

THE GOODS
OF JEWISH
EMIGRANTS
IN THE TRIESTE
FREE PORT
DURING
THE SECOND
WORLD WAR
—
DARIA BRASCA

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The Goods of Jewish Emigrants in the Trieste Free Port
during the Second World War

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In fondo all'Adriatico selvaggio
Si apriva un porto alla tua infanzia. Navi
verso lontano partivano. Bianco,
in cima al verde sovrastante colle,
dagli spalti d'antico forte, un fumo
usciva dopo un lampo e un rombo. Immenso
l'accoglieva l'azzurro, lo sperdeva
nella volta celeste. Rispondeva
guerriera nave al saluto, ancorata
al largo della tua casa che aveva
in capo al molo una rosa, la rosa
dei venti.
Era un piccolo porto, era una porta
aperta ai sogni.¹

FROM THE TRIESTE FREE PORT TO PALESTINE: AN OVERVIEW OF THE OPERATIVE SYSTEM

The poetry of the Triestine writer Umberto Saba (1883 – 1957) pays homage to the Port of Trieste as the gateway to the Mediterranean world from the Adriatic Sea.² The Port of Trieste is the northernmost of the Mediterranean ports and the one closest to Central Europe.³ Saba well understood the importance of this port, the “crossroad” of Alpine and Adriatic cultures. From the beginning of the 19th century, in terms of volume and movement of goods, it ranked first in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and second in the Mediterranean. The rise of the port led to the socio-economic and cultural development of the city of Trieste, which soon became a lively cosmopolitan centre.

The development of the trans-Alpine railroad connecting Trieste's port directly with Vienna and the opening of the Suez Canal led to a large expansion of the facilities within the complex known as the Old Port, later named Vittorio Emanuele III, which was built between 1868 and 1883.⁴ Although its status as a free port, granted in 1719 by Charles VI Archduke of Austria, had been abolished in 1891,

this status was restored during the Fascist regime, when the state invested a huge amount of capital to modernize the port facilities (docks, hangars, maritime passenger station, etc.) and to construct the New Port, known as Duca d'Aosta (today the New Free Port).⁵

In fact, with the rise of the National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista, PNF) in the early 1920s, the industrial development of the Trieste port became one of the pillars of Italian economic policy. The new infrastructure could guarantee an increase in the volume of the maritime trade through the port.⁶ It also made it attractive for financial services, including the trade of valuable goods outside the national customs lines, although German competitors, especially the Hamburg port, dominated European maritime trade. The strength of Trieste was its geographical position, which guaranteed it as the bridgehead of European maritime traffic with destinations in the Middle East.⁷ This also played a crucial role in the exodus of Jewish people fleeing the persecutory policies that were adopted in many Eastern European countries from the beginning of the 20th century.

In the early 1920s, the Italian Assistance Committee for Jewish Emigrants (Comitato Italiano di Assistenza agli Emigranti Ebrei Trieste), or Misrad (Ha Sochnut Ha Yehudit), was founded in Trieste in Via del Monte 7 by the already existing Committee for the Protection of Jewish Emigrants (Comitato di Protezione degli Emigranti Ebrei). Its aim was to support and promote Jewish emigration through Trieste to Palestine.⁸ Supporting the committee's activity was the Trieste Palestinian Office, part of the International Jewish Agency and housed in the same building as the committee. The founding of these different offices to assist Jewish emigrants underlines the importance of Trieste in the European Jewish emigration flow.⁹

The tightening of racial legislation in National Socialist Germany and later in countries occupied by the German Reich and its allies caused an exodus of Jewish people towards the Mediterranean ports. Italy consequently played a fundamental role as a place of transit. The Jewish communities residing

in important port cities such as Trieste, Venice, Genoa and Naples were directly involved in these events and established committees and welfare organizations to support the migratory flow. Due to its favourable geographical position, providing the fastest route to Palestine at prices better than other ports, Trieste soon became the main Italian embarkation point, with over 150,000 Jews departing from the port between 1920 and 1943.¹⁰ For this important role in Jewish emigration, Trieste was dubbed the “gateway to Zion” (Sha’ Ar Zion).¹¹

After the annexation of Austria to the German Reich (1938), many Austrian Jews attempted to embark in Trieste. With many others, these Austrian emigrants faced the Italian racial legislation that had been issued by the Fascist Regime in September 1938.¹² In particular, the Royal Decree Law no. 1381 of 7 September 1938, “Provisions against foreign Jews”, foresaw that Italian citizenship that had been given to foreign Jews would be revoked after 1 January 1939 which of course would lead to their expulsion from Italy and its territories (including Libya and the territories of Aegean).¹³ Although the Fascist regime officially forbade entry to Jewish emigrants coming from National Socialist Germany and its occupied countries, Jewish emigrants still continued to flood into Italy regardless of the risks due to the escalation of persecution across Europe. As a consequence, the number of Jewish emigrants in Italy seeking assistance for journeys to overseas destinations doubled between 1940 and 1943.¹⁴ For this reason, after the disbanding of the Assistance Committee for Jews in Italy (COMASEBIT — Comitato di assistenza per gli ebrei in Italia) by Mussolini’s order on 15 August 1939, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (UCII) established the Italian Aid Commission for Jewish Refugees (DELASEM — Delegazione Assistenza Emigrati Ebrei) on 1 December 1939 to assist these emigrants in emigration procedures and provide them with daily expenses during their stay in Italy.¹⁵ The lawyer Lelio Vittorio Valobra (1900 – 1976), vice president of the UCII and president of DELASEM, coordinated all of the DELASEM offices located in the main

Italian cities from his headquarters in Genoa. The DELASEM offices were tasked with organizing fundraisers and establishing contact with embassies, international assistance organizations, and local Jewish communities.¹⁶ In Trieste, DELASEM was directed by Giuseppe Fano (1884 – 1972). The office continued the intense activity that had been coordinated by the Italian Assistance Committee for Jewish Emigrants in previous years.

Italy declared war on France and Great Britain (10 June 1940), and the Italian chief of police issued an order for the arrest and internment of foreign Jewish people on Italian soil. With this, DELASEM could no longer guarantee overseas journeys. The situation worsened after the Italian declaration of war against the United States in 1942, which interrupted travel to and trade with that country. Nonetheless, DELASEM continued to support Jewish emigrants in Trieste and foreign Jews in Italian internment camps, a number that grew every day. An important task of DELASEM was to ensure the proper care of the consignments of Jewish emigrants being stored at the Free Port of Trieste that could no longer be shipped to overseas destinations. These goods, like other consignments in transit through the port, remained stored in warehouses for years. With great difficulty, DELASEM attempted to assert the rights of the owners vis-a-vis the forwarding companies and the Fascist regime. In the 1930s, consignments — goods shipped through the port and entrusted to forwarding companies — were crucial not only for Trieste, but also for the national economy. The Free Port was an enclosed space in the port where goods from abroad were deposited or transited without being subject to customs duties.¹⁷ After their arrival in Trieste by railway, equipped with customs leads and delivery notes, goods remained in their train wagons until they were stored in hangars and warehouses in the Free Port's Old and New Port. The Azienda dei Magazzini Generali di Trieste, a private mixed-capital company, was the authority in charge of the port infrastructure, hangars, and warehouses, and of the movement of goods in the Free Port on the behalf of the

Italian State.¹⁸ The hangars and warehouses managed by Magazzini Generali were large storage sites for multiple lots that were rented to forwarding companies. Magazzini Generali managed 20 hangars, 18 warehouses and various buildings surrounded by a single train track traversing the Old Port's docks (1925). It also managed six hangars and one warehouse in the New Port (1925), which had double tracks to ensure the easier handling of goods between hangars and the railway station connecting the port with many European cities.¹⁹ As a result, goods stored in the Free Port came from all over Europe.

The hangars were large single-storey buildings built close to the docks for the purpose of storing consignments in transit. Due to their size, they could store liftvans up to five square meters, such as many of those owned by Jewish emigrants stored in hangars 23, 27, 28, and 30 of the Old Port (pier 0) and 56 and 69 of the New Port (Riva IV and VII).²⁰

Meanwhile, the warehouses were arranged on three parallel roads, one bordering the railroad. They had from one to six floors, with balconies between the foreparts supported by cast iron columns, and were equipped with access to the ground via elevators, hoists, and other types of apparatus for loading and unloading goods from railway wagons. These warehouses were used to store goods for long periods and they comprised the warehouses of Magazzini Generali, which were rented by forwarding companies, and private warehouses.²¹ The crates of Jewish emigrants were stored in warehouses of the Old Port piers (IV–III–II–0): 4/ Tascabile (a six-storey building built in 1906), 7 (a four-storey building built in 1888 – 1889), 18 (a four-storey building built in 1893) and 10 (a four-storey building built in 1891 – 1892). Following the provisions of the Italian Martial Law of May 1943, the goods of Jewish emigrants stored at the Free Port of Trieste were seized (not confiscated).²² Prior to this, some of these goods had already been auctioned at public sales authorized by the Court of Trieste to cover expenses incurred by the forwarding companies storing them.

PUBLIC AUCTIONS OF GOODS OF JEWISH EMIGRANTS
IN TRIESTE FREE PORT
(1940 – 1943)

To cover expenses they had incurred, three forwarding companies — Francesco Reitter, Intercontinentale, and G. J. Marovic (later named E. Havlicek) — requested authorization from the Court of Trieste to sell some of the goods in consignments of Jewish emigrants being stored in the warehouses. They submitted appeals to the Trieste Court from November 1940 to May 1943, following the provisions of the 1882 Italian Commercial Code, in particular Articles 71, 363, and 413, and of the Italian Civil Code issued in March 1942.²³ The appeals were based on the fact that these consignments had been stored in the Free Port of Trieste for at least a couple of years and were subject to gradual deterioration with a consequent loss of value. While the sales covered part of the incurred expenses, including port taxes, storage fees, and insurance, they did not offer a solution for all of the financial troubles being faced by the forwarding companies due to the war. Generally, customers paid for shipments to the Italian border, paying for transit through the port only and in full after the final shipment.

In the appeals presented to the Court of Trieste, the forwarding companies declared that their attempts to communicate with their clients to obtain payment for storage expenses and shipping costs had failed due to the war. Furthermore, they declared that they did not know where their clients currently lived (at least when the forwarding companies tried to contact them) due to their emigrant status. The forwarding companies also stressed the difficulty of communicating between their own branches, agents and the associated companies scattered around the world involved in these same shipments. Between 26 November 1940 and 12 April 1943, 56 such appeals were presented, with 48 accepted by the court. In only 40 cases did an auction take place, these between 26 December 1940 and 4 May 1943. Five of these 40 cases were handled in two auctions (in 1942

– 1943) on different days to ensure that the incurred expenses were fully covered. The court's ruling was inconsistent for the first four appeals, which were submitted to the Court of Trieste between 26 November 1940 and 14 July 1941. The court accepted only the first two cases. Pursuant to Article 413 of the Commercial Code in force at that time, if the recipient-debtor of the goods in question was not available, a judge could order the seizure or sale of goods up to value of the expenses that had been incurred by the creditor.²⁴ In these first cases, the court had difficulties to ascertain the real availability of the recipient-debtors due to their emigrant status and the events of the war. The recipient-debtors had fled to many different places — the United States, Palestine, the United Kingdom, South America, China, or Australia — where their goods should have followed.

In the first appeal, presented by the company Francesco Reitter on 16 November 1940, the residence changes of the recipient, Ignatz Arnold Rossmann, were submitted as evidence to the Court of Trieste to demonstrate the company's difficulty in communicating with its client.²⁵ Mr. Rossmann had moved to Trieste, Naples and Zurich while waiting for a visa to enter the United States. Difficulties in obtaining an overseas visa or economic support for the journey often forced Jewish emigrants to change their place of residence frequently. Their consignments did not follow these moves, but were left in the port of Trieste, which was planned only as a stopover, a transit spot before the consignments continued on their own routes. Mr. Rossmann had written to the forwarding company hired for the shipment to Trieste, the Intra Company of Vienna, to sell some of his goods to cover the expenses, in particular a piano, a bronze chandelier and certain pieces of furniture.

