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## **ЛИКВИДАЦИЯ ЕВРЕЙСКОЙ ДИАСПОРЫ НА РОДОСЕ И ИТАЛЬНСКОЕ ПРАВЛЕНИЕ ОТ КОНТРОЛЯ К ДЕПОРТАЦИИ**

### **Резюме**

В статье рассказывается о полной ликвидации еврейской диаспоры на Родосе, организованной нацистами с участием итальянцев в последние месяцы Второй мировой войны. В период военной оккупации Додеканесских островов германской армией, продолжавшейся с сентября 1943 до окончания войны, почти все еврейские жители Родоса и Коса были высланы и депортированы в лагерь смерти Аушвиц в Польше, где более чем 90% погибли. До 2013 г. история депортации евреев с Родоса изучалась исключительно на основе мемуаров и косвенных источников. Секретный архив карабинеров (1932–1945), выявленный командой исследователей и архивистов из Государственного архива Додеканесских островов позволил пролить свет на ключевые моменты депортации. Документы, хранящиеся в архиве карабинеров на Родосе, предоставляют возможность выяснить, сколько человек подверглось депортации с Родоса и Коса в 1944 г. и восстановить их биографии.

*Ключевые слова:* Додеканесские острова, Родос, еврейская диаспора, Аушвиц, депортация, архив карабинеров на Родосе.

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**THE END OF THE RHODES'S JEWISH COMMUNITY  
AND THE ITALIAN RULE FROM CONTROL  
TO DEPORTATION**

**Abstract**

This paper describes the total annihilation of the Jewish Community of Rhodes by the Nazis with the Italian's complicity in the last years of World War II. During the military occupation of the Italian Dodecanese islands by the German Army, lasted from September 1943 until the end of the war, almost all the Jewish inhabitants of the islands of Rhodes and Cos were expelled and deported to Auschwitz Death Camp in Poland where more than 90% died. Until 2013, the story of the deportation of the Jews of Rhodes was studied mostly through memories or indirect sources. The secret archives of the Carabinieri (1932–1945) brought to light by a team of researchers and archivists of the Dodecanese State Archive allowed to shed light upon the key moments of the deportation. The records kept in the Carabinieri's Archive in Rhodes makes possible as well to clarify how many people were deported from Rhodes and Cos in 1944 and to reconstruct the biographies of the victims.

*Key words:* Dodecanese islands, Rhodes, Jewish community, Auschwitz, deportation, Carabinieri's Archive in Rhodes.

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The history of the Italian government in the Dodecanese islands is little known, with rare exceptions. Even less well-known is the history of the long-standing Jewish community in the archipelago that is currently Greek, near the Turkish coastline, a community that was annihilated in 1944. During the military occupation of the Italian Aegean Islands (this is the way the Italians use to call the Dodecanese) by the German Army, lasted from September 1943 until the end of the war, almost all the Jewish inhabitants of the islands of Rhodes and Cos were deported to Auschwitz, where more than 90% died<sup>1</sup>. The Sephardic Jewish community of Rhodes and Cos was one of the most known in the Mediterranean area and was set up during the XVI century, when many Jews were welcomed to the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion from Spain and Portugal in 1492. When the Italian army occupied Rhodes in 1912, the Jewish Community was made up of about 5000 people<sup>2</sup>. In the Italian period of the Dodecanese (1912-1947), however, one of the most marked phenomena was the emigration, which regarded all the inhabitants of the Islands, including those of the Jewish community. The Jewish emigrants, in majority young people, reached relatives and acquaintances in Africa (Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo), in the United States, in Tangier and in Latin America; only a minority went to Palestine since the difficulties to get a visa for the Jewish during the British Mandate (1922-1948) and in particular after the so called "White Paper" was issued by the British Government in 1939<sup>3</sup>. The emigration of the Jewish people from Rhodes became more important after the arrival of the new Italian governor, Cesare Maria de Vecchi, at the end of 1936, who began a policy of italianisation and fascistization much more violent than his predecessor, Mario Lago. This fact was also noted by the British in 1944, when they prepared the reports for the troops dislocated in Aegean:

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<sup>1</sup>The Aegean Islands, best known as Dodecanese, were set by the Italian Army in 1912 and became Italian official territory in 1923 thanks to the Second Treaty of Losanna, signed by Turkey and the British Empire, French, Italy, Japan, Greece and Romania.

