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Anterior
Introduction to the Special Issue on Preservation and War
Freedom from Violence

We are accustomed to seeing these two words, preservation and war, often invoked as opposites, certainly in the press, but also in the mission statements of heritage organizations. In the context of today’s conflagrations in the Middle East, Central Asia, and elsewhere, we read about efforts to deploy preservation in order to repair or even resist the ravages of war. But the very idea that preservation can be a form of resistance to war already casts it as a form of war by other means, a critical part of the logic and logistics of war and not something external to it. With that in mind, this special Issue of *Future Anterior* inquires into how war shapes how we practice and understand preservation and, vice versa, how preservation shapes how we practice and think of war.

This Issue’s interrogation of the degree to which preservation and war might have been mutually constitutive practices distances it from a long line of academic publications and academic conferences, dating back to the late nineteenth century, that have examined the destructive effects of war on monuments and historic buildings. There was a recent point of inflection in this scholarship in the early twenty-first century, when greater attention was given to the role of visual media in the waging of war, mostly as the result of the Taliban’s shelling of the Bamiyan Buddhas in March 2001, which was then televised internationally, and Al-Qaeda’s terrorist attacks of 9/11, which exploited live television to make a worldwide spectacle out of the taking of innocent lives and the destruction of buildings that, at least from the point of view of the perpetrators, were heritage because of their strong cultural associations with American values. In 2002 Columbia University’s Historic Preservation program devoted its annual Fish Colloquium to exploring this theme, under the rubric of “Target Architecture.” A number of important conferences followed on the subject, such as the 2011 “Cultural Heritage Protection in Crisis Areas” at the American Academy in Rome. Since then, the nature and consumption of media has undergone a major transformation, and we now view news videos online, mostly through social media channels. That is how most people witnessed ISIL’s dynamiting of the ancient Roman city of Palmyra in 2015, and their subsequent public execution of Khalid al Asaad, the eighty-one-year-old Syrian archaeologist who served forty years as the site’s head of antiquities. One could
not avoid the sense that merely watching those videos, which were clearly staged, edited as propaganda for our consumption in our personal phones and intended to be easily forwarded via social networks to countless other private screens, drew one into the war's perverse logic. Every preservationist felt impotent. At Columbia, we examined the new conditions of "Culture and Heritage after Palmyra" in a 2015 symposium that attempted to cast light on the distorting mediations of new media by focusing on the facts that were not being covered. 1

Meanwhile, the press turned to the preservation community with questions on what could be done. Couched in such questions is the presupposition that something should be done, that preservation is a moral imperative. These questions are also calls to duty—why aren’t you doing anything? As Zainab Bakrani reminds us in her essay, they come with a thinly veiled subtext, familiar to scholars of colonialism, that we have a duty to intervene in “local” wars in defense of “universal” values. When the press called mainstream preservationists they got disappointing answers. There was not much that traditional preservation practice could do, as it required boots on the ground, to use a military expression, and there was little international will or local capacity for mounting such perilous preservation campaigns. There was a lot of caution: we should wait until after the war is over, and let locals decide what they would like to do. Preservationists became wary to highlight destructive heritage practices in the making and stepped away from the discussion seemingly perceived as “anti-heritage.” As Trinidad Rico and Rim Lababidi counter in their essay on Saudi Arabia, careful consideration of heritage destruction can challenge national claims about heritage stewardship and provide a better contextualized history of the discipline.

Unexpectedly, from the margins of preservation came a group with an entirely different perspective, and seemingly the only ones that could do something. This was the moment of emergence for digital preservation. In preservation as in militarization, the current wars in the Middle East have brought broad legitimacy to digital practices that were until very recently considered experimental: precision laser scanning, drone-assisted digital photogrammetry, social-media-driven real-time GIS mapping, 3D replication, and others. The new centrality of these digital preservation practices is presented as the tip of a long wedge that will widen its influence on the discipline over time. When the press showed drone footage of Palmyra taken by preservationists right after ISIL retreated, it had a chilling similarity to footage of military drone strikes. Yet the imbrications of the new preservation with developments in

the practice of war remain entirely unexamined—even in this issue, despite our best efforts. For now, scholarship on this aspect of preservation practice remains wanting, save for a few exceptional historical essays, such as Aaron Vinegar's examination of Viollet-le-Duc's use of military panoramic cameras for heritage documentation. 2 It is not unimaginable that future preservation textbooks will have sections of warfare technology, revising the tradition of Renaissance architectural treatises to include chapters on war machines. 3