There were also cases of Jewish emigrants allowing the forwarding companies to find parties interested in buying some of their goods stuck in the port of Trieste.²⁶ Their aim was to cover expenses as far as possible by selling objects of daily life or of low value to ensure that their more valuable goods could be shipped later. In the appeals submitted by the

forwarding companies that were rejected, the court strictly applied the same Article 413. The court stated that although a recipient-debtor was absent for emergency reasons (such as a war), the creditor nonetheless knew where he was living.²⁷ But the Court of Trieste changed its attitude on 27 July 1941, when the judge of the Appeal Court of Trieste overturned the court sentence of 18 July 1941, stating that although the creditor knew that the recipient, in this specific case Oscar Reinharz, resided in the United States, the events of the war were sufficient reason for communication problems between the creditor-debtor parties.²⁸

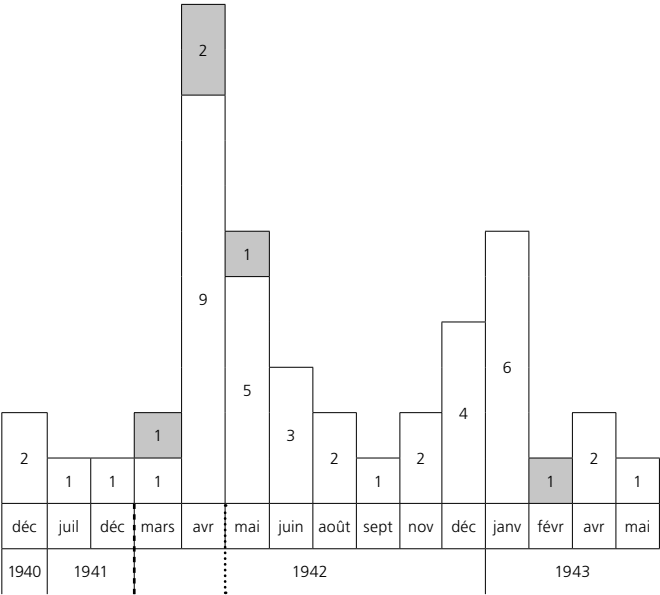
In all of the appeals presented to the court, the forwarding companies stressed the high risk they were incurring as creditors. They claimed that they would never receive the balance of the accumulated expenses, since they did not know whether the owners were still alive or how the war would unfold. As a consequence, they had to keep expenses down by reducing their insurance to cover only fixed storage fees and port taxes. Moreover, as they pointed out, the stored goods were gradually losing value, especially if they were perishable items. Perishable items that could not be shipped to the recipient still had to be stored properly, such as in the case of 107 crates of cheese destined for New York that had been sent on 3 May 1940 from Bulgaria to Trieste. The company *Adriatica S. A.*, after storing the crates in the cold rooms of *Frigoriferi Generali S. A.* at the Customs Port (pier *Fratelli Bandiera*) for months, was authorized on 12 March 1941 to sell the cheese, which was then done in three auctions at the end of the same month.²⁹

The appeals presented to the Trieste Court pointed out that auctions, even if only some of the stored goods were sold, would temporarily cover expenses and make some profit for the debtor, given the high market demand for daily life items. Indeed, the documentation allows a fairly accurate account, indeed a typology, of the contents of Jewish emigrants' liftvans.³⁰

After the court's authorization for an auction was issued,

according to the provisions established by Article 71 (Commercial Code), a bailiff was appointed by the judge to evaluate the goods to be sold, compose lots, and set a fair estimate for them. The number of objects selected for selling depended on the value established by the bailiff. The purpose was to put objects on sale whose value was equivalent to the cost of the expenses incurred by the appellants, to be validated by the judge. If the proceeds from the sale were then insufficient to cover the expenses, the bailiff could proceed with the sale of another selection of objects. In two cases, the company E. Havlicek decided to not proceed with the second sale despite the proceeds of the first sale not covering the total expenses (Table 1).³¹

TABLE 1 Number of public auctions performed between December 1940-May 1943



..... New Civil Code
 - - - Italian declaration of war to the US

☐ First Auction
☒ Second Auction

In addition to covering expenses incurred for storage, insurance and portage, the proceeds of the sales also had to cover the legal and administrative fees, the costs for newspaper advertising, and even the bailiff's fee. The judge set a maximum value of all these charges, equal to or lower than that required by the appellants. Not all the appellants specified in their requests these charges, leaving these for the judge to decide. When the appellants specified them, the court reduced the total amount of these charges by around 20 %, but it added auction and legal fees. These charges amounted to 422,287 Lire (value referred to 40 auctions done), not including the auction costs.

It is important to stress that the lawyers' receipts submitted to the court after the auctions listed extra costs incurred for the sale, such as legal fees, taxes, workers' and expert salaries, and administrative fees. These extra costs amounted to around 10 % of the extra charges established by the court. According to the legal provisions, the auctions were open to the public, and before they took place, they were advertised in local newspapers, such as *Il Piccolo*, and posted on the bulletin boards of the City of Trieste, Court of Trieste, Stock Exchange and Free Port of Trieste.³²

The Jewish emigrants' consignments contained a wide range of objects for furnishing houses and offices: dining room furniture, bedroom furniture, living room furniture, personal belongings, clothes, silverware, glassware, paintings, rugs, blankets, mattresses, house linen, pots, etc. Many liftvans also contained medical and dental equipment and tools, objects highly sought after during the war. Each liftvan, due to their large size, could easily contain the complete furnishings of several rooms in a house.

For the auctions, the bailiff first selected the heaviest and bulkiest objects to reduce storage space and thus expenses, as well as things that were most marketable, such as kitchen tools, lamps, linen, and appliances (as for example stoves and vacuum cleaners). Such goods were easily auctioned. Every object was listed with the hammer price and a short description, these sometimes augmented with details (such

as “artistic” or “antique furniture”) to allow a better understanding of the items’ value and type. When the entire contents of a liftvan or crate was auctioned, the container itself was also sold.

The public sales took place in the warehouses where the goods had been stored; these included some private warehouses and those of Magazzini Generali (warehouses no. 7, 23, 27, 28, 30, 56 and 69). The entire sale procedure (description of the objects, final sale amounts, names of buyers) was recorded by a bailiff of the Court of Trieste, who attended the sale together with the auctioneer, Umberto Rota, and an attorney from the forwarding company. The bailiff and auctioneer were appointed by the Court of Trieste. They had different roles: the bailiff checked that the sales procedure was followed according to the law, while the auctioneer put the lot up for sale. The Court of Trieste appointed Giuseppe Pitacco, Giovanni de Panzera and Marcello Spagnul, all members of the PNF and registered at the Trieste Court, to act as bailiffs.³³ Spagnul was later hired by the High Commissioner of the Adriatic Littoral to evaluate goods confiscated from Jewish households in Trieste. The forwarding companies’ appeals were submitted to the court by the Trieste law firms Andro Clarici and Stefano Selem, firms where the Austrian lawyer Erminia Schellander (1902–?) carried out forensic research; Schellander was also later employed by the High Commissioner for liquidating the Jewish property and firms confiscated in Trieste and its surrounding province.³⁴

The Italian declaration of war on the United States (on 11 December 1941) and the uncertainty about the progression of the war prompted the forwarding companies to submit further appeals to the Court of Trieste. The next appeal, submitted 5 February 1942, concerned a liftvan owned by the Viennese Sigmund Breuer that had been stored in Francesco Reitter’s warehouse since 14 October 1939 and which was supposed to be shipped to New York.³⁵ After the court’s authorization of this request, 18 further appeals were submitted from 5 February to 18 April 1942. All of them were

accepted by the court. For these cases, the selling procedure changed. The Trieste Fascist Federation of Forwarding Agents (Federazione Fascista dei Commercianti Spedizionieri) had entered into an agreement with DELASEM under the supervision of the National Institute of Exchange and Currencies (Istituto Nazionale Cambi e Valute). In this agreement DELASEM was to become responsible for paying the expenses incurred by the forwarding companies once approximately 40 % to 50 % of these expenses had been reduced. This agreement was based on the possibility to ensure shipments of Jewish consignments on Italian ships after the war and the desire of the Federation to obtain foreign currency from payments of storage expenses and shipping costs.³⁶

Nevertheless, DELASEM decided to pay these expenses only if the owners agreed to the removal of winter clothes contained in their liftvans and crates to support Jewish emigrants in Trieste. The need for warm clothes had increased dramatically in Italy due to the large number of buildings destroyed by Anglo-American air raids and the many Jewish emigrants unable to flee Europe and trapped in the country. DELASEM covered the expenses by selling the building it owned in Trieste at 20 Via Ginnastica and fundraising among the Trieste Jewish community. After the war, DELASEM reported to the Property Control Office of the Allied Military Government (AMG) in Trieste that the total amount paid to cover the expenses of the Jewish consignments was 357,071.10 Lire (later increased to 453,263.65 Lire to include the charges set by the court).³⁷ This amount paid by DELASEM covered expenses for 8 % of the total Jewish consignments stored in the Trieste port from 1 January 1940 to 9 September 1943.

The forwarding companies who accepted this agreement with DELASEM made no appeals to the Court of Trieste. But when the companies Francesco Reitter and E. Havlicek could no longer afford the storage expenses being incurred, they proceeded with appeals for public auctions.³⁸ Having recognized DELASEM's efforts to defend Jewish emigrants' rights as well as the patronage of the Ministry for Foreign

Affairs' General Direction of Civil Affairs, the Court of Trieste authorized these appeals on condition that the goods were chosen and evaluated by delegates appointed by DELASEM. The bailiff appointed by DELASEM was the same Marcello Spagnul who had been appointed by the court in previous auctions to identify the heavier and bulky goods for sale to decrease storage fees. The DELASEM delegates attended the public sales, together with the auctioneer, the bailiff and the forwarding companies' attorneys. In almost all of the auctions, DELASEM's delegate was Ignazio Krzentowsky (1909 – 1992), who later accompanied Jewish emigrants on their journey to Palestine until he was declared stateless and took refuge in Switzerland.³⁹ Occasionally, Mr. Krzentowsky was replaced by the lawyer Dino Viterbo (1886 – 1966), a prominent member of the Trieste Jewish community.⁴⁰ The decision of the court to involve DELASEM in the juridical sales procedures followed a request brought by DELASEM itself to the Court of Trieste on March 1942:

Se fosse possibile impartire una disposizione d'ufficio in seguito alla quale gli spedizionieri venissero tenuti a chiedere il nostro intervento nella scelta degli oggetti da mettere all'asta e a riconoscere la nostra veste di rappresentare gli interessati, nella nostra qualità di Patronato per la protezione degli emigrati, anche i procedimenti di incanto, con quella cautela, non rappresenterebbero più un danno per la proprietà degli immigrati [...]⁴¹

As a consequence, DELASEM took part in 21 sales (of which three took place in two sessions) over the course of one year, from 8 April 1942 to 14 April 1943.⁴² According to a post-war report by DELASEM, the total proceeds of these auctions were 112,263.55 Lire, of which 96,193.55 Lire (until 30 September 1943) were passed to the creditors, as established by the court, with the remainder credited to non-transferable bank accounts.

Any excess profit obtained from a sale had to be deposited in a postal account (Cassa di Risparmio Postale) or savings

account of the Banca d'Italia or of the Credito Italiano di Trieste in favour of the debtor, or to the auctioneer, according to banking regulations. Savings books held in the records of the Court of Trieste confirmed the deposits. (The money was transferred to the rightful owners by AMG–Property Control Office in Trieste in the post-war period.) For the sales that involved DELASEM, the deposits in the non-transferable bank accounts at the Banca d'Italia amounted to 16,070 Lire for 18 owners.⁴³

The sales performed for 36 authorized appeals covered the charges established by the court. Of these, 25 made more profit than had been established by the court, and the surplus was transferred to saving accounts (these data represent around 70 % of the sales performed) under the names of 23 debtors (two appeals referred to the same owners, Mrs. Berta Sender and Mr. Rossmann).⁴⁴ Three of the five appeals performed in two separate sales did not cover the incurred expenses.⁴⁵

On 14 April 1942, a new Civil Code came into force. It included different provisions than the repealed Commercial Code, the original Article 71. For this reason, the Court of Trieste rejected the appeal presented by the company G. J. Marovic on 23 May 1942 on the basis of Article 2795 of the new code.⁴⁶ Pursuant to Article 2795, an appellant-creditor was required to protect the value of the collateral; only if the value of the collateral was lost or deteriorated could the creditor exercise a defence mechanism, including a sale. As a result, the court, in its authorizations, recognized the rights of the forwarding companies by applying Articles 2756 and 2761 of the new Civil Code.⁴⁷ These entitled the appellant-creditor to sell Jewish emigrants' goods until its claim was satisfied, in accordance with the sale of pledged property provisions. In less than one year, from 18 April 1942 to 13 April 1943, 41 appeals were presented to the court, of which 33 were authorized (with only 27 sales performed, two of them over two sessions). The court rejected seven appeals by applying Articles 8, 9 and 10 of the Code of Civil Procedure regarding the jurisdiction of the praetor and court.⁴⁸

Based on the sales estimates of the bailiff, many of the auctioned objects were quite valuable, including art objects, works of art, silverware, sets of crystal, porcelain services with gold edges, books, oriental rugs, prints, paintings and books.⁴⁹ Indeed, some sold for high prices, including some porcelain figurines, small bronzes, Chinese and Japanese vases, and musical instruments: violins, guitars, gramophones and an upright piano.⁵⁰

After the war, Michele Kyprianou of the eponymous export company declared that he had purchased many Torah scrolls in port sales.⁵¹ He certainly acquired many lots, including a crystal set, marble columns, lamps, ornaments and an alabaster clock. The clock was sold on 12 March 1942, together with other objects owned by Mr. Breuer, including a "wicker basket with old books by various authors and several oil paintings grouped in lots, among which there were different pieces of furniture".⁵²

