explore something they may have heard about, or may know, while potentially identifying new elements.

Duello nel ghetto also expands the Italian Holocaust narrative. It offers culture-specific paradigms of Italian collaborationism and of Italian Jews who fought against Nazis and Fascist bands and informers. It can be included in the growing examples of cultural products that feed personal and collective understanding of the Holocaust by attempting to overcome dichotomous, often oversimplified representations of victims and perpetrators. Considering the resurgence of far-right parties and discrimination against minorities in Italy — and in Europe more broadly — such an evolution is not only much needed but also welcome. A further appreciation of the past by acknowledging the limitations of its representation and recollection from any perspective involved can help tackle new forms of discrimination and xenophobia on national and international levels. As Valentina Pisanty remarks:

> Prima di affondare il bisturi nel bubbone del nazionalismo xenofobo, occorre capire in quale ambiente ha potuto attecchire e prosperare […]. L'obiettivo è predisporsi a combattere la discriminazione in modo efficace e incisivo, che vuol dire anche onesto, consapevole e, ove necessario, spietatamente autocritico.[34]

Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi accomplish this in two ways. They highlight, almost 75 years after those events, that the discrimination against Jews and persecution of them in Italy occurred not because of a confined group of 'demonic people' perpetrating, in Forti's words, 'extreme evil', but because most people deny, look away from, or simply accept the benefits of evil in both its extreme and its everyday manifestations. And they show

the complexity and the multifaceted nature of Jews' resistance against that persecution, concluding their book with an inter- and trans-generational request and warning: 'Never forget, never again.'

> Man mano che le notizie dai campi liberati cominciano a filtrare e gli ex internati ritrovano le parole, si fa largo la comprensione e gli ebrei scoprono che sapere può essere ancora più terribile che non sapere.
>
> E che non sarà più possibile dimenticare. (*DG*, p. 241)

Notes

1. Every possible term for naming the genocide of Europe's Jews and other Nazi genocides brings with it problems and limitations. I have opted for the most common term in English publications: 'Holocaust'. On the terminology of the Holocaust, see e.g. Anna Vera Sullam Calimani, *I nomi dello sterminio* (Turin: Einaudi, 2001); Robert S. C. Gordon, *The Holocaust in Italian Culture, 1944–2010* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 157–87. Also, I acknowledge the persecution of Romani people and homosexuals in Italy. In this article, however, I will specifically consider the Holocaust from the perspective of Jewish persecution and deportation.
2. The first information and pictures of camps were shared in newspapers in 1945 during the war in Italy between anti-Fascists, Fascists, and Nazi occupiers; similarly, the first attempt at reporting life in camps dated back to the immediate postwar period, when people had a strong, pervasive desire to move forward and rebuild their life.
3. Filippo Focardi, 'La memoria della guerra e il mito del "bravo italiano": Origine e affermazione di un autoritratto collettivo', *Italia contemporanea*, 220.21 (2000), 93–99, and *Il cattivo tedesco e il bravo italiano: La rimozione delle colpe della Seconda Guerra Mondiale* (Rome: Laterza, 2013); Angelo Del Boca, *Italiani, brava gente? Un mito duro a morire* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 2005); Anna Foa, 'Memoria, rimozione, diniego: Spunti per una riflessione', in *Dopo i testimoni: Memorie, storiografie e narrazioni della deportazione razziale*, ed. by Marta Baiardi and Alberto Cavaglion (Rome: Viella, 2014), pp. 85–94. A compelling recent book dedicated to literary texts exploring the myth of the Resistance and Italian good people is Guido Bartolini, *The Italian Literature of the Axis War: Memories of Self-Absolution and the Quest for Responsibility* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).
4. On this, see e.g. Valentina Pisanty, 'Banalizzare e sacralizzare', in *Dopo i testimoni*, ed. by Baiardi and Cavaglioni, pp. 185–94.
5. One of the earliest examples in historiography is the 1997 book by Daniel Goldhagen. Similarly, in more philosophical, sociological, and transnational terms, the seminal work published by Michael Rothberg in 2019 recapitulates existing studies and extends research into the various, and sometimes hidden, forms of collaborationism. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (London: Abacus, 1997); Michael Rothberg, *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019). For the Italian context, see Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Caino a Roma: I complici romani della Shoah* (Rome: Cooper, 2005) and *Gli specialisti dell'odio: Delazioni, arresti, deportazioni di ebrei italiani* (Florence: Giuntina, 2020); Simon Levis Sullam, *I carnefici italiani: Scene dal genocidio degli ebrei, 1943–1945* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2015); Sara Berger, 'I persecutori del 16 ottobre 1943', in *16 ottobre 1943: La deportazione degli ebrei romani tra storia e memoria*, ed. by Martin Baumeister, Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, and Claudio Procaccia (Rome: Viella, 2016), pp. 21–39; *I signori del terrore: Polizia nazista e persecuzione antiebraica in Italia (1943–1945)*, ed. by Sara Berger (Verona: Cierre, 2016).
6. See e.g. Diane L. Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank: Hidden Children and Postwar Families in Holland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Suzanne Weiner Weber, 'Shedding City Life: Survival Mechanisms of Forest Fugitives during the Holocaust', *Holocaust Studies*, 18.1