<sup>2</sup>During the Ottoman's period there was no census and the registry of the population was held by the different religious communities.

<sup>3</sup>The White Book was divided in three sections. The second one settled that the Jewish immigration to Palestine was to be limited to 75,000 over the next five years, after which it would have depended on Arab consent.

*In 1937 the new Italian Governor declared he had come to bring Fascist life and Fascist spirit to the islands. The population is believed to have declined in a most marked manner as a result of the Islander's efforts to escape the nationalizing tyranny of Fascist rule. Figures cannot be trusted, but those available give the decline in Symi from 23.000 in 1912 to 6.000 in 1936, in Nisyros 50% and in Kasos 72%<sup>4</sup>.*

In March 1938 the president of the Jewish Community, Mr. John Menasce, stated that according to the last census, the community was made up of 3,134 people, about a thousand less than in the previous year<sup>5</sup>. However the racial laws adopted in Italy between September and November 1938 increased the Jewish emigration precisely at a time when many host countries closed progressively their borders<sup>6</sup>. According to the racial laws, all foreign Jews living in Italy starting from January 1919, had to leave the country. Moreover, all Jews who got the Italian citizenship after the same date, should consider that have lost it. According to the records kept in the Carabinieri's Archive in Rhodes, from September 1, 1938 to February 19, 1939, 200 Jews were expelled from the Dodecanese (they reached in most cases the Belgian Congo and Rhodesia). At March 15, 1939, the situation was as follows: the Jews, according to the books of the Registry Office, that acquired Italian citizenship after January 1919 were 485, of which 270 still living in Rhodes. The foreign Jews were 368, of which 295 were Turkish citizens; of them, 166 had to leave. The counts were performed weekly, both by the Registry Office and the Central Office of the Carabinieri, that controlled the departures<sup>7</sup>. Thus, according to the Foreign Ministry of Athens, which acquired Rhodes and the Dodecanese Islands after the war, at the beginning of 1940 the remaining Jews were about 2,000<sup>8</sup>.

After spending the years 1940-1944 among many difficulties and have suffered destructions and deaths because of Allied bombing, the Jewish

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<sup>4</sup>GAK DOD BMA. Dodecanese Brief General Guide. C.A.B. Series. July 1944. F. 10.

<sup>5</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1932. 20. PS. Pratica 2. Comunità Israelitica di Rodi. vol. III. Ufficio Centrale di PS. Translation of a newspaper's article sent from the Cairo, Egypt by Abramino Ezri to Strumza Vitalis. 3 March 1938.

<sup>6</sup>For instance, Cuba, Portugal and Spain.

<sup>7</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1938. 1. 1. file 160. Situation of the Jews. 15 March 1939.

<sup>8</sup>IAYE. Archeio Istorias Ellinon Evraion. Fak. 5 Ipofak. 4. Stratiotikon Dioikisis Dodekanisou pro sto Ypourgion Exoterikon, Athina. Rodi 18 ottobre 1947. And Fak. 5 ipofak. 5. Jewish Community, Rhodes, à Monsieur le Colonel Tsigante, Chef de la Mission Militaire Hellenique, Rodhes the 1er Mai 1946.

community of Rhodes was totally annihilated by the Germans with the Italian's complicity. July 23, 1944, circa 1,846 Jews from Rhodes and Cos were put in three boats and transported to the Piraeus, where they were taken to the Chaidari KZ, not far from Athens<sup>9</sup>. Here they spent some days, prior to their deportation to Auschwitz, being badly treated by the SS. After that, together with an unspecified number of Jews from Athens and its environs, all the Jews from the Dodecanese were loaded in a train and nearly two weeks later, August 16, they arrived at Auschwitz. Of this "transport", only a third (mostly young men and women) entered the camp. The rest were gassed that day<sup>10</sup>.

The deportation from the islands of Rhodes and Cos was the longest transport to Auschwitz<sup>11</sup>. Six weeks later, after the withdrawal of the German army from Greece (but not from the Dodecanese), the deportation from Rhodes would have been unthinkable without the logistical support of the SS in Piraeus and Chaidari.