Another lot of paintings and prints belonging to Mr. Rossmann and Maier Israel Weimersheimer, who emigrated to the United States and Venezuela, respectively, were auctioned in 1942.⁵³ The crate belonging to Mr. Rossmann also contained German books, which were all sold. The same year, books and artistic objects contained in the liftvans and crates owned by Wilhelm Sekeles and Isidor Cohn, who had both emigrated to Palestine, were auctioned, including porcelain figurines, small bronzes, antique clocks, valuable table services, crystal sets and Chinese vases.⁵⁴ Oriental rugs were highly valued and realized high prices. The bailiff selected and evaluated especially valuable rugs for three different sales in 1943. At these sales, the rugs were sold at 40 % above the estimated value. An oriental rug owned by the German Leo Liebesny was sold for 17,600 Lire, while another owned by the couple Maria and Ernesto Gallia, who had emigrated to the United States, for 36,400 Lire.⁵⁵

There were 65 recorded buyers for the 45 auctions performed, although some were commercial firms or shops. An analysis of these data reveals that more than half the buyers (36) attended only one or two auctions, with 29 attending

only a single auction. The buyers who attended only one auction generally purchased a lot containing various objects, as for example, full furnishings for one or more rooms. There were 23 other buyers who attended from three to 15 auctions. Only six buyers attended from 16 to 24 auctions, that is, more than half of the total auctions that were organized. These six buyers purchased lots made up of many valuable objects, including paintings, books, rugs, and other art objects. Among the buyers, the names of various forwarding companies, resellers and importer dealers can be found, including Michele Kyprianou, Ignazio Cabilca, Ernesto Havliceck, Emanule Balducci, Mario Pesavento, Ernesto Merk and Rodolfo Rudl. While Havliceck and Balducci purchased only a stove and a fridge, respectively, Cabilca, a reseller, purchased many items at 30 different sales. Pesavento, a wine exporter, purchased a complete dining room set and several small bronzes. Merk and Rudl, procurers of the importer company Behr & Co., bought a typewriter and a glass service, paying very little.

The auctioned Jewish goods were quite sought after and attracted a number of speculative buyers. In fact, some of the buyers were investigated for speculation by the Court of Trieste after the war. During an investigation conducted by the police following a series of thefts committed at the port in 1944, a system set up by the buyers was revealed.⁵⁶ The low prices on the objects were the result of agreements (generally known as rings) between buyers to keep the sales prices only slightly above the estimated value, a strategy employed particularly by most important buyers who regularly attended the auctions. The police underlined that these buyers had gained large amounts in a short period of time by reselling the purchased objects of Jewish emigrants. Among them, Plinio Videri, a metal dealer and one of the most important buyers at these public sales, was tried by the Court of Trieste for having taken goods (including rugs, silverware, crystal sets, porcelain objects, paintings, books and other valuable objects) into the city without paying customs fees and for having sold them at great profit.⁵⁷

THE FASCIST REGIME'S SEIZURE OF JEWISH EMIGRANTS' GRIDLOCKED GOODS IN THE TRIESTE FREE PORT (1943)

The sporadic sales authorized by the Court of Trieste did not cover all the costs claimed by the forwarding companies, nor did they resolve the problem of warehouse storage of all of the Jewish emigrants' consignments in the Trieste Free Port.⁵⁸ From December 1941 the Italian Ministries for Exchange and Currencies (Ministero per gli scambi e le valute), Finance, Communication and Interior debated about what to do with consignments gridlocked by the war in the Free Ports of Genoa and Trieste.⁵⁹

On 21 April 1943 the President of Magazzini Generali of the Trieste Free Port, Carlo Perusino, following provisions issued by the Ministry for Exchange and Currencies (on April 12), invited the Trieste Fascist Federation of Forwarding Agents to complain to the Prefecture of Trieste about the consignments stored at Magazzini Generali' warehouses owned by Jewish emigrants who were presently residing in countries at war with Italy.⁶⁰

After the declaration of war against France and the United Kingdom and its colonies on 10 June 1940, the Fascist Regime considered their citizens — and their assets — to be enemy subjects of the Italian Nation and treated them according to the Martial Law issued in 1938 and its application on Italian soil since 1940.⁶¹ In particular, the Trieste Prefecture applied the regulations that had been issued on 10 March 1941 establishing how property on Italian soil owned by citizens of enemy nationalities was to be treated.⁶²

The seizure of property, according to Articles 295 – 296 of the Martial Law, was to be implemented by the prefect of the province where the property was located and became effective immediately after the issuing of a prefectural decree. The decree was published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* and the owner of the seized property was notified (Article 298). In accordance with the Martial Law, the prefect appointed a trustee for the property, who was chosen amongst current public servants.

Seizure of the consignments in the Trieste Free Port had already been proposed by the PNF in November 1942. The PNF assumed that these goods were owned by German Jews who had lost their nationality, or by citizens who had emigrated to countries considered enemies of Italy. The PNF had also proposed distributing these assets, after their seizure on behalf of the Fascist regime, to Italian households damaged by air raids, particularly objects of daily life such as furniture, clothes and linens.⁶³

On 11 May 1943, the Prefect of Trieste, Tullio Tamburini (1892 – 1957), issued a seizure decree (Prefectural Decree no. 1100/12409) on consignments of Jewish emigrants in the Magazzini Generali warehouses that had been rented by various forwarding companies, stated that (article 1): “[...] Sono sottoposti a sequestro i colli e cassoni di masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati di cui all’elenco unito portante lo stesso n. del Decreto, di cui sono detentrici le rispettive ditte di spedizioni e giacenti nei locali Magazzini Generali”.⁶⁴ The trustee appointed by the prefect was the Trieste accountant Bruno de Steinkuehl (1905–?), a former agent in the stock market of Trieste who had long experience in maritime trade as director of important commercial companies and of the Fascist Federation for Forwarding Agents for Overseas Trade (Federazione Nazionale Fascista Case per il Commercio Oltremare) in Rome.⁶⁵ The task of the trustee was, according to the prefectural decree and subsequent circulars, to ascertain the ownership of every consignment, including the owner’s city of birth and his or her current residence, the expenses incurred before the seizure decree, the current expenses, and the approximate value of the goods.⁶⁶ In this way the trustee could establish which consignments could be seized under the Martial Law provisions. The Prefect of Trieste also ordered reports on the consignments stored in private warehouses through prefectural decree no. 1100/12948 issued on 19 May 1943.⁶⁷ This order stated that:

Codesta ditta è inviata a presentare a questa Prefettura [...], le partite di masserizie di proprietà

di ebrei emigrati dalla Germania o da altri paesi ed attualmente residenti in paesi nemici, e giacenti nei magazzini privati o terreni gestiti da voi direttamente [...]. La denuncia dovrà essere presentata anche qualora non risulti in modo assoluto che la merce appartenga a persone di razza ebraica e che la residenza di queste sia attualmente un paese nemico, essendo compito del sequestratario [...] precisare il destinatario presunto proprietario e la sua residenza [...]⁶⁸

As a consequence, the complaints submitted by the forwarding companies to the Trieste Prefecture listed the following: the consignment identification number, the number of crates and/or liftvans that comprised the consignment, its total weight, its place of dispatch and its final declared destination (if there was one), the expenses incurred up to 31 November 1943, the sender's name and address (forwarding company), the owner's current place of residence (declared or alleged) and the owner's full name. In some cases they also indicated third parties who claimed rights to the goods, such as DELASEM.

On 26 July 1943, the Trieste Fascist Federation of Forwarding Agents, together with Bruno de Steinkuehl, established a procedure for verifying these complaints, which contained information on around 1,200 consignments gridlocked in the private warehouses. This number given by the trustee serves as a rough indication only, as it was a low estimate. In fact, the submission of the complaints and their control was a long and complex task that took months. Only in late November 1943, as we will see, was the trustee able to ascertain the correct number of consignments in the private warehouses and the corresponding number of packing crates and liftvans. This ended up being many more than had been assumed in July (Table 2).

If an owner had consignments deposited in a Magazzini Generali warehouse as well as in a private warehouse, the seizure decree was extended to cover also the goods in the private warehouse. Nevertheless, in September 1943, many

TABLE 2 Delta between the trustee's report and list of the blocked crates

Forwarding Companies	Owners (Trustee list)*	Consignments (Trustee list)**	Consignments (Trustee report)	Delta	Crates (Trustee list)	Crates (Trustee report)	Delta
Francesco Parisi	447	413	436	-23	1840	1872	-32
SAIMA	110	97	107	-10	471	470	1
Villain & Fassio	36	33	33	0	167	165	2
Emilio Kobau	20	19	19	0	117	177	0
Fritz Egel	15	14	14	0	58	58	0
Fratelli Gondrand	16	15	15	0	76	76	0
S.A. Marangoni	119	118	118	0	381	381	0
Alessandro Billitz	23	21	22	-1	52	52	0
G.J. Marovic / E. Havlicek	135	132	136	-4	664	666	-2
S.A. Trasporti Marittima	12	11	11	0	82	81	1
Francesco Reitter	140	120	138	-18	544	564	-20
Giovanni Sofianopulo	111	109	111	-2	463	463	0
Julia Intertrans	217	214	214	0	849	849	0
Paul & Krehbiel	101	88	94	-6	345	345	0
Linee Triestine per l'Oriente/ Lloyd Triestino	374	355	347	8	1408	1390	18
Deschmann Terrile & Co.	68	70	71	-1	246	258	-12
Missaglia & Ventura	2	2		2	48		48
Sorveglian-za S.A.	3	1		1	3		3
Edmondo Schäffer			7			n/a	
Various			5			51	
Total	1949	1832	1898	-66	7814	7858	-44
Trustee final report			1914			7910	

* A consignment can be related to 1–3 owners.

** Every “unknown owner” is calculated 1 owner; If an owner is listed twice by the same forwarding company is calculated 1 owner; An owner can have more consignments.

*** The consignment no. 452 is related to unspecified “various owners”.

complaints had not yet been submitted to the Trieste Prefecture, or not all the requested information had been provided. In particular, the information about the owner's current place of residence was crucial for establishing whether a consignment could be considered enemy property and seized according to the Martial Law provisions. This delay resulted in only a few consignments in private warehouses being seized at this time.⁶⁹

The same difficulty was insistently stressed by de Steinkuehl, the forwarding companies and the Enemy Property Office in Trieste Prefecture. Complaints were sent both to the Trieste Prefect and to the Revenue Office (on 1 July 1943) regarding the consignments stored in the Magazzini Generali warehouses.⁷⁰ In most cases, the forwarding companies had only declared that the consignments could be linked to German or Austrian Jewish owners, since they had been dispatched from Vienna and various German cities.⁷¹ It was more difficult, if not often impossible, to ascertain if the consignments could really be considered Jewish property.⁷²

To facilitate his task, the trustee divided the consignments into eight different categories, cross-referencing the various pieces of information provided by the forwarding companies, in order to establish whether the Martial Law provisions applied and a seizure decree could consequently be issued. The first six categories were determined by a consignment's destination combined with its owner's current place of residence, organized according to whether destination and residence were enemy, allied or neutral countries. Information about the current residence was circumstantial due to the fact that in most cases correspondence between the owners and forwarding company had been either interrupted by the war, or was sporadic due to the sudden changes of residence to which Jewish emigrants were being subjected. In particular, the third and fourth categories took into consideration the fact that some consignments might not be, or no longer be, Jewish property, since they had been transferred to third parties not covered by the Martial Law. In fact, although the prefectural decree of 11 May

1943 referred to “goods belonging to Jewish emigrants”, the Prefect of Trieste soon clarified that when issuing seizures, the Martial Law applied only to statelessness or residence in an enemy country.⁷³

The seventh category considered consignments and owners from occupied Eastern countries such as Estonia, Poland and Latvia (Lettonia in Italian). The trustee speculated that these consignments belonged to Jews who had lived in those countries before 1940, and who had since died or been displaced. And the eighth category involved consignments and owners from Germany, which had already been seized by the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei) and put under control of German authorities. For these consignments, there were legal disputes between Italy and Germany regarding the German seizure decree being extended to include German Jewish property on Italian soil.⁷⁴

According to de Steinkuehl, of a total of 479 owners (of consignments stored in Magazzini Generali warehouses), only 209 could be connected to Jewish emigrants from Germany, and there was no guarantee that they were currently resident in enemy countries.⁷⁵ This assessment was possible, since in late July 1942, the Trieste PNF headquarters had received a request to list Jewish-owned consignments shipped from the German Reich and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia by the Freight Directing Office for Southeast Europe (Frachtenleitstelle Südost), the German agency in charge of control and coordination of shipments to south-east Europe.⁷⁶

In de Steinkuehl’s report, he noted practical information about every listed consignment. It is not surprising that this list was much more detailed than the one drawn up for the consignments gridlocked in private warehouses, since the trustee had to apply the seizure procedure. Specifically, he listed the following information for consignments to be seized: the consignment identification number, the number of crates and/or liftvans comprising the consignment, its total weight, the warehouse in which it was deposited, the expenses incurred up to 31 October 1943, the place

of dispatch and its final destination as (or if) declared, the owner's full name, the owner's home city (if declared), the owner's current place of residence (if declared or known, or as presumed), and any restrictions on the consignment (for instance, third-party claims, such as those of DELASEM).⁷⁷ Excluded from the trustee's list were the following: consignments for which a release from seizure had been requested from the Trieste Revenue Office prior to 7 October 1943, consignments not accompanied by proper records, as well as those already seized by prefectural decrees for which a former officer of Lloyd Triestino, Silvio Cavalli, had been appointed as trustee in 1942.⁷⁸ At the end of his investigation, de Steinkuehl listed 479 owners of 667 liftvans and crates managed by 22 forwarding companies deposited in the Magazzini Generali warehouses number 23, 28, 30, 56 and 69 (Table 3).⁷⁹

These were the warehouses, wide and low in shape, that were used to store Jewish emigrants' liftvans. The liftvans measured from 5 to 8 square meters each, with a weight ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 kg. More than half of these weighed between 2,000 kg and 4,000 kg (with the average being 3,500 kg). The rest of the consignments were liftvans weighing more than 4,000 kg. Most of the liftvans listed by the trustee were managed by the firm of G. J. Marovic/E. Havlicek, followed by the companies Julia Intertrans, Società Linee Triestine per l'Oriente and Francesco Reitter. Generally, every consignment was comprised of one liftvan or, in a few cases, two liftvans (this is particularly evident for the consignments managed by G. J. Marovic/E. Havlicek), but a Jewish emigrant could have more than one consignment under his name (with a maximum of three).