(2012), 1–28; Aleksiun Natalia, 'Gender and the Daily Lives of Jews in Hiding in Eastern Galicia', *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issue*, 27 (2014), 38–61; Marcel Prins, *Hidden: True Stories of Children Who Survived World War II* (London: Scholastic, 2015); Richard N. Lutjens, 'Jews in Hiding in Nazi Berlin, 1941–1945: A Demographic Survey', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 31.2 (2017), 268–97; Jacques Semelin, *The Survival of the Jews in France, 1940–44* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). For the Italian context, see Susan Zuccotti, *Holocaust Odysseys: The Jews of Saint-Martin-Vésubie and Their Flight through France and Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Liliana Picciotto, *Salvarsi: Gli ebrei d'Italia sfuggiti alla Shoah, 1943–1945* (Turin: Einaudi, 2017). For the literary representation of life in hiding, see Mara Josi, 'Emotions Out of Pages: *Si Può Stampare* by Silvia Forti Lombroso', *Close Encounters in War Journal*, 4 (2021), 169–89, and 'One Diary Two Publications: Reporting and Transmitting Discrimination and Persecution', in *La seconda guerra mondiale e la letteratura: Cronache memorie riemersioni*, ed. by Fabrizio Miliucci, Davide Pettinicchio, and Flavia Di Battista (Rome: WriteUp, 2023), pp. 85–100.