Until 2013, the story of the deportation of the Jews of Rhodes was studied mostly through memories or indirect sources<sup>12</sup>. Between December 2013 and February 2014, a team of researcher and archivists of the Dodecanese State

<sup>9</sup>This number is according to the comprehensive research carried out by Liliana Picciotto and Alberta Bezzan at CDEC, Milan. We will see that, nowadays, is still impossible to say exactly how many Jews were deported from the Dodecanese Islands.

<sup>10</sup>Danuta Czech. *Kalendarium, der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945*. Reinbek.: Rowohlt 1989. C. 851. She writes about 2500' Jews who reached Auschwitz that day on this transport. This means that the Jews from Rhodes and Kos were part of a larger transport.

<sup>11</sup>Martin Gilbert. *The Holocaust. The Jewish Tragedy*. London.: The Fontana Press 1987. P. 710. Two years ago Ruggero Gabbai shot an important movie titled «The Longest Journey. That last days of the Jews of Rhodes». The film has been presented at the Venice 70 Film Festival 2013.

<sup>12</sup>See Avraham Galanté. *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie* 7 vols. Edition Isis.: Istanbul n.d. [1938]. vol 7. Appendices: l'histoire des Juifs de Rhodes, Chio, Cos etc Et fin tragique des Communautés Juives de Rhodes et de Cos, oeuvre de Bagandage Hitlerism. Istanbul 1948; Michael Molho and Joseph Nehama, *Im memoriam: Hommage aux victimes juives des Nazis en Grèce*. Salonica 1948. C. 231-34; Marc Angel. *The Jews of Rhodes. The History of a Sephardic Community*. Sepher-Hermon Press Inc.: New York 1978; Jack Isaac Lévy. *Jewish Rhodes. A Lost Culture*. Judah L. Magnes Museum.: Berkeley Cal. 1989; Moïse Rahmani. *Rhodes un pan de notre memoire* Editions Romillat.: Paris, 2000; Joseph D. Alhadeff. *The Jewish Community of Rhodes. A Short History*. Rhodes n.d.; Isaac Benatar. *Rhodes and the Holocaust. The Story of the Jewish Community from the Mediterranean Island of Rhodes*. Universe Inc.: New York and Bloomington 2010; Rebecca Amato Levy. *I Remember Rhodes*. Sepher-Hermon Press: New York 1987; Laura Varon, *The Juderia. A Holocaust Survivor's Tribute to the Jewish Community of Rhodes*. Praeger: New York 1999; Sami Modiano, *Per questo ho vissuto. La mia vita*

Archive brought to light the secret archives of the Carabinieri (1932–1945)<sup>13</sup>. The discovery of those brand new sources made possible the study of the relationships between Italian authorities and the different religious communities of the Dodecanese and, in particular, the Jewish community. Besides, the before unknown documentation allowed the scholars to shed light upon the key moments of the deportation, suggesting that it would not have been possible without the cooperation of the Italian civil authorities, remained in charge in Rhodes after September 8, 1943.

When the armistice signed by the Italian Government and the Allied was announced to the world September 8, 1943, a short-term resistance against Germans of several Italian forces broke up in many places, in Italy and abroad, where in the past Italian Army occupied territories. In Rhodes this resistance lasted only until September 11. After this date, the Dodecanese, with the exclusion of Leros, that resisted two months more, came under German's military control. The Italian civil government, however, remained in office, led by the deputy governor Mr. Iginio Ugo Faralli, who replaced Admiral Inigo Campioni, meanwhile arrested and then deported by the Germans<sup>14</sup>.

As soon as the situation in the Aegean cleared from the point of view of the responsibility of government, at the behest of the division Rhodos, headed by the *Generalmajor* Ulrich Kleemann, the command of the Italian Carabinieri arranged for October 1943 a special control of the Identity Documents in the Old town, where was located the Jewish quarter<sup>15</sup>.

The operation snapped on 1 November 1943 with the support of 200 Fascist Guards (Voluntary Militia for National Security), 50 members of the Financial

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ad Auschwitz Birkenau e altri esili. With M. Pezzetti and U. Gentiloni Silveri. BUR Biblioteca Univ. Rizzoli: Rizzoli 2014.

<sup>13</sup> The team consisted of the director of the State Archive, Eirini Toliou, the Italian researchers Eleonora Papone and Marco Clementi and the archivist Evangelia Xatzaki. About the discovery see what wrote then the Italian Official Press Agency ANSA in [http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/en/news/sections/generalnews/2013/12/03/Italian-Dodecanese-thousands-secret-police-files-emerge\\_9718295.html](http://www.ansamed.info/ansamed/en/news/sections/generalnews/2013/12/03/Italian-Dodecanese-thousands-secret-police-files-emerge_9718295.html).