The trustee's decision to proceed with the seizure or release of the consignments was reported for every listed entity. In response, the owner, or someone on his or her behalf such as DELASEM, had to put forward a request of seizure release by submitting proof of their place of residence in a neutral or allied country, and an endorsement by their embassy or consulate to the Trieste Prefecture. The trustee

TABLE 3 Delta between the trustee's report and list of the seized consignments

Forwarding Companies		Entites (Trustee report)	Entities (Trustee list)	Delta	Owners (Trustee list)	Lift-vans (Trustee list)	Warehouse			
1	Francesco Parisi	17	18	-1	17	20	23	30	56	
2	SAIMA	22	22		22	28	23	30	56	69
3	Villain & Fassio	16	18	-2	16	19	30	56		
4	Emilio Kobau	10	10		10	11	23	30	56	
5	Fritz Egel	9	9		9	10	23	30		
6	Fratelli Gondrand	31	33	-2	31	40	23	30	56	
7	S.A. Marangoni	3	3		3	4	30	56		
8	Rodolfo Exner	12	12		12	13	56			
9	Alessandro Prezioso & co.	2	2		2	3	30	56		
10	Alessandro Billitz	2	2		2	2	30	56		
11	G.J. Marovic / E. Havlicek	82	84	-2	83	156	23	28	30	56
12	S.A. Trasporti Marittima	5	5		5	7	56			
13	Francesco Reitter	47	47		47	51	23	30	56	
14	Giovanni Sofianopulo	39	42	-3	39	44	23	28	56	
15	Julia Intertrans	70	69	1	69	75	23	30	56	
16	Paul & Krehbiel	27	31	-4	27	34	23	30	56	
17	Società Linee Triestine per l'Oriente	53	55	-2	54	61	23	56	69	
18	Deschmann Terrile & Co.	12	13	-1	12	16	28	30	56	
19	Edmondo Schäffer	3	10	-7	10	11	23	30		
20	Missaglia & Ventura	0	1	-1	1	1	23			
21	Sorveglianza S.A.	0	1	-1	1	1	23			
22	Giovanni Rossmann	0	1	-1	1	3	23			
23	Various	8	0	8	0	0				
Total		470	488	-18	473	609				
Trustee		469	469							
Delta		1	19		479	677				
					-6	-68				

considered two other cases: when an owner's place of residence was unknown, or when he or she was still living in Germany or other allied countries. While most of the liftvans were shipped from Austria and Germany, others came from occupied Eastern countries, including Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. The intended final destinations of these liftvans were the United States, Palestine, South America, and China.

It is difficult to interpret the information given about "countries". In fact, many consignments arriving in Trieste did not have a final declared destination, since the owners had not yet acquired residency status in a new country (in these cases the indicated destination was Trieste). For others, the indicated final destination was the place from which the owner had last contacted the forwarding company. This was in some cases Germany, Austria or German occupied countries if the owner had not yet fled. In a few cases, the owners were interned in camps in France or Italy, or on the island of Rhodes (this Greek province had been occupied by Italy from 1912 to 1943), and so the final destination indicated was the country of the internment camp. According to DELASEM, around 10,000 foreign Jews were interned in 170 Italian camps until the fall of the Fascist regime.⁸⁰ Most of these internees were Jews from Eastern countries, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but many also came from Germany and Austria. The trustee listed only six owners, from Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria, who were interned in Italian camps, notably in Ferramonti di Tarsia in southern Italy (the largest Italian internment camp, established in June 1940).⁸¹ Three other owners interned in Ferramonti di Tarsia were reported on the list of gridlocked crates in the private warehouses. In this case, the owners were Polish, German and Czechoslovakian Jews.⁸² Other names of persons interned in Italy emerge from correspondence between the forwarding companies and the Trieste Prefecture. Among these were also German Jewish emigrants interned in Italy who had requested the duty-free import of their shipments to the Ministry of Finance, General Directorate

of Customs (14 July 1943) under the status of Trieste's Free Port.⁸³ The applications filed for duty-free imports were numerous, but could only be accepted if a shipment was not subject to Article 309 of the Martial Law (and thus property that could not be seized).⁸⁴

Between July and August 1943, the extensive correspondence between the trustee, the forwarding companies, the Trieste Prefecture and the Revenue Office aimed at verifying information about the seized consignments. The numerous corrections made — including the number of the warehouse where the liftvan(s) was stored, its weight, the number of crates comprising the consignment, and the name of the forwarding company managing it — were only reported in part on the seizure decree and the trustee's list. The attempts to find information about owners and their current place of residence proved fruitful. The trustee, during his investigations, also discovered that many crates weighed less than had been declared before their shipment to Trieste. Indeed, during the years of storage, many crates had been tampered with and their contents partially looted, as was recorded by the police.⁸⁵

After the decrees were corrected, the trustee de Steinkuehl revoked many seizure decrees (in his first report he had noted that at least 70 such decrees should be revoked, but another 200 would be added), but he tried to avoid this procedure.⁸⁶ According to him, revoking a seizure ran the risk of the forwarding companies requesting the Court of Trieste to authorize the sale of goods to cover expenses, which fuelled speculation at public auctions.⁸⁷

After eight sales had been authorized by the Trieste court (requested by the firm E. Havlicek), the trustee decided, when enacting the prefectural decrees of May 1943, to revoke a seizure only if an owner was available to safeguard his or her interests by paying expenses through the authorization of the sale of goods. Nonetheless, as the trustee pointed out to the Trieste Prefecture, the seizures could also create financial difficulties for the forwarding companies, since many had paid years of port and storage fees

to Magazzini Generali.⁸⁸ For example, to cover some of its debts (amounting to 600,000 lire in July 1943), the company E. Havlicek had organized public auctions as authorized by the Court of Trieste on 24 May 1943.⁸⁹ However, these auctions were postponed by the court. Subsequently, when at the end of August 1943 the company requested permission to execute the auctions since it could no longer sustain its debts, it was prevented from proceeding by the Ministry for Exchange and Currencies.⁹⁰ At that time, following a ministerial circular, this ministry had established that the consignments in the Free Port of Trieste were at the disposal of the Italian government (for use or sale).⁹¹ By applying Articles 300 and 306 of the Martial Law, which regulated the liquidation of movable assets to meet liabilities, the government was entitled to freely dispose of these assets without restrictions.

According to the trustee, the expenses that had been incurred until 30 November 1943 by the forwarding companies since the arrival of the consignments in the Trieste port (most during the mid-1930s) amounted to over 5,500,000 Lire (with around 5,000,000 Lire of this the accrued expenses for the gridlocked consignments).⁹²

The trustee also noted third-party claims, such as those by DELASEM.⁹³ There were also some consignments whose ownership had been transferred by the owner (or by someone acting on his or her behalf) to an Italian citizen or resident. In these cases, the seizure decree was revoked. The trustee was aware of the agreement between DELASEM and the forwarding companies regarding payments of liabilities in order to avoid sales.⁹⁴ DELASEM claimed credits for 39 consignments (around 8 % of the total) related to 40 owners and six companies (Villain & Fassio, 3; F.lli Gondrand, 3; Julia Intertrans, 20; Giovanni Sofianopulo, 7; Francesco Reitter, 1; E. Havlicek, 5), having partially paid the liabilities. The final destinations declared for these consignments were Palestine and China (Shanghai).

The trustee, while proceeding with the seizures, checked the records on the consignments gridlocked in the private

warehouses, following the Trieste Prefecture order of 19 May 1943⁹⁵. Of these, DELASEM also claimed credits for 100 consignments related to 102 owners (a little more than 5 % of the total). According to the trustee, the total accrued expenses for these consignments amounted to 3,000,000 Lire, but only 18 forwarding companies of 50 (including small local companies) declared that they were managing and overseeing Jewish property in their warehouses.⁹⁶ According to the trustee, compared to the preliminary survey, stored in the private warehouses were 7,910 crates (weighing between 100 and 500 kg) related to 1,914 owners. The identifying numbers of these private warehouses are not mentioned (Table 2).⁹⁷

The research for this article revealed that most of these crates had been sent from Austria, although many were also from Germany and the occupied Eastern countries (most from Poland and Czechoslovakia). Their intended final destinations included Palestine, the United States and China, or Italy (if a final destination was not declared).⁹⁸

On 12 August 1943, the Ministry for Exchange and Currencies urged the Ministry of Finance and Customs to proceed “urgently” with the seizure of consignments gridlocked in private warehouses. Despite this urgent request, this was never implemented due to the delays with which the forwarding companies had submitted complaints and records to the trustee. Giovanni Marino, chief inspector of the port customs office, was appointed as new trustee.⁹⁹ The same ministry also requested that Marino replace Bruno de Steinkuehl as trustee of the 667 seized liftvans, since de Steinkuehl had repeatedly urged the ministry to proceed with the seizure of the gridlocked consignments and to transform the seizure of the 667 liftvans into a confiscation.¹⁰⁰ From a pragmatic perspective, the growing expenses being incurred by forwarding companies and the danger of air raids demanded rapid and effective steps. Furthermore, there were also crates being stored outside the warehouses, which were prone to damage. Despite these risks, the intent of the ministry was not to confiscate all of the shipments,

but only those goods useful for the national economy. In this regard, de Steinkuehl made three proposals to solve the problem of what to do with seized consignments: (I) sell them at public auction to the highest bidder; (II) sell them by type of goods, possibly outside Italy to reap greater profits; or (III) sell them to the state at the appraisal price to distribute the goods to people affected by bombing. His proposal took into account also more valuable items among the seized goods, such as works of art. To obtain greater profits from paintings, rugs and other valuable objects, de Steinkuehl suggested that the Italian government export such goods from the country to have them sold at auction houses or private sales abroad.¹⁰¹

THE GOODS OF JEWISH EMIGRANTS AS HANDLED BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE ADRIATIC LITTORAL (1943 – 1944)

Goods of Jewish emigrants were still stored in the Trieste port after the signing of the Armistice (8 September 1943), when Trieste became the capital of the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral (Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland), the German district of the upper Adriatic coast, which was attached to but not incorporated into the Reichsgau of Carinthia.

In early October 1943, drastic changes were introduced. With Order no. 1 (1 October 1943), the High Commissioner of the Adriatic Littoral, Friedrich Rainer, claimed administrative authority in the region. As a consequence, provisions of the Italian Social Republic (RSI) were no longer applicable in this zone, and those issued after the publication of the decree could only be realized if authorized by Rainer himself.¹⁰² On 7 October, Jewish property began to be confiscated: current accounts and savings deposits in Trieste banks were taken over by the security police and security service of the SS (Sicherheitspolizei und Sicherheitsdienst, SIPO/SD).¹⁰³ The next day, 8 October, Rainer ordered all consignments stored

at the port to be confiscated and their documentation held by the Trieste Prefecture transferred to the High Commissioner's Finance Department.¹⁰⁴

Although de Steinkuehl repeatedly pointed out that some of the Jewish emigrants' goods had already been seized by the Italian government, which considered itself the only authority with a right to claim these goods, Rainer set in motion more comprehensive procedures (whereby he dispensed with the legal distinction between gridlocked or seized and confiscated goods).