7. By books of popular history, I refer to those texts in which historical understanding comes from accounts of individual experiences and vividly narrated life stories: Maurizio Molinari and Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Duello nel ghetto: La sfida di un ebreo contro le bande nazifasciste nella Roma occupata* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2017).
8. See e.g. Otto Dov Kulka, *Landscape of the Metropolis of Death* (London: Allen Lane, 2013); Anna Foa, *Portico d'Ottavia 13: Una casa del ghetto nel lungo inverno del '43* (Rome: Laterza, 2013); Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018); Anna Foa and Lucetta Scaraffia, *Anime nere: Due donne e due destini nella Roma nazista* (Venice: Marsilio, 2021); Gaetano Petraglia, *La matta di piazza Giudia: Storia e memoria dell'ebrea romana Elena di Porto* (Florence: Giuntina, 2022); Carlo Greppi, *Un uomo di poche parole* (Rome: Laterza, 2023).
9. For the most reliable figures on deported individuals, consult Gabriele Rigano, '16 ottobre 1943: Accadono a Roma cose incredibili', in *Roma, 16 ottobre 1943: Anatomia di una deportazione*, ed. by Silvia Haia Antonucci and others (Milan: Guerini, 2006), pp. 63–85 (p. 51).
10. See e.g. Antonucci and others, Anatomia; Marcello Pezzetti, *16 ottobre 1943: La razzia degli ebrei di Roma* (Rome: Gameni, 2013); *Dopo il 16 ottobre: Gli ebrei a Roma tra occupazione, resistenza, accoglienza e delazioni*, ed. by Silvia Haia Antonucci and Claudio Procaccia (Rome: Viella, 2017); Liliana Picciotto, 'The Decision-Making Process of the Roundup of the Jews of Rome (October 1943): A Historiographic Revisitation Based on OSS (Office of Strategic Services) Documents', *Yad Vashem Studies*, 48.1–2 (2020), 1–36.
11. See e.g. Gordon, pp. 86–138; Alberto Cavaglion, 'Il grembo della Shoah: 16 ottobre 1943 di Umberto Saba, Giacomo Debenedetti, Elsa Morante', in *Dopo i testimoni*, ed. by Baiardi and Cavaglioni, pp. 245–61; Stefania Lucamante, *Forging Shoah Memories: Italian Women Writers, Jewish Identity, and the Holocaust* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 153–97; *16 ottobre 1943*, ed. by Baumeister and others; Mara Josi, *Rome, 16 October 1943: History, Memory, Literature* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2023).
12. Giacomo Debenedetti, '16 ottobre 1943', *Mercurio*, 1.4 (1944), 75–97; Giacomo Debenedetti, *16 ottobre 1943* (Rome: OET, 1945); see also Josi, *Rome*. Each book mentioned below is here presented on the basis of its predominant characteristics, which are usually and variously intermingled. This overview is by no means exhaustive but can help navigation of the vast literature devoted to 16 October.
13. Enzo Forcella, *La resistenza in convento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1999); Alberto Ciarafoni, *Quer 16 de ottobre* (Padua: Il Torchio, 2016).
14. Rosetta Loy, *La parola ebreo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997); Corrado Plastino, *La valigia* (Milan: StreetLib, 2017); Lia Tagliacozzo, *La generazione del deserto: Storie di famiglia, di giusti e di infami durante le persecuzioni razziali in Italia* (Lecce: Manni, 2020).
15. Josi, *Rome*, p. 153.
16. Gianni Campus, *Il treno di piazza Giudia* (Cuneo: L'arciere, 1995); Foa, *Portico*.

17. Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi carried out research at the Archivio centrale dello Stato, the Archivio di Stato di Roma, and the Archivio di Stato di Milano as well as in the personal archive of Alberto Di Consiglio, Pacifico's son. In the bibliography at the end of *Duello nel ghetto*, the authors report the 23 books that most helped them to historically contextualize the story of Pacifico Di Consiglio and to corroborate the oral testimonies they gathered.
18. Up until the promulgation of the Racial Laws, Italian Jews, as Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi summarize in the first part of the book, were fully integrated into society; it was only from late 1938 that they had their civil rights drastically reduced, and started to experience constant and consistent discrimination and sometimes even physical aggression by their fellow Italian citizens. Also, bibliographical references to Pacifico Di Consiglio's life were found in the digital library of the Jewish Contemporary Documentation Centre (CDEC), 'Di Consiglio, Pacifico', *CDEC Digital Library*, n.d., <http://digital-library.cdec.it/cdec-web/persone/detail/person-cdec201-729/di-consiglio-pacifico.html> [accessed 18 January 2024]; Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi; Alberto Di Consiglio and Maurizio Molinari, *Il Ribelle del Ghetto: La vita e le battaglie di Pacifico Di Consiglio, Moretto* (Rome: Masterbags, 2009).
19. Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi, p. 34 (emphasis in original). Hereafter referenced in the main text as *DG*.
20. According to Masud Kahn, insidious trauma is due to cumulative dynamics that fracture the subject while occurring silently and invisibly. Masud R. Khan, *The Privacy of the Self* (London: Hogarth Press, 1974).
21. Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 85, emphasis in original.
22. Literature not only contributes to historical recollection but also exerts a cultural effect, impacting readers' perspectives and awareness of memory processes. See e.g. Renate Lachmann, *Memory and Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, 'Literature and the Production of Cultural Memory', *European Journal of English Studies*, 10.2 (2006), 11–115; Erll, *Memory in Culture*; Ann Rigney, 'Cultural Memory Studies: Mediation, Narrative, and the Aesthetic', in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. by Anna Lisa Tota and Trever Hagen (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 65–75.
23. Di Consiglio and Molinari, p. 11. Hereafter referenced in the main text as *RG*.
24. On 17 October, 252 people — including Jews who pretended to be Catholic evacuees, Jews one of whose parents was an Italian Catholic, Catholics arrested by mistake, and Jewish citizens of countries where deportations were not occurring — were freed. They survived. On this see Rigano, '16 ottobre 1943', p. 51.
25. Molinari and Osti Guerrazzi offer a limited but poignant list of people. They mention Mario Fiorenti, Paolo Alatri, and Vittorio Ottolenghi, and their prompt participation in the newly founded Gruppi di Azione Patriottica.
26. In relation to this, see Massimiliano Griner, *La 'banda Koch': Il reparto speciale di polizia 1943–1944* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2000); Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *'La Repubblica necessaria': Il fascismo reppublicano a Roma 1943–1944* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2004); Andrea Riccardi, *L'inverno più lungo* (Rome: Laterza, 2008); *I signori del terrore*, ed. by Berger.
27. On the body as a signifier, see Madelaine Hron, 'The Trauma of Displacement', in *Trauma and Literature*, ed. by J. Roger Kurtz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 284–98 (p. 296).
28. See Rothberg, and Simona Forti, *I nuovi demoni: Ripensare oggi male e potere* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2012).
29. Newspaper articles devoted to it include Michele Cassano, 'Moretto, un eroe nel ghetto di Roma', *ANSA*, 27 January 2017, <https://www.ansa.it/sito/notizie/cultura/unlibroalgiorno/2017/01/27/moretto-un-eroe-nel-ghetto-di-roma_b7f898ed-2717-463e-b775-667b162eb9f0.html> [accessed 29 September 2024]; Roberto Zadik, 'Eroismo ebraico contro il fascismo', *Bet Magazine Mosaico*, 19 February 2017, <https://www.mosaico-cem.it/cultura-e-societa/libri/eroismo-ebraico-fascismo-esce-libro-maurizio-molinari-duello-nel-ghetto/> [accessed 29

September 2024]; Aldo Cazzullo, 'Storia di Moretto, pugile ribelle', *Corriere della Sera*, 23 February 2017, <https://www.corriere.it/cultura/17_febbraio_23/duello-nel-ghetto-maurizio-molinari-amedeo-osti-guerrazzi-rizzoli-32404e30-f9f5-11e6-9b43-a08eac6546a0.shtml> [accessed 29 September 2024]. Academic and non-academic discussion about *Duello nel ghetto* is presented in volumes such as Victor Failmezger, *Rome — City in Terror: The Nazi Occupation 1943–44* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2022), p. 486; Josi, *Rome*, pp. 25 and 37; and *Memories of the Second World War in Neutral Europe, 1945–2023*, ed. by Peter D. Tame and Manu Braganca (London: Routledge, 2023), p. 282.

30. On this, see: 'Resistenti ebrei d'Italia: un nuovo portale online', *Fondazione Centro Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea*, n.d., <https://www.cdec.it/resistenti-ebrei-ditalia-un-nuovo-portale-online/> [accessed 20 January 2024].
31. On the inclusion of Pacifico Di Consiglio's story, see 'Pacifico Di Consiglio', *Fondazione Centro Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea*, n.d., <https://resistentiebrei.cdec.it/la-mostradigitale/pacifico-di-consiglio/> [accessed 20 January 2024].
32. Former political or racial prisoners at the Regina Coeli prison received these vouchers at the end of the war.
33. For further information, see 'Pacifico Di Consiglio', *Holocaust Histories*, n.d., <https://www.holocausthistories.com> [accessed 20 January 2024].
34. Valentina Pisanty, *I guardiani della memoria e il ritorno delle destre xenofobe* (Florence: Bompiani, 2019), pp. 8–9.

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