<sup>14</sup> On 15 July 1941, Campioni was appointed governor of the Dodecanese and made commander of all Axis armed forces operating in that area. It is still not clear, why Campioni was deported. In fact, on 11 September 1943 he surrendered to German forces after three days of battle between about 35,000 Italian soldiers vs only 8,000 Germans. In January 1944, Campioni was transported to the northern portion of Italy administered by the fascist Italian Social Republic, which jailed him. After a military trial, he was sentenced to death.

<sup>15</sup> GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1943. file 4715. Ufficio Servizio n. 311/3 di protocollo. Rodi 20 ottobre 1943. Controllo delle carte d'identità.

Police and 52 Carabineers. The Fascists were divided into two companies: the first searched every house in the Old town (divided into 6 sectors for the occasion), while the second barred sectors and did not allow anyone to enter or leave the area during the inspection<sup>16</sup>. It was the dress rehearsal for the deportation of the following year. Indeed, the Italian administration planned a new ID Control for the spring-summer 1944. The first German document we found about, is dated 17 May 1944 and it is a request, sent to the Italian Governor, with object *Ausweise der Zivilbevölkerung*, that is *ID of the civilian population*. It says that in order to prevent misuse of ID, July 1 to September 30 the Italian Administration should proceed with the control<sup>17</sup>. One month earlier, April 17, 1944, the Central Bureau of Carabineers sent to the Municipality of Rhodes the following request:

*Having to carry out checks on identity documents, we kindly request to make for this office a list of names, in two copies, of all Jews currently domiciled and resident in Rhodes. Where possible, I would appreciate that the names would be divided for households or for cohabitation and their address (street and number) as of 1 April 1944. Signed Lt. of Carabineers, Major Assistant Cesare Cerati*<sup>18</sup>.

The answer came almost a month later by the Registry Office of the Municipality:

*In fulfillment of the note of April 17, 1944 No. 4715/6, 1943, the Office transmits the list of names, in two copies, of Jewish enrollment in the register of this population and residents currently in Rhodes, as required by the note cited above*<sup>19</sup>.

The document, dated May 11, 1944, is registered at the Carabineers Office May 13, four days before the German communication of May 17 we saw above. For sure, therefore, we know that the Registry Office of the Municipality of

<sup>16</sup>There. Promemoria. Servizio di controllo della popolazione della città murata, allegato al doc. 311/3 del 20 ottobre 1943.

<sup>17</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1944. file 1117. Deutsche Militärverwaltung Rhodos. 17 mai 1944. Tel. 492 an Regierung. Nachricht an Kommando der Carabinieri.

<sup>18</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1944, file 939. Ebrei domiciliati o residenti nel Possedimento, Ufficio Centrale di Polizia. 4715/6. 1943. Rodi 17 aprile 1944. F.to Cerati.

<sup>19</sup>There. Rodi 11 maggio 1944. Protocollo n. 2237. Ufficio Anagrafe. Trasmissione elenco nominativo ebrei residenti in Rodi. Siglato per il podestà il capo ufficio.

Rhodes compiled a list in duplicate of the Jews living in Rhodes. The German document of 17 May appears now clearer: four days after the Central Bureau of Carabineers (then transformed in Central Bureau of the Republican National Guard [RNG], formed by Carabineers, the Financial Police and former Fascist Guards), had received the list of the resident Rhodian Jews, the Germans wrote to the same office to proceed with the annual ID inspection. The Central Bureau of the RNG, June 17 1944, sent to all the local Offices of police the linear stamps to be affixed to the reviewed ID. The control had to be lead alphabetically starting with July 1 (letter A) and ending with the letters X, Y and Z on 16 and 17 August 1944<sup>20</sup>. Meanwhile, the fate of the Rhodian Jews had already been decided. In Italy, or in areas in the past controlled by the Italian Army, the deportation of the Jews by Germans begun in 1943 and had the greater symbolic moment on October 16, 1943, with the deportation of part of the Rome Jews Community. Then followed the deportation from the areas of France already occupied by the Italians. Little time later came the turn of the geographic Greek areas like Corfu, Zakynthos, Salonica, then Crete and finally Rhodes. For the area of the Aegean Sea, the manager of the deportation was a direct Adolf Eichmann's collaborator, Anton Burger, former commander of the camp-ghetto of Theresienstadt<sup>21</sup>. Together with Dieter Linnemann, a former police officer in Bremen, Burger supposedly went to Rhodes in early June 1944, when the list was already made, and eventually he planned the deportation. The list of 1,660 Jews, divided by families as requested by Cerati in April and typed on the back of 6 pre-printed sheets of the Registry Office of Rhodes has been found in the State Archive of Rhodes<sup>22</sup>. In April 1944 the British had bombed repeatedly the island and many people was killed or had their houses damaged. The Jewish Quarter, which was located inside the Old town, near the port, suffered more damage than any other area of Rhodes, with dozens of victims. So, many Jews were transferred to neighboring villages, out of the town, in Trianda, Cremastò and Villanova<sup>23</sup>. July 15, 1944, the head of the National Republic Guard, Mittino, transmitted to all police stations the so