This conflict of interests reached a climax in January 1944, when on 4 January the RSI issued Law no. 2 on the confiscation of Jewish property present on Italian soil, and on 12 January the High Commissioner issued the Order no. III/4/81 on the confiscation of Jewish goods in the Free Port of Trieste.¹⁰⁵ The High Commissioner's order, addressed to 22 forwarding companies, stated that the consignments in the port had to be removed from the port due to the high risk of air raids.¹⁰⁶ Jewish goods were to be confiscated and the liabilities accrued on their consignments reimbursed to the forwarding companies, this based on valuation appraisals and procedures established by the High Commissioner. As a consequence, Bruno de Steinkuehl was replaced by Karl Schnürch as the new trustee.¹⁰⁷ De Steinkuehl stated in his 1945 report that "the goods remained in their deposits until when, by going around the obstacle and taking advantage of an old decree which allowed contemplated the clearance of the Free Port of Trieste, [...] the German High Commissioner [...] declared that the good belonged to Jews had to be confiscate and taken into custodia by one of their officials."¹⁰⁸

Although the RSI tried to enact Law 2/1944 in the Adriatic Littoral through the Trieste Prefecture, the German authorities, through their Embassy, reaffirmed their exclusive authority over the zone.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, to avoid losing its economic rights over the seized goods to the occupying authority, the RSI attempted to enforce its own provisions regarding the requisition of enemy goods. The appraised

value of the goods confiscated by the High Commissioner was to be paid to the Deposits and Loans Fund (Cassa Depositi e Prestiti) of the Italian Ministry of the Interior, in accounts registered under the owners' names. To be deducted from this appraisal were the liabilities that had accrued on the goods. Furthermore, the RSI repeatedly requested the German authorities to pay 80 % of expenses incurred to the forwarding companies at the time of confiscation and the remaining 20 % after the transfer of the goods.¹¹⁰ A few months earlier, on 12 November 1943, the Trieste Federation of Forwarding Agents chaired by Mario Deschmann of the firm Deschmann Terrile & Co., being aware of German plans to ship Jewish goods outside Italy, had already agreed to request 50 % of the expenses accrued until 30 November 1943 and the remaining 50 % when the goods were removed from the port.

The Trieste Prefect Bruno Coceani (1893 – 1978) stressed the discrepancies between the Italian and German regulations, comparing, for example, the confiscation of port consignments with the confiscation by German authorities of goods owned by Arnaldo Frigessi di Rattalma (1881 – 1950).¹¹¹ The Frigessi goods, including antique oriental rugs, had been kept in the headquarters of Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà, the company Frigessi had run in Trieste, from where they were removed by the SIPO/SD on 13 October 1943.¹¹²

Both the Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà and the forwarding companies were unsure which regulations were to be implemented in Trieste (those issued by the RSI or those issued by the High Commissioner), and what their responsibilities towards their customers were.¹¹³ According to them as well as the Trieste Prefecture, in order to avoid a conflict of interests, the High Commissioner should revoke Italian seizure decrees, cancelling any liabilities accrued on the goods, and only then confiscate the Jewish emigrants' goods.¹¹⁴ In an attempt to avoid future claims, they tried to shift their responsibility towards their customers.¹¹⁵

Although the Trieste Prefecture ordered Magazzini Generali to keep confiscated consignments until the dispute with

the German authorities was resolved, the emptying of the port warehouses began immediately after Rainer's order was issued.¹¹⁶

The Finance Department of the High Commissioner checked the consignments records carefully to avoid non-Jewish goods being transferred abroad. Regular correspondence between the forwarding companies and the Finance Department aimed to ascertain that this was the case, but they faced the same difficulties that de Steinkuehl had already highlighted during the previous months.¹¹⁷ The crates considered not belonging to Jews remained *de facto* in the custody of the High Commissioner in the Trieste port until they were recovered by the Allies after the war.

Although de Steinkuehl had been replaced as trustee, he continued to track the goods until they were shipped out of the country, following an order he had received by the Italian Ministry of Finance that aimed at obtaining the approximate current value of the confiscated goods in order to evaluate the losses suffered by the treasury by Law 2/1944 not being applied.¹¹⁸ Of the goods seized on 11 May 1943, de Steinkuehl could convey only the insurance value based on 1939 insurance declarations (not having received the High Commissioner's list of confiscated goods, which included the 1944 insured value). He calculated 4,000 Lire per 100 kg gross weight of the goods in liftvans and 10,000 Lire per 100 kg gross weight of the goods in crates.¹¹⁹ The total insurance amount of 65,876,764 Lire related only to gridlocked consignments.¹²⁰

Ironically, the Trieste Revenue Office, the local headquarters of the Italian Ministry of Finance, still considered de Steinkuehl the trustee in charge of emigrants' goods. In particular, he was considered responsible for the correct issuing of invoices before goods were loaded onto trains and shipped out of the country.¹²¹

On 15 January 1944, just a few days after the issuing of Order no. III/4/81, Jewish goods started to be shipped to the Reich daily, in particular to Berlin and various places in Carinthia.¹²² After the forwarding companies had received

the confiscation decree for each consignment (identified by identification number, warehouse, number of crates, weight and owner), they issued an invoice with the balance of expenses that were to be paid by the High Commissioner's Finance Department when the goods (and therefore their ownership) were transferred.¹²³ These invoices listed shipping details, including the consignment identification number, railway wagon number, shipping date and destination. The invoices also listed itemized expenses (portage costs, insurance, port taxes, storage fees, administrative costs) from the day of the consignment's arrival in Trieste until 30 June 1943 (the fall of the Fascist regime), as well as any liabilities already paid by DELASEM or other third parties. The agreement to reduce liabilities on the goods that had been concluded between DELASEM and the Trieste Federation of Forwarding Agents was no longer in effect, and thus the full expenses were charged to the Finance Department. These charges were calculated based on fees established by the Trieste Fascist Federation of Forwarding Agents on 1 June 1943, taking into account the period between the goods' arrival in Trieste and 30 April 1943.¹²⁴ Furthermore, these fees were increased roughly fourfold and calculated Lire, 9,868.40 RM, and 38 \$ to the forwarding companies.¹²⁵ Without any doubt, the intention of the German Reich was to generate financial profit by exploiting confiscated Jewish goods. To facilitate loading onto train wagons, most of the goods were transferred to the New Port's warehouses, where, as described at the beginning of this article, there were double tracks connecting directly to the railway station. Due to convenience, time constraints, the huge quantity of goods, and air raids, only some of the packed consignments were opened in Trieste and their contents sorted.¹²⁶ Most (especially those stored in private warehouses) were loaded directly by the forwarding companies without any selection of the contents.¹²⁷ When crates were opened and the goods sorted, they were re-distributed to new liftvans according to their purpose: linens, clothing for women, men and children, furniture, and objects of daily life. Only the

most valuable goods, such as porcelain, silverware, works of art, stamp and coin collections, were treated separately. The most valuable art objects were freely selected by Walter Frodl (1908 – 1994), chief of the Monument Protection Section (Abteilung Denkmalschutz) responsible for monuments and galleries in the Operation Zone for the Klagenfurt Museum.¹²⁸ According to the information provided by Erika Hanfstaengl (1912 – 2003), Frodl's chief assistant, no valuable artworks were found in the consignments checked in Trieste at the end of April 1944. Of the approximately 300 liftvans that were checked at that time, only 60 contained valuables, such as rugs, sets of fine porcelain, pictures, and jewellery. These were removed and handled separately. Hanfstaengl continued to verify the liftvan contents in the following months.¹²⁹ Frodl maintained that:

dass Gegenstände von außerordentlichem Wert ja schon anlässlich der Ausfuhrkommissionen z. B. in Wien in den Jahren 1938 und 1939 zurückgehalten wurden, so dass sich also in den gegenständlichen Depots nur mehr Gegenstände zweiter Qualität befinden. Die besseren Stücke nun, es betrifft dies einige Bilder, Plastiken, kunstgewerbliche Gegenstände wie Glas, Porzellan, [...] wurden ausgesondert [...] auch einige Bilder berücksichtigt, die allenfalls für die Ausstattung von Repräsentationsräumen Verwendung finden können.¹³⁰

Nonetheless, he explicitly requested the delivery of nine crates of artworks, including paintings, statues, antique porcelain, crystal sets, and drawings, between September 1944 and January 1945.¹³¹

Some of the sorted goods remained in the port to be used locally (with some remaining unused until the end of the war).¹³² Among such goods were 80 crates of watermarked letter paper at the Alessandro Billitz warehouse that had been destined for Guatemala. They were seized on 26 November 1942 (Prefecture seizure decree no. 1100/29721).¹³³ Although the Italian Ministry of Exchange and Currencies

authorized their sale by public auction to cover storage fees in February 1943, the paper remained at the disposal of the company Alessandro Billitz. Only in December 1944 did the company Casa di Spedizioni Götz, Stellmann & Reifner, which had taken over the company Billitz, agree with the expert committee paper (Fachausschuss Papier) of the High Commissioner to send the material to a paper mill in Corde-nons (in the province of Pordenone).¹³⁴

Both sorted and unsorted goods were sent to Berlin or to Treibach-Althofen and Gurk in Carinthia.¹³⁵ If the destination was Berlin, Jewish goods were addressed to the City of Berlin in care of Mr. Engelhardt of the main economic office (Hauptwirtschaftsamt), or to the Gauleiter of Berlin and Reich Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels (as was settled in early January 1944).¹³⁶

Goebbels, as Berlin's Gauleiter, had to deal with increasingly serious shortages of necessities such as food, clothing and objects for daily life, especially after the air raids on Berlin. Jewish goods removed from the Trieste port were distributed among the bombed-out population of Berlin and its surroundings. According to Goebbels' orders, the German authorities in Trieste were to separate goods for daily life from luxury objects before transferring them to Berlin. Their distribution was then undertaken by the Berlin Goods Distribution Centre (Warenverkehrsleitstelle).¹³⁷

On 27 February 1944, the NSDAP dispatched the Gauhauptstellenleiter Adalbert Uterhardt (1904 – 1945), together with an officer of the City of Berlin, Mr. Zach, to Trieste to oversee the transport of Jewish goods to Berlin.¹³⁸ It soon became evident that the procedure of sorting the liftvan contents could only be carried out partially due to their volume.

The huge warehouse 56 was emptied completely in April 1944, with all of the shipments addressed to Berlin (numerous shipments per day were recorded between 11 and 15 April). According to Zojer, from the first shipment (January 15) to the end of April 1944, Jewish goods were sent to Berlin in 300 railway wagons (according to Cocceani, 366 railway wagons shipped goods from warehouses 23, 28,

69, 56 and warehouse 4/Tascabile).¹³⁹ In late June 1944, when these shipments for Berlin had been completed, Goebbels wrote to Rainer to thank him and his staff for their work:

Nachdem nunmehr die durch Ihre Initiative eingeleitete Aktion in Triest abgeschlossen und das gesamte Gut in Berlin eingetroffen ist, möchte ich Ihnen für Ihr Entgegenkommen meinen herzlichen Dank übermitteln. Die Verteilung der Möbel, Wäsche, Haushaltsgegenstände und Wirtschaftsartikel an die bombenbeschädigte Bevölkerung ist noch in vollem Gange. [...] Mein Beauftragter für die Triester Aktion, Parteigenosse Uterhardt, berichtete, dass ihm bei der Durchführung seines Auftrages von Ihren Mitarbeitern, insbesondere den Herren Dr. Zojer, Dr. Fischbach, und Dr. Schnuerch weitgehendste Unterstützung zuteil wurde. Ich bitte, diesen meinen Dank zu übermitteln.¹⁴⁰

As mentioned above, Bruno de Steinkuehl recorded the shipping of Jewish goods to destinations outside of Italy. According to him, 170 liftvans and 7,719 crates had reached Carinthia by 30 July 1944.¹⁴¹ Of these, 7,656 packages related to 1,060 owners were shipped to Treibach-Althofen in care of the local office transfer station (Ortsamtsleitung–Umlade Station), while 222 packages related to 50 owners were sent to the town of Gurk.¹⁴² In the same period, 499 liftvans and 989 crates were transferred to Berlin.¹⁴³

If we take into account that de Steinkuehl estimated that he had checked files for 8,577 crates related to 2,393 owners, we can assume that most were transferred to Austria and Germany within a few months. Many other dispossession processes — affecting hundreds of thousands of objects owned by Jewish emigrants — had already taken place.¹⁴⁴ It is clear that this “reverse itinerary” thwarted the intentions of these hundreds of emigrants, who had hoped to continue their lives in countries with no racial discrimination, persecution, or murder.

CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in the first part of this article on public auctions performed in Trieste between 1940 and 1943, following authorizations of the Trieste Court, represents the first phase of dispossession of Jewish emigrants, including art and valuable objects, that took place in the Italian city. That process fuelled speculative trading with the goods of Jewish emigrants, acts that anticipated the full expropriation that was later carried out during the German occupation.