To imagine a future anterior with such preservation textbooks, and what the Renaissance will have looked like then, is really an invitation to broaden our examination of preservation and war beyond the immediacy of current events. While acknowledging the importance of the recent conferences and publications that have dutifully focused on contemporary wars, we also realized that by focusing too narrowly on current events, this recent activity often missed, or didn't leave time to examine, larger historical patterns. So this special issue attempts to take a step back from the immediacy of the present and take a wider view of the relationship between preservation and war. Without losing sight of the present, the authors in this issue look deep into the past, as far back as Sumerian civilization, to explore how the patterns and stakes of this relationship have unfolded over time.

When I first read about the execution of Khaled al-Asaad, I immediately thought of Richard Whiting, the Catholic abbot of Glastonbury Abbey, where King Arthur and Guinevere were buried. When in 1536 Henry VIII dissolved the Catholic Church in England and confiscated all their churches and treasure, Abbot Whiting famously refused to vacate Glastonbury Abbey or to surrender its treasure. The King sent the army and had Whiting hung in front of the Church, then had ropes tied between each of his limbs and four horses. The horses were whipped until Whiting's body was quartered and then the pieces were hung in front of the church. The Church was destroyed and left in ruins as a form of intimidation against other Insurrections. The Church remains a ruin today, and while its associations may have changed, it still stands in memory of that event. The destruction of heritage, as Andrew Herscher has written, often intends not so much to make heritage disappear but to radically transform its image and meaning, recasting it into a new visual form of coercion and intimidation; it is a way of continuing the conduct of war by other means. 4 That is why thinking about and designing the future of Palmyra today, as Aza Akrami does in her essay, is so important and politically charged. Akrami uses digital black-chain technology (used to authenticate financial transactions in the dark web
where arms dealers traffic) to produce her reconstruction of the now destroyed Arch of Palmyra, thus introducing a new idea of authenticity into preservation.

All the essays that follow were born, in one way or another, from current preservation projects in the field, sometimes in the battlefield. They are deeply engaged in the present, but at the same time they all aim to offer historical perspective, a type of detachment from the present that enables us to remain critical of it and of the kind of preservation we are called upon to do in it. They explore the past and the future to compare the present against its alternatives, to postulate other forms of preservation, different relationships to war. Clive van den Berg’s artistic intervention asks us to consider the future preservation of very ordinary vernacular apartment buildings in Iraq, from the roofs of which gay men were pushed to their deaths. The past and the future are sites of experimentation for testing the present. They allow the authors to push the limits of disciplinary knowledge, of who is possible to think and do today.

When presented in historical perspective, the relationship between preservation and war appears in an unexpected light. At least since the Enlightenment, preservation has been a legal limit to war. Military jurists like Immerich de Vattel helped establish the legal notion that governments had a duty to protect heritage during war—including that of their conquered enemies. To kill soldiers was acceptable, but to destroy heritage was considered a threshold beyond which military violence became unjust, even criminal. Military codes of conduct, such as the pioneering 1861 U.S. Lieber Code, became the basis and inspiration for national and international preservation laws such as the Hague Convention, which was recently invoked by the International Criminal Court in its judgment that Ahmad al Faqi al Mahdi committed a crime against humanity by destroying the long-disputed shrines of Timbuktu. The regulation of modern warfare in many ways preceded and shaped modern preservation laws. Preservation law, Leila A. Aminnezhad reminds us, would not have emerged in the West without war. In this sense war is a condition of possibility for Western preservation.

Julien Estebar-Chaparro’s essay on the Spanish Civil War demonstrates that modern preservation practice matured within army units. Preservation activism also developed within World War I army propaganda units. The German army’s razing of Belgian cities like Ypres, and its destruction of the famous Louvain library caused an international uproar. American preservationists like Warren Whilmor raised money to repair European heritage and used the press to demand that President Woodrow Wilson send troops to stop the German de-

struction of Europe’s monuments. In response, Paul Clemens, Conservator of Rhineeland, was put in charge of preserving the heritage of conquered territories in Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine. He devised a program to attach special “art officers” to military units to identify and protect heritage. His programs served as precedents for the Italian Carabinieri’s Command for the Protection of Cultural Property, which author Laurie W. Rush studied in developing her own pioneering heritage training program for U.S. soldiers fighting in the Middle East and Afghanistan. Clemens also published lavish books on heritage meant as propaganda for the German war effort. Tim Winter shows how preservation propaganda, or what is now called preservation communications campaigns, is deployed today in the service of geopolitical ambitions, such as China’s claims on the Silk Road, and as an apotropaic gesture against armed resistance to those ambitions.