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<sup>20</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1944. File 1117 cit. Controllo annuale delle carte d'identità. Rodi, 27 giugno 1944.

<sup>21</sup>See Hans Safrian. *Eichmann's Men*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2010.

<sup>22</sup>The list is now in GAK DOD IDD. 1944. File 293. It was found in the Italian Administrative Archive in a folder of 1945 out of place, without object and among other different documents. Written on the back of sheets of the Registry Office of Rhodes, it indicates in total 1,661 people. The number 181 was blown and then the names included are 1660.

<sup>23</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1944. File 759.



called *Ordinance N. 29* of Kleemann. Dated July 13, the document ordered to the people who had left Rhodes after the bombing of April, to present themselves to the Municipal Offices by July 17 at the latest at 12 a.m., to be registered in a “special file”<sup>24</sup>. July 20, all the men were forced to reach Rhodes and were closed in the *Kommandantur* and the following day were also recorded women and children, as well closed in the same place. On 21 July, a copy of the list made by the Registry Office was taken by the Italian judge, director of judicial services of the Aegean, Mr. Rino Rossi, as one can read in the records:

A copy of the list has now been delivered by Lieutenant Cerati to the President Rino Rossi, director of judicial services of the Aegean, which has pledged to return it soon. The other was given some time ago to the German Secret Police [Geheime Feldpolizei]<sup>25</sup>.

On the same day, July 21, the deputy governor, Mr. Faralli, issued the decree n. 94, about the confiscation of the Jewish property. From that moment it was prohibited to transfer movable and immovable property belonging to Jews in any way. The penalty for those who would violated the rule was the imprisonment up to five years<sup>26</sup>. Two days later, July 23, all the Jews crowded in the *Kommandantur* were put on three boat and sent to Athens, from where they followed to the Auschwitz Death Camp in Poland.

According to the post-war reconstruction of the Greek government, the Greek Jewish population dwindled because of the Holocaust in percentages varying from region to region: in Thrace of 96%, 91.5% in Macedonia, in Thessaly of 31.6%, in Mainland Greece of 52%, 43% in the Peloponnese, in Epirus of 77.6%, in the Islands of 94% (91% to 98% in Corfu and Crete). Altogether, according to this source, were deported 74,477 Jews and came back 10,026<sup>27</sup>. According to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which included

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<sup>24</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1944. File 487, Cose varie di III Divisione, Governo delle Isole Italiane dell'Egeo, Ufficio Centrale di Polizia. Sezione Personale e Affari Vari n. 1404/1. Rodi 15 luglio 1944. F.to Mittino.

<sup>25</sup>GAK DOD CCRR UCS. 1944. File 939. Cit.

<sup>26</sup>«Il Messaggero di Rodi». 23 July 1944.

<sup>27</sup>IAYE. *Archeio Istorias Ellinon Evraion*. Fak. 5, ipofak. 6, Pinax. May 30, 1947. F.to O Ttimatarchis. About Greek Jews and their deportation see Katherine Elizabeth Fleming. *Greece - A Jewish History*. Princeton, 2008. In Zakynthos the Jewish community was saved by the religious authorities and common people, see the recent Deno Seder. *Miracle at Zakynthos*. Philos Press: 2014.

them in the count of the Greek Jews, of the 1,781 Jews of Rhodes and Cos deported in July 1944, only 150 survived<sup>28</sup>. According to the former president of the Jewish community of Rhodes, Mr. Hischia Franco, who could left the Island before the deportation and came back to Rhodes after the liberation, the survivors were 151 of 1,674 deported<sup>29</sup>.