On the one hand, the documents that have been examined attest to a certain delay with which the Fascist government managed the goods belonging to enemy subjects, and expose its incompetence in finding a working solution. On the other hand, the records have shed light on DELASEM's role in protecting the rights of Jewish emigrants. Although some aspects remain unclear (for example what happened to the goods taken over by DELASEM or to goods not belonging to Jewish emigrants), it has shown the various ways that goods of Jewish emigrants were managed. Consignments were released, sold, looted, bombed, or remained in the port until the post-war period. Further investigations need to be conducted to illuminate these complex aspects.

There are still many documents preserved in Italian and other archives that have not yet been studied or analysed. This article is a first attempt to put the management and distribution of the goods of Jewish emigrants in transit through the Free Port of Trieste into historiographical perspective. The documentation of logistics and of the handling of goods in the port is crucial for understanding the migratory processes of the Jews of Europe and the dispossession of their movable property. While the Italian documentation analysed in this article has confirmed other studies that have appeared in the past years, the evidence clarifies the initial processes of managing Jewish emigrants' goods under the Fascist regime. In particular, the discovery of a second consignment list of crates and liftvans gridlocked in the private warehouses — in addition to the one already studied by other scholars of

seized assets — sheds new light on the various ways property belonging to enemy subjects was treated under Italian Martial Law. Furthermore, this second list also indicates the existence of many other owners who had consignments stored in the Free Port of Trieste (also explaining why some of the information provided by other documents does not match the list of seized assets). The analysis of this new list, presented by the author here for the first time, needs to be integrated into existing scholarship. Moreover, further comparative and transnational studies on seized consignments are needed to answer questions about the larger context of the translocation of Jewish emigrants' shipments.

The difficulties the author faced in dealing with the huge amount of logistical data were overcome by applying common digital tools that support analytical approaches. However, these data, only partially presented here, need to be explored more comprehensively. Not only is it important that the information these Italian documents can provide be matched against and compared to other data already available to scholars, it is also vital to apply adequate digital tools in this field of research. It is the author's ambition to combine these data in a new open-source database connected with databases already available, as well as to link the logistics documentation issued by all port authorities involved in the migratory processes of European Jewry during the Second World War.

In order to analyse the distribution and re-distribution of Jewish goods during and after the war in a transnational context, it is essential to make innovative use of the data of the goods flows in commercial and industrial spheres. This entails many aspects that have characterized work in the digital humanities in the past few years. Essentially, applying these methods and cross-referencing the data provided by logistic documentation with the data we have on concentration and annihilation camps will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the related processes of dispossessing Jews and the Shoah. In this context, as demonstrated, Trieste plays a pivotal role for the analysis of historic migration and translocation processes in Europe — and it seems as if research has barely started.

NOTES

1. Saba 2004, p. 528. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations in this article are the author's.
2. Mengaldo 1990, p. 230; Lollini 2006, pp. 275 – 294.
3. Del Moro 2006.
4. Fölkel, Cergoly 1983; Carolli 2017.
5. Rocco 1954; L'evoluzione 2004.
6. Royal Decree no. 1536, 15 September 1922 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 250, 30 October 1922; Royal Decree Law no. 1792, 7 August 1925 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 250, 27 October 1925; *Il porto di Trieste* 1935, pp. 26 – 27; Maodeo 2007.
7. Cesari 1933, p. 16; *Il porto di Trieste* 1935, pp. 373 – 374.
8. Cenni sull'emigrazione ebraica 1928; Fano 1965, pp. 492 – 530.
9. Leone 1983.
10. Lloyd Triestino 1986; Catalan 1991, pp. 57 – 107; Bon 1998, pp. 18, 23 – 24; Bon 2000, pp. 182 – 183, 265 – 269. In 1930, 85 % of passengers who embarked in Trieste were transported to Palestine on the weekly lines offered by the Lloyd Triestino company. It is estimated that between 1920 and 1935 more than 120,000 Jewish emigrants reached Palestine on the Lloyd Triestino lines.
11. Hametz 2007, pp. 103 – 134.
12. Royal Decree Law no. 1381, 7 September 1938 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 208, 12 September 1938; Royal Decree Law no. 1779, 15 November 1938 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 272, 29 November 1938; Royal Decree Law no. 1728, 17 November 1938 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 264, 19 November 1938.
13. Royal Decree Law no. 1381, 7 September 1938, Articles no. 3-4.
14. Hametz 2007, pp. 16 – 32.
15. Pains 1968, pp. 18 – 27. COMASEBIT was established in Milan by Renzo Luisada (1905 – 1987) and Umberto Nahon (1905 – 1974) on 15 November 1938 by the pre-existing Italian Committee of Assistance for Jewish Refugees from Germany (Comitato Italiano di Assistenza per gli Ebrei Profughi della Germania, 1933), with the aim to support foreign Jews as well as members of Italian Jewish communities.
16. Del Canuto, Sorani 1983; Antonini, Cavaglion 2000
17. Suppan 1925, pp. 14 – 15.
18. ASTr, PTr, AG, b. 482, 1944, f. Magazzini Generali; RDL no. 1789, 3 September 1925 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 249, 26 October 1925; Law no. 805, 4 July 1941 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 196, 21 August 1941; *Il porto di Trieste* 1935, pp. 28 – 30, 35 – 37.
19. Suppan 1925, p. 17; L'evoluzione 2004; <https://www.porto.trieste.it/ita/il-porto/porto-vecchio-trieste> (accessed 22 Jan. 2020). These warehouses were built following the model of northern European ports, which included spaces intended for the storage and transit of goods. The railway lines to Trieste ran along the Adriatic-Balkan route through Lower Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary, or crossed Central Europe

- reaching Central Austria, Lower Germany, Slovakia and Bohemia. Today the Old Port covers an area of approximately 617,000 square metres. It extends from the mouth of the Ponte Rosso canal to Barcola-Bovedo. The area includes five piers (0, I, II, III and IV), 3,100 meters of docks, 23 large buildings between hangars, warehouses and other structures, and it is protected by a breakwater. It is also connected with the old railway (1857).
20. Caroli 1996; Caroli 1999, pp. 10 – 26. Hangar 27 was called “hangar Ford” and was used to assemble Ford cars and tractors.
 21. Suppan 1925, p. 19
 22. According to Italian Martial law, there is a distinction between the legal terms “sequestro” (seizure as temporal legal action without transfer of property) and “confisca” (implying a transfer of a private property to the public sphere permanently). Regarding this distinction, see: Balestra 2012, pp. 29 – 30.
 23. <http://www.archive.org/stream/codicedicommerc00italgoog#mode/2up> (accessed 22 January 2020). The Italian Civil Code enacted by Royal Decree no. 262, 16 March 1942 – Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia 79, 14 April 1942, replaced the 1882 Commercial Code (Book V).
 24. 1882 Italian Commercial Code, Article 413.
 25. ASTR, TCPT, 1940, b. 936, 393 vol. C, no. 6487.
 26. For example, Eduard Joachim, from Vienna, authorized the company Giovanni Sofianopulo to sell his liftvan to cover expenses.
 27. ASTR, PTR, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, Report by the Trieste General Attorney to the Trieste Prefect [...] July 1942: “[...] stimò [il giudice] più corretto di attenersi al testo letterale [Article 413] poiché, pur concedendo che per causa di emergenza il debitore-destinatario fosse assente, non potevasi tuttavia sostenere che si ignorasse dove si trovava.” ([the judge] considered fair to strictly apply the direct text of Article 413 because, although the debtor-recipient was absent due to an emergency, the appellant could not argue that he did not know where the debtor-recipient was.).
 28. ASTR, TCPT, 1941, b. 937, 277 vol. C, no. 3799 and 1942, b. 938, f. Atti. Ebrei emigrati vendita masserizie [Acts. Jewish emigrants selling household goods], Decree no. 51 of the Appeal Court of Trieste, 27 July 1941.
 29. ASTR, TCPT, 1941, b. 936, 93 vol. C, no. 1395. The sales took place on 22, 24, 26 March 1941. The Frigoriferi Generali S. A. warehouse had been built in 1925.
 30. ASTR, TCPT, 1942, b. 939, 1379 vol. C, no. 3480.
 31. ASTR, TCPT, 1942, b. 938, 257 vol. C., no. 2430 and 258 vol. C, no. 2431.
 32. See, e. g., Avvisi d'Asta; in: Il Piccolo, 24 January 1943. The sale on 26 January 1943 auctioned a liftvan owned by Martin Kaldir (ASTR, TCPT, 1943, b. 941, 26 vol. C., no. 309).
 33. Guida generale 1940, p. 487.
 34. Erminia Schellander had connections with the German consulate in Trieste, since her father and grandfather had been legal advisers there.

- For this reason, many of the consulate's legal affairs were handled by the law firms where she worked. After the war, she was accused by the Special Court of Assizes (Corte d'Assise Straordinaria, CAS) of Trieste (the court responsible for processing crimes of collaboration with the Germans during the occupation) of having benefited financially from the sale of Jewish property and firms confiscated by the High Commissioner. On 14 November 1945 she was sentenced to ten years imprisonment; later, on 21 June 1946, her sentence was reduced to three years. ASTr, CAS, b. 16, 1946, f. 65/46; BON 2000, pp. 318, 340 – 342; Bolzon, Verardo 2019, pp. 163 – 173.
35. ASTr, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 938, 74 vol. C, no. 815.
 36. ASTr, PTTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from DELASEM to Bruno de Steinkuehl, 26 May 1943.
 37. ACETTr, b. Blue II, f. 1106, DELASEM report to AMG, 1945. DELASEM paid 285,064.70 Lire for the Jewish consignments managed by the company Julia Intertrans (until 30 September 1943).
 38. The company E. Havlicek, which took over the company G. J. Marovic, did not enter into the agreement since it had not yet recognized all contracts signed by its predecessor.
 39. Brogini 2003, p. 525. Ignazio Krzentowsky returned to Italy after the war, changing his surname to Centoschi (1947). He was the brother of Simeone (1887–Shoah) and Salomone (1889–Shoah), both arrested in Lavezzola (RA) on 12 December 1943, and deported to Auschwitz from Milan on 30 January 1944 (Simeone Krzentowsky: <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/nameDetails.html?language=en&itemId=11199876&ind=1> (accessed 20 July 2020); Salomone Krzentowsky: <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/nameDetails.html?language=en&itemId=7982707&ind=1> (accessed 20 July 2020). I would like to thank Livio Vasieri of the Trieste Jewish Community for this information.
 40. ASTr, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 938, 257 vol. C, no. 2430 and 1943, b. 941, 115 vol. C, no. 2648.
 41. "If it were possible to issue an official order according to which the shippers are asked to request our intervention in the selection of goods to be auctioned and to acknowledge our role as a representative of the interested parties [...], (so that) even the sales procedures, under that watchfulness, would no longer represent a loss to the emigrants' property [...]", ASTr, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 938, f. Atti. Ebrei emigrati vendita masserizie [Acts. Jewish emigrants selling household goods], letter from DELASEM to the Trieste Court, 12 March 1942.
 42. ASTr, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 938, 137 vol. C, no. 1469; 138 vol. C, 1470; 139 vol. C, 1471; 140 vol. C, 1472; 141 vol. C, 1473; 142 vol. C, 1474; 143 vol. C, 1475; 195 vol. C, 1967; 196 vol. C, 1968; 252 vol. C, 2425; 253 vol. C, 2426; 254 vol. C, 2427; 255 vol. C, 2428; 256 vol. C, 2429; 257 vol. C, 2430; 258 vol. C, 2431; 259 vol. C, 2432; ASTr, TCPTTr, 1943, b. 941, 115 vol. C, no. 2648.