The experience of destruction during World War II, which is the focus of Lucia Allais’s essay, shaped preservation thinking and practice during the postwar years of reconstruction, and is still palpable in the 1944 Venice Charter. The now-famous work of the Roberts Commission, better known for the Monuments Men, was a powerful catalyst for the creation of preservation institutions during peacetime, from the National Trust of Historic Preservation in the United States to UNESCO. The aim of these institutions was not so much to abolish war but rather to fight more just wars in the future, to use preservation as a means to correct the moral transgressions of past wars. Given this shared past, the authors in this issue consider the range of acceptable preservation actions and nonactions in the face of today’s wars, when celebratory media spectacles are made of the dynamiting of heritage and the killing of preservationists. Institutionally, intellectually, and legally speaking, preservation developed in tandem with advances in warfare. Military thinking remains second hand within preservation: we organize and practice as would an army, around notions of readiness for battle, defensibility of assets, propaganda campaigns to win hearts and minds, and management of trauma. This issue asks us to consider difficult questions. For instance: to what degree is preservation thinkable outside of militarization, and its prewar–war–postwar continuum? With this question in mind, this issue is organized under three rubrics: prewar, war, and postwar. We are following here the categories of medieval “just war theory,” which concerned “the right to go to war” (ius ad bellum) and the “right conduct in war” (ius in bello). In recent years, just-war theorists have proposed a third category, ius post bellum, concerning justice after war. Each of these sections is punctuated with the transcript of a discussion among the participants of the 2016 Fitch Colloquium, which explored
the same theme as this issue, and at which some, but not all, of the essays that follow were first presented.

This issue brings into focus the many borrowings, debts, and exchanges that exist historically between preservation and war, but by no means to confine the two. The essays remain attentive to the cross-purposes between the practice of preservation and that of war. By bringing the relationship into sharp relief they also help us measure the distance, and find opportunities to advance new agendas for preservation that might be free from violence.

Notes
1. From the World Monuments Fund website: “Earthquakes, Floods, Wars and revolutions. Whether natural or man-made, disasters cannot be predicted or foreseen. But once they occur, WMF is prepared to respond swiftly and decisively to assess damage, undertake emergency conservation, and help develop plans for recovery.” https://www.wmf.org/about/wmf.
2. Participants included: Dr. Laurie Rush, Cultural Resources Manager for the U.S. Army; Jan Strohahn, Jankowski Family Middle East Studies (JFEMS) Brown University; Daniel Berestean Mok, professor of geography and Middle Eastern and Islamic studies, and George R. and Myra T. Cosley Chair in Peace and Conflict Studies, Creighton University; Rachel Qustas, Assistant professor of architecture, GSAPP, Columbia University.

In This Issue
Fitch Colloquium: Preservation and War Panel Discussions
To what degree, we may ask, is preservation thinkable outside of militarization, and its prewar–war–postwar continuum? What is the range of acceptable preservation actions and non-actions in the face of today’s wars, when spectacles are made of dynamiting monuments and killing preservationists? The 2016 Fitch Colloquium brought together some of the world’s leading experts in the spirit of dialogue and common pursuit of answers to these urgent questions. The panel discussions from the 2016 Fitch Colloquium focusing on prewar and postwar are included in this issue.

Conflict Heritage, Preservation Diplomacy, and Future Corridors of Smuggling
Tim Winter
War and the cessation of conflict have long been triggers for preservation diplomacy; the desire for heritage protection, peace, and recovery creates a political environment within which collaborations around preservation burst into existence. This essay takes up the political and diplomatic dimensions of such preservation aid in relation to China’s strategy for integrating the infrastructures and economies of Eurasia via its One Belt One Road initiative. Responding to the heritage destruction and looting of Silk Road sites in Iraq and Syria by the Islamic State, the article looks to One Belt One Road as an emergent political economy upon which new forms of preservation diplomacy and heritage aid can be built. It also raises the specter of vast new markets for illicitly trafficked antiquities by looking at the surge in museums and likely boom in private collections of Silk Road antiquities in China.

Finding Common Ground: Cultural Property Protection in Modern Conflict
Laurie W. Rush