We have, therefore, different numbers in regard to the deported, while it is established with much more certainty that of survivors: 151. The Italian list, found only one year ago by the author of this essay, indicates 1,660 names in Rhodes (to them we should add about 90 people from Cos so we have about 1,750 names). Franco, who based its list on the Italians one, gives as whole the number of 1,674. In 1946 the British Military Administration, that took Rhodes under control after the end of the War, spoke of 1,659 deported and 303 survivors (the British also based their dates on the Italian list):

*The Jewish community, with the exception of 40 who held Turkish passports, were rounded up and sent in April 1944 to a concentration camp in Athens, thence in Salonica and eventually to the notorious camp at Auschwitz where, it is believed, the majority were murdered in gas chambers. It is known that 1659 persons reached Salonica; only 303 have so far been discovered to have survived; of these 250 had made their way to Rome by the end of 1945; 38 requesting repatriation to the Dodecanese, the rest preferring to join relatives in other parts of the world<sup>30</sup>.*

<sup>28</sup>IAYE. Archeio Istorias Ellinon Evraion. Fak. 5 ipofak. 4. Losanna 3 luglio 1945. A La Légation de Gr.ce, Berna. And IAYE. There. Stratiotikon Dioikisis Dodekanisou pro sto Ypourgion Exoterikon, Athina. Rhodes 18 October 1947. There. Fak. 5 ipofak. 5. Jewish Community, Rhodes, à Monsieur le Colonel Tsigante, Chef de la Mission Militaire Hellenique. Rhodes the 1er Mai 1946.

<sup>29</sup>Hizkia M. Franco. The Jewish Martyrs of Rhodes And Cos. Harper Collins Publisher: Harare 1994. According to Sylvia Hasson-Berro there were 1673 deported, see L. Berro-Stein and V. Berro-Gritzman. The story of a survivor. The memoirs of Sylvia Hasson-Berro. 2004. C. 50.

<sup>30</sup>ASMAE. AP 1946-1950. Dodecanese. Folder 1. Annual Report by Chief Administrator on the British Military Administration of the Dodecanese Islands for the Period 1 January 1946 to 31 December 1946. Indeed the turkish consul in Rhodes, Selahattin Ülkümen, saved 40 Jews from the deportation, by giving them a turkish passport. They are: Rachele Surmani, Ester Sadi, Avner Sadi, Estrea Berro, Sarah Alhadeff, Giuseppe Alhadeff, Giamile Tarica, Vittorio Tarica, Giacobbe Maio, Maria Maio, Galimidi Abramo, Galimidi Lea, Galimidi Sultana, Menascè Bension, Menascè Cathrine, Alberto Amato, Renata Amato, Lina Amato, Rachele Amato, Turiel Daniele, Turiel Mathilde, Turiel Boaz, Turiel Eliakin, Soriano Maurizio, Soriano Vittoria, Soriano Elia, Soriano Rita, Elisa Amato, Isacco Amato, Maurice Amato, Lea Amato,

The sources used by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the documentation collected by Christodoulos Tsigante, the first military greek governor of Rhodes, who had the same from the first president of the little Jewish Community present in Rhodes in 1946, Elia Soriano<sup>31</sup>.

Finally in 2014 Liliana Piccioto and Alberta Bezzan, researchers of the "Contemporary Center of Jewish Documentation" [CDEC] in Milan, claimed to be «able to formulate a list established and verified of the victims, full of dates of birth of each one, maternity, paternity». They assert that were deported 1,750 Jews from Rhodes and 96 from Cos, for a whole of 1,846 people<sup>32</sup>.