43. ACETr, b. Blue II, f. 1106, DELASEM report, 1945.
44. Of these 38 debtors, 25 had saving accounts with earnings from sales profits exceeding the court agreed-upon amount, these deposits totalling 69,316 Lire.
45. The analysis does not take in account a sale on 26 July 1941 due to lack of data (ASTr, TCPTTr, 1941, b. 937, 277 vol. C, no. 3799). ASTR, TCPTTr, 1940, b. 936, 412 vol. C, no. 6807 and 1942, b. 938, 140 vol. C, no. 1472 (Sender); ASTR, TCPTTr, 1940, b. 936, 393 vol. C, no. 6487 and 1942, b. 940, 454 vol. C, no. 7192 (Rossmann). In 1942 and 1943, the company Francesco Reitter appealed to the Court of Trieste to be allowed to sell the shipments that had been partially auctioned at the end of 1940 (auction authorized by the court). As consequence, the liftvan owned by Berta Sender was auctioned again on 12 April 1942 under the DELASEM supervisor, and one of the four crates owned by Mr. Rossmann was auctioned on 22 January and 24 February 1943. His crates had already been auctioned on 27 November 1940 following the first appeal presented to the court by Francesco Reitter, when two of five oriental rugs (packed together in one crate) were selected to be sold by the bailiff Giuseppe Pitacco.
46. ASTR, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 938, 282 vol. C, no. 2633; The Italian Civil Code 1969, Article 2795.
47. The Italian Civil Code 1969, Articles 2756 and 2761.
48. The Italian Code of Civic Procedure enacted by Royal Decree no. 1443 of 28 October 1940 – Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia 253, 28 October 1940 included Article 8 (then abrogated by Article 49 of Legislative Decree no. 51, 19 February 1998 – Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia 68, 20 March 1998), Articles 9 and 10.
49. ASTR, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 940, 454 vol. C, no. 7192.
50. ASTR, TCPTTr, 560 vol. C, no. 5513. The violins and piano belonged to Margarethe Tedesco, who had arranged them to be shipped from Vienna to England via Trieste on 25 April 1939.
51. ACETr, b. Blue III, f. 1036, letter from Mnkyprianou Export to the AMG, 11 November 1945.
52. ASTR, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 938, 74 vol. C, no. 815.
53. ASTR, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 939, 378 vol. C, no. 3479 and b. 940, 454 vol. C, no. 7192.
54. ASTR, TCPTTr, 1942, b. 938, 195 vol. C, no. 1967 and 259 vol. C, no. 2432.
55. ASTR, TCPTTr, 1943, b. 941, 114 vol. C, no. 2647 and 113 vol. C, no. 2646.
56. Warehouse 56 was tampered with by warehouse keepers of Magazzini Generali, who were accused of being responsible for thefts from four liftvans owned by Massimo Gundesjeimer, Gustav Spiegler from Prague, and the German Karl Rosenstock on 8 January 1944, and from a storeroom rented by an important auction buyer, Agostino Magris of the Triestine tools and haberdashery firm Ditta Fratelli Magris – Utensili e mercerie (Guida generale 1940, p. 384). Mr. Spiegel and Mr. Rosenstock owned one liftvan each. We thus can assume that Mr. Gundesjeimer owned two liftvans or crates. See: ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserie appartenenti

- ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, Trieste Police report, 9 August 1944. The storeroom rented by Magris (registered under the name of his brother and commercial partner Rizieri Magris) contained 1,350 kg of purchased objects from the public sales. Magris had another crate in warehouse 27 (or 23, as indicated in de Steinkuehl's report). The total weight of the goods stored there was 5,350 kg. The seizure decree on these warehouses was revoked on 27 September 1943 (decree no. 1100/22329). In May 1944, other workers of Magazzini Generali looted goods, including silverware and furs, stored in warehouse 56 (ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, Trieste Police report, 9 August 1944).
57. The buyers had to pay taxes on purchased goods if they took them out of the Free Port area. Videri stored the purchased items (560 kg) in a crate in warehouse 56. Its release from the seizure decree (decree no. 1100/22330) took place on 10 October 1943.
 58. ASTR, TCPT, 1942, b. 938, f. Atti. Ebrei emigrati vendita masserizie [Acts. Jewish emigrants selling household goods], letter from the Ministry of the Interior to the Trieste Prefecture, 4 July 1942.
 59. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Communication, 31 December 1941.
 60. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Ministry for Exchange and Currencies to Magazzini Generali, 12 April 1943, and letter from Magazzini Generali to the Trieste Fascist Federation of Forwarding Agents, 21 April 1943.
 61. Royal Decree no. 1415, 8 July 1938 – Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia 211, 15 September 1938; Royal Decree no. 566, 10 June 1940 – Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia 140, 15 June 1940.
 62. Royal Decree no. 618, 10 March 1941 – Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia 163, 12 July 1941.
 63. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the PNF to the Trieste Prefect, 16 November 1942.
 64. "[...] Crates and liftvans of goods belonging to Jewish emigrants stored in the Magazzini Generali warehouses and managed by forwarding companies are seized [...], in accordance with the list attached to the decree.", Prefectural Decree no. 1100/12409 – Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia 127, 1 June 1943.
 65. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Trieste Prefect to the Ministry for Exchange and Currencies, 4 June 1943.
 66. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to Magazzini Generali and various forwarding companies, 22 May 1943.

67. Article 309 of the Martial Law (*Denuncia dei debiti privati verso persone di nazionalità nemica* [Report of private debts of persons of enemy nationality]) said that debtors or holders of assets belonging to enemy subjects had to submit a written complaint to the prefect, listing the name of the creditor or owner, the amount of the debts, and a summary describing the assets.
68. "[...] This company must submit to this Prefecture [...] the complaint of consignments of goods owned by Jews emigrated from Germany or from other countries currently living in enemy countries stored in private warehouses or in places managed by you [...]. The complaints must be submitted, even if it is not clear if the goods belong to Jewish emigrants and whether they are living in an enemy country [...] the trustee's task is to ascertain this, reporting on the recipient-owner and his place of residence [...].", ASTR, PTr, AG, *Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati* [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Trieste Prefect to the forwarding companies, 19 May 1943.
69. ASTR, IFTr, b. 936, *Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei*. *Sequestratario de Steinkuehl* [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], de Steinkuehl's report, 10 September 1943.
70. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl's report, 1 July 1943.
71. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, letter from the Trieste Enemy Property Office to the Trieste Prefecture, 20 April 1943.
72. ASTR, PTr, AG, *Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati* [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from Villain & Fassio to de Steinkuehl, 4 June 1943.
73. ASTR, IFTr, b. 936, *Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei*. *Sequestratario de Steinkuehl* [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], letter from the Trieste Prefect to de Steinkuehl, 17 July 1943. Regarding the categorization of the shipments, see also Anderl, Schallmeiner 2019, pp. 147 – 148.
74. Following the enactment of the Eleventh Decree on the Reich Citizenship Law (11. Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz) on 25 November 1941, German Jews lost their German nationality and became stateless when they left the German Reich in the process of emigration or deportation. Their property, also while in transit through Italy, was subject to seizure if they had settled in countries considered enemies by the Italian Martial Law.
75. ASTR, PTr, AG, *Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati* [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Prefecture, 13 November 1943.
76. ASTR, PTr, AG, *Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati* [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Frachtenleitstelle Südost to the PNF, 25 July 1942; Civil Affairs Information Guide 1944, p. 4; Moehrle 2004, p. 377.
77. Anderl, Schallmeiner 2019, pp. 147 – 162.

78. ASTr, PTR, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Prefecture, 13 November 1943; ASTr, IFTTr, b. 936, Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei. Sequestratario de Steinkuehl [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], f. Alex Goldmann, 375. The rugs owned by Alex Goldmann, an American citizen, were seized by prefectural order no. 1100/13738 on 30 May 1942 (*Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 155, 3 July 1942). Four liftvans owned by Roberta Hirsch, man aged by the firm Deschmann Terrile & Co. (warehouses no. 56 and 69) were seized by prefectural order no. 1100/12953 on 24 May 1942 (*Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* 155, 3 July 1942). These liftvans were removed on 21 April 1944 by order of the High Commissioner and shipped to Berlin (ASTr, IFTTr, b. 936, Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei. Sequestratario de Steinkuehl [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], f. International Forwarding Co. Inc. New York, letter from Cavalli to the Trieste Revenue Office, 4 December 1944).
79. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl's report, Attachment 9, 4 February 1944. The forwarding companies listed by the trustee were: Francesco Parisi, SAIMA, Villain & Fassio, Fritz Egel, Emilio Kobau, F.lli Gondrand, S. A. Marangoni, Alessandro Prezioso & Co., Rodolfo Exner, Ernesto Havlicek, Alessandro Billitz, Francesco Reitter, Marittima S. A., Giovanni Sofianopulo, Julia Intertrans, Lloyd Triestino-Oriens, Paul & Krehbiel, Deschmann Terrile & Co., Edmondo Schäffer, Sorveglianza S. A., Missaglia & Ventura, and Giovanni Rossmann.
80. Capogreco 2006.
81. Capogreco 1987. Over 3,800 Jewish people were imprisoned together with political dissidents and ethnic minorities in this camp. The Fascist government operated the internment camps, but DELASEM had a strong influence on the conditions experienced by internees and provided support and assistance to Jewish refugees in all camps. The five Jewish individuals listed by the trustee as interned in Ferramonti di Tarsia were: the Czechoslovak Franz Boer (1887–?), interned from 25 July 1940; Victor Elias (1879–?), stateless and former Polish citizen, interned from 12 February 1942; the Viennese Alfred Holler (1901–?), interned from 25 October 1942; Ernest Pick from Prague (1901–?), who had been interned at Ferramonti di Tarsia (16 September 1940) and then at the smaller Tortoreto camp in province of Teramo (21 August 1941); and Karl Weiss (1890–?), interned at Petrella Tifernina in the province of Campobasso from 2 June 1941 to 14 January 1943. De Steinkuehl's list indicated that both Mr. Elias and Mr. Pick were German citizens. (ASTr, IFTTr, b. 936, Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei. Sequestratario de Steinkuehl [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Prefecture, 18 August 1943). The liftvan of Karl Weiss was placed at the disposal of his wife Rosa Weiss (1888–?), born in Warsaw but having German nationality, and its expenses were

paid by DELASEM. Moreover, the Viennese Sigfried Mundstein (1900–?), together with his wife and their two children, was first interned at Ferramonti di Tarsia (16 September 1940) and then at Civitella Paganico in province of Grosseto from 11 September 1941 until the liberation (ASTr, IFTr, b. 936, Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei. Sequestratario de Steinkuehl [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Prefecture, Revenue Office and E. Havlicek, 11 August 1943).

82. The Jewish individuals interned in Ferramonti di Tarsia whose crates were held in private ware houses were: Jankiel Najmann (1894–?), stateless and former Polish citizen, and the German Ignaz Bohm (1882–?), both interned from 31 July 1941; the family of Josef Weinberger (1901–?) of Czechoslovakia, interned from 12 September 1942; and the Polish Moizesz Auster (1908–?), interned from 10 September 1943 (de Steinkuehl's list indicating him as being a German citizen).
83. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Trieste Customs Office to the Trieste Prefecture, 14 July 1943. The listed Jewish emigrants were: Josef Weimberger; Hugo Kann, interned in Pescassèroli in the province of L'Aquila; Loew Samias (interned in Rhodes); Siegfried Kohn; Jankiel Najmann; Arthur Rakower; Victor Elias; Guglielmo Lachmann; Leiser Schwmmthal [sic!]; Ernest Pick; Moses Auster; Gewuerz Pinkas (whose eight crates were managed by DELASEM); Alfred Holler; the Austrian Walter Taussig (1896 –?), interned in Civitella del Tronto in the province of Teramo on 16 December 1943; and Israel Perlmann. Although the document indicated that they were all German citizens, several of them were actually Austrian or Polish. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Trieste Customs Office to the Trieste Prefecture, 14 July 1943. The listed Jewish emigrants were: Josef Weimberger; Hugo Kann, interned in Pescassèroli in the province of L'Aquila; Loew Samias (interned in Rhodes); Siegfried Kohn; Jankiel Najmann; Arthur Rakower; Victor Elias; Guglielmo Lachmann; Leiser Schwmmthal [sic!]; Ernest Pick; Moses Auster; Gewuerz Pinkas (whose eight crates were managed by DELASEM); Alfred Holler; the Austrian Walter Taussig (1896 –?), interned in Civitella del Tronto in the province of Teramo on 16 December 1943; and Israel Perlmann. Although the document indicated that they were all German citizens, several of them were actually Austrian or Polish.
84. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati. [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Trieste Customs Office to the Trieste Prefecture, 23 June 1943.
85. For example, some liftvans stored at Julia Intertrans warehouses were tampered with on 6 June and 6 November 1943, and others in mid-December 1943. Many objects were stolen during the German occupation, during the liberation, and in the post-war period by troops stationed at the port. On this, see: ASTR, TCPTr, 1945, f. 2231.