In reality, it is still very difficult to say with a high degree of certainty how many people were deported from Rhodes and Cos in 1944. Indeed, many people emigrated in the previous years, sometimes without notifying it to the authorities; during the war someone secretly left Rhodes to nearby Turkey and, finally, someone died or because of the bombing, or of natural death. A few hid themselves. For all that reasons, the Italian authorities made many mistakes in the list they wrote for the German Secret Police. Today, thanks to the mentioned Carabineers's Collection discovered in 2013, the scholars have the possibility to cross many new data and to see, for instance, who was still in Rhodes or Cos in spring 1944<sup>33</sup>. Only after that, it would be possible to compare this new list with the *Transportliste* of the convoy, that in August 16, 1944, reached Auschwitz and that includes also names of other Romanian or Sephardic Jews from Greece<sup>34</sup>. The importance of finally being able to make a complete list of those who were deported in 1944 is remarkable for several reasons. First, for the opportunity that we have, thanks to the Carabeneers Collection, to reconstruct the biographies of the victims. In many cases regarding the Holocaust, the normality is to have mistakes and chaos in the lists of the deported and in their Luna Amato, Lina Tarica, Sami Tarica, Elia Soriano, Rosa Soriano, David Calvo, Luna Calvo, Mazaltov Calvo, Batami Alhadeff, Giacomo Alhadeff and Andrea Alhadeff.

<sup>31</sup>IAYE. 1946. Fak. 5 ipofak. 5. 1. Jewish Community, Rhodes the 1er May 1946, signed by the secretary and the president. In Rhodes in 1946 took place the first commemoration for the Jews killed in Poland. See «photo of the President of the Jewish Community, Elia Soriano, laying a wreath at the fountain in memory of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Photo from Elie Jacob Soriano». [//www.rhodesjewishmuseum.org/history/holocaust](http://www.rhodesjewishmuseum.org/history/holocaust).

<sup>32</sup>L. Picciotto. La deportazione degli Ebrei di Rodi.// [www.gariwo.net/pagina.php?id=11378](http://www.gariwo.net/pagina.php?id=11378), 24 July 2014.

<sup>33</sup>In the Collection one can find personal files about nearly all the members of the Jewish Community from 1932 until 1944.

<sup>34</sup>Danuta Czech. Kalendarium. Cit.

biographies<sup>35</sup>. The second reason is that mistakes and failure in the past are due to the destruction of archives and documents occurred by chance or by the will of the perpetrators. An attempt to destruction also occurred in our case. In December of 1946, in fact, a obscured Marshal of the Italian Carabinieri, Mr. Francesco Corletti, stayed in the Dodecanese under the British Military Occupation, informed the Italian Foreign Ministry the following:

*I have been able to complete a job, which for importance, sensitivity and the current local circumstances, let myself astonished for its success. That is to destruct the entire archive of the former Carabinieris Command Group in Aegean, all the secret papers and all those other compromising anyway in the sense that they could lend itself to political speculation and blackmail.*

According to Corletti, the operation was authorized and entrusted to him by the British Military Authorities, convinced that he would proceed to «the destruction of the so-called *useless papers*». In other words, the British thought that got burnt copies, «documents transmitted hierarchically and therefore existing in the general archive». But now, after the destruction Corletti claimed that:

*from the archives and secondary cards from all other offices, including that of the Commander of the Carabinieri, there is nothing left. If I can eliminate even the copies sent by the Carabinieri to the Government, then the work will be complete and a whole part of history of the Aegean will be deleted forever<sup>36</sup>.*

Several considerations can be made about this important document: the first concerns the type of material destroyed. It could be material regarding the war, according to the filing plan inventoried as *Secret and Confidential* from 1940 until 1943, of which remains a faint trace in the Administrative Archive. The second is that the Carabinieris Collection acquires even greater importance in light of the alleged destruction of other documents. Another concerns the reliability of the news, at the moment impossible to verify and, finally, one can underline the attitude of the new democratic Italy, that appears partner in covering events and misdeeds of the Fascist Regime.

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<sup>35</sup>See, for instance, the site of Yad Vashem, the largest and most important data base of the Holocaust's victim, which has mistakes, lacks and repetitions.

<sup>36</sup>ASMAE. AP 1946-50. Dodecaneso-Egeo. B. 3. F. Miscellanea. S.F. Atti e documenti appartenuti alla cessata Amministrazione di Rodi.

## Acronyms

GAK DOD CCRR UCS. Dodecanese State Archive. Dodecanese. Collection of the Special Bureau of the Carabineers. Rhodes.

GAK DOD BMA. Dodecanese State Archive. Collection of the British Military Administration. Rhodes.

ASMAE. Historical Archive of the Italian Foreign Ministry. Rome.

IAYE. Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry. Athens.

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