86. The trustee included the revoked decree after 7 October 1943 in the report of the seized consignments. ASTr, IFTTr, b. 936, Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei. Sequestratario de Steinkuehl [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Revenue Office, 29 May 1943.
87. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, report of de Steinkuehl, 1 July 1943.
88. Suppan 1925, pp. 60 – 61.
89. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from E. Havlicek to de Steinkuehl, 13 July 1943.
90. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Ministry for Exchange and Currencies to the Trieste Revenue Office, 25 August 1943. The authorizations issued by the Trieste Court are dated 24 May 1943 (ASTr, TCPTTr, 1943, b. 941, from no. 173 Vol. C, no. 3582 to 180 Vol. C, no. 3589).
91. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from Ministry for Exchange and Currencies to the Trieste Police, 25 June 1943.
92. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Prefecture, 13 November 1943.
93. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, report of de Steinkuehl, 26 May 1943.
94. DELASEM stored some crates in the Vittorio Pipp & Carlo Berdon storage rooms at warehouse 4/ Tascabile (ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from Vittorio Pipp & Carlo Berdon to the Trieste Prefecture, 25 May 1943).
95. The companies that declared to be holding Jewish property were: SAIMA, Paul & Krehbiel, Francesco Parisi, Giovanni Sofianopulo, Alessandro Billitz, Deschmann Terribile & Co., S. A. Marangoni, Fritz Egel, Emilio Kobau, F.lli Gondrand, Ernesto Havlicek, Francesco Reitter, Julia Intertrans, Lloyd Triestino–Oriens, Sorveglianza S. A., Villain & Fassio; Marittima S. A., and Missaglia & Ventura.
96. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Prefecture, 13 November 1943. The companies and private individuals declaring that they were holding no Jewish property were: Adriatica S. A., C. Blenk, Ignazio Cabilca, A. Castellazzi Trasporti, Carpi & Negroponte, Francesco Costré, Eisner Giacomo Succ., Rodolfo Exner, Italia S. A. Navigazione, Kühne & Nagel, La Commerciale Dalmata, Alessandro Prezioso & Co., Löffler & Co., Vittorio Malossi, Roberto Metzger, Mario Pesavento, Vittorio Pipp & Carlo Berdon, Risigari & Fischer Succ., Enzo Salvatici Trasporti e Spedizioni, Tergestea S. A. I., D. Triocovich, F.lli Uccelli, S. A. Italiana per il Commercio d'Oltremare Esp. Imp. Commiss., Antonio [...]jinski,

- Carlo Velinsky, Plinio Videri, Rodolfo Zavan, Emanuele Balducci, Rizieri Magris, Giovanni Rossmann, Ignazio Krebs, and Edmondo Schäffer.
97. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl’s report, Attachment 9, 4 February 1944. This list was transmitted to the Trieste Prefecture on 18 December 1943. According to the author’s analysis, there were 1,949 owners relating to 1,832 consignments. The total number of crates was 7,814. See Table 2.
 98. Listed are only the first four countries of shipment/final destination.
 99. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, telegram from the Ministry for Exchange and Currencies to the Ministry of Finance, 12 August 1943; NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, report of de Steinkuehl, Attachment 9, 4 February 1944. He received the complete files only at the end of November 1943.
 100. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigratia [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the Ministry of Exchange and Currencies to the Trieste Prefecture, 12 July 1943. On 4 August 1943, Giovanni Marino was appointed trustee of a few consignments managed by the company Sorveglianza S. A. (Prefectural order no. 1100/17946). The liftvans were owned by Georg von Terramare, resident in Bolivia, Adolf Jedwabnick, resident in Nice, and Meyer Rosenkranz, resident in Tel Aviv. These consignments were reported to the Trieste Prefecture on 26 June 1943 and were taken over by the High Commissioner in 1944 (NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, c. 3271). Regarding the different legal meaning of seizure and confiscation, see footnote 22.
 101. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, report of de Steinkuehl, 1 July 1943.
 102. Published in *Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt des Obersten Kommissars in der Operationszone “Adriatisches Küstenland”*, Jg. 1943, Stück 1, 15 October 1943.
 103. ACETr, b. Blue I (loose pages), letter from SIPO/SD to the Banca Commerciale Italiana, 7 October 1943.
 104. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, letter from de Steinkuehl to the High Commissioner, Trieste Prefecture, Revenue Office, and President of Trieste Fascist Federation of Forwarding Agents, Attachment 4, 13 October 1943. The transmitted records listed the accrued storage expenses on 31 October 1943.
 105. Legislative Decree no. 2, 4 January 1944 – *Gazzetta Ufficiale d’Italia* 6, 10 January 1944; NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Attachment 5, Order no. III/4/81, 12 January 1944.
 106. SAIMA, Agenzia Marittima Oriente, Paul & Krehbiel, Francesco Parisi, Giovanni Sofianopulo, Alessandro Billitz, Deschmann Terribile & Co., S. A. Marangoni, Fritz Egel, Emilio Kobau, Alessandro Prezioso & Co., Rodolfo Exner, F.lli Gondrand, Ernesto Havlicek, Francesco Reitter, Julia Intertrans, Lloyd Triestino–Oriens, Sorveglianza S. A., Missaglia & Ventura, Edmondo Schäffer, Villain & Fassio, and Marittima S. A.

107. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, letter from the High Commissioner to the Trieste Prefecture, Attachment 6, 13 January 1944.
108. NARA, NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl's report, 26 July 1945.
109. ASTR, FC, b. 24, letter from the German Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 September 1944; Moehrle 2014, pp. 373 – 375.
110. ASTR, FC, b. 24, letter from Coceani to Fischbach, 14 January 1944. Alois Fischbach was responsible for expropriated property within the Finance Department of the High Commissioner.
111. ASTR, PTr, G, b. 465, f. 0318, Frigessi Arnoldo di Rattalma sequestro beni [seizure of goods of Frigessi Arnoldo di Rattalma], letter from Coceani to Rainer, 23 February 1944.
112. ASTR, PTr, G, b. 465, f. 0318, SIPO/SD confiscation decree, 13, 22 October 1943 (30 rugs were removed on 13 October 1943; the rest of the Frigessi property was confiscated on 22 October). On the Frigessi case, see: Franchi 2019, pp. 138 – 146.
113. ASTR, PTr, G, b. 465, f. 0318, letter from the Trieste Fascist Federation of Insurance Companies to Coceani, 15 November 1943, and letter from the Finance Department to Coceani, 6 January 1944.
114. ASTR, FC, b. 24, letter from Coceani to the High Commissioner, 31 January 1944.
115. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, Trieste Federation of Forwarding Agents' report, 12 November 1943.
116. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from Coceani to Magazzini Generali, 14 January 1944.
117. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from the company Exner to the head of the SS, 25 February 1944. In many cases the forwarding companies tried to provide additional records (such as civic and religious records) to demonstrate Jewish provenance.
118. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl's report, letter from de Steinkuehl to the High Commissioner, Attachment 13, 18 March 1944; ASTR, FC, b. 24, letter from the Ministry of Finance to the Trieste Prefecture, 28 February 1944.
119. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from Coceani to the Ministry of Finance, 1 May 1944.
120. ASTR, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to the Trieste Prefecture and Revenue Office, 27 April 1944.
121. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl's report, letter from the Trieste Revenue Office to de Steinkuehl, Attachment 12, 4 April 1944. The Trieste Prefecture also asked Magazzini Generali to report the consignments taken by the High Commissioner (NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property

- Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl's report, letter from the Trieste Prefecture to Magazzini Generali, Attachment 14, 17 April 1944).
122. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to the Ministry of Finance, 1 May 1944.
 123. The invoices were paid by the Trieste headquarters of the Banca Commerciale Italiana from an account created on behalf of the High Commissioner.
 124. ACETr, b. Blue I, f. 1032, Minutes of the Fascist Federation of Forwarding Agents's meeting (in attachment the rates established), 1 June 1943; Anderl, Blaschitz, Loitfellner, Triendl, Wahl 2004, pp. 198 – 208.
 125. 125 ACETr, b. Blue II, f. 1038, AMG's report, undated.
 126. BA, R 83, A K O Bd. 2, letter from the Finance Department to the NSDAP, 4 February 1944. Several air raids bombed the port in June 1944, when warehouse 56 and its contents were damaged. An air raid on 9 September also caused serious damage in the Trieste port, and many crates were destroyed.
 127. ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from de Steinkuehl to the Ministry of Finance, 1 May 1944.
 128. ACS, MPI, AABBA, Div. III, 1929 – 1960, b. 309, f. Relazione sulle attività dei Tedeschi nel periodo 1943/1945 nella Zona d'Operazioni Costiera dell'Adriatico, nel campo delle belle arti, biblioteche ed archivi, Attachment 4, letter from the High Commissioner to Frodl, 21 November 1944; BA, R 83, A K O Bd. 2, letter from Frodl to Rainer, 8 December 1944. Frodl checked the liftvans and crates that were in the port in May 1944.
 129. BA, R 83, A K O Bd. 2, letter from Zojer to NSDAP, 9 May 1944. Franz Zojer was the head of the Finance Department of the High Commissioner; Moehle 2004, p. 382.
 130. "[...] the really valuable objects had been kept back by the export commissions in Vienna in 1938 and 1939, and [that] therefore these deposits only held objects of second quality. The most valuable of these, some paintings, sculptures, objects of applied art such as glass, porcelain [...] have been selected [...] as well as some paintings which could merely be used as decoration in representative rooms [...]", Anderl, Blaschitz, Loitfellner, Triendl, Wahl 2004, pp. 210 – 211.
 131. ACS, MPI, AABBA, Div. III, 1929 – 1960, b. 309, f. Relazione sulle attività dei Tedeschi nel periodo 1943/1945 nella Zona d'Operazioni Costiera dell'Adriatico, nel campo delle belle arti, biblioteche ed archivi, Attachment 5, letter from Frodl to the High Commissioner, 31 May 1944.
 132. Non-Jewish shipments and damaged or worthless goods (or parts of shipment contents) were left by the Germans in the port. In 1946 these goods were declared to the AMG by the companies Julia Intertrans, Società Linee Triestine per l'Oriente, Emilio Kobau, and Villian & Fassio (ACETr, b. Blue I, f. Julia Intertrans, letter from Julia Intertrans to AMG, 23 January, 12 February 1946).

133. ASTr, IFTr, b. 936, Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei. Sequestratario de Steinkuehl [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], f. Guatemala, letter from Casa di Spedizioni Gotz, Stellmann & Reifner to the Trieste Revenue Office, 25 February 1945. The trustee was Silvio Cavalli.
134. ASTr, IFTr, b. 936, Pratica di sequestro masserizie ebrei. Sequestratario de Steinkuehl [Seizure of Jewish household goods. Trustee de Steinkuehl], f. Guatemala, letter from Cavalli to the Trieste Revenue Office, 4 December 1944.
135. Lütgenau, Schröck, Niederacher 2006.
136. Niederacher 2019, pp. 19 – 20. These shipments were carried out by the Trieste company Antonio De Rossi (Guida generale 1940, p. 289).
137. BA, R 83, A K O Bd. 2, letter from the Warenverkehrsleitstelle VII–513 to the Finance Department, 18 January 1944; Moehrle 2004, p. 381.
138. ACETr, b. Blue II, f. 1066, letter from the NSDAP to Rainer, 27 February 1944.
139. BA, R 83, A K O Bd. 2, letter by Zojer to NSDAP, 9 May 1944; ASTr, PTr, AG, Masserizie appartenenti ad ebrei emigrati [Household goods belonging to Jewish emigrants], b. 2640, 1943, letter from Magazzini Generali to de Steinkuehl, 25 April 1944.
140. "Now that the 'Trieste Action', started in Trieste through your initiative, has been completed and all of the goods have arrived in Berlin, I would like to send you my sincere thanks for having been so accommodating. The distribution of the furniture, linens and household items to the bomb-damaged population is still ongoing. [...] My representative for the "Trieste Action", party member Uterhardt, reported that he received extensive support especially from your collaborators Dr. Zojer, Dr. Fischbach, and Dr. Schnürch during the execution of his assignment. Please convey my thanks to them [...]", ACETr, b. Blue II, f. 1066, letter from Göring to Rainer, 28 June 1944.
141. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl's report, letter from the Trieste Revenue Office to de Steinkuehl, Attachment 8, 28 August 1944.
142. A total of 2,916 crates related to 822 consignments were transferred from the warehouses 7 and 23 alone.
143. NARA, RG 331, ACC–Italy, Headquarters Property Control, b. 3467, f. 250, de Steinkuehl report, letter from the Trieste Revenue Office to de Steinkuehl, Attachment 8, 28 August 1944.
144. The Handling of Jewish Emigrants' Emigration Material in Bremen after 1939: Participants, Networks and Ways of Utilization, project within the German Maritime Museum, Bremen: <https://www.dsm.museum/en/about-us/team/susanne-kiel> (accessed 10 July 2020).

ARCHIVES

ACETr: Archivio Storico della Comunità Ebraica di Trieste (Historical Archive of the Jewish Community of Trieste)

ACS, MPI, AABBA: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Roma, Ministero Pubblica Istruzione, Fondo Antichità e Belle Arti (Central State Archive, Rome, Ministry of Public Education, Antiquities and Fine Arts Archive Records)

ASTr, FC: Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Fondo Coceani (State Archive of Trieste, Coceani Archive Records)

ASTr, IFTr: Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Intendenza di Finanza di Trieste (State Archive of Trieste, Revenue Office of Trieste)

ASTr, PTr, AG: Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Prefettura di Trieste, Atti Generali (State Archive of Trieste, Prefecture of Trieste, General Affairs)

ASTr, PTr, G: Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Prefettura di Trieste, Gabinetto (State Archive of Trieste, Prefecture of Trieste, Cabinet)

ASTr, TCPTr: Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Tribunale Civile e Penale di Trieste (State Archive of Trieste, Civil and Criminal Court of Trieste)

BA: Bundesarchiv, Berlin (Federal Archives, Berlin)

NARA: National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

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info@triestecontemporanea.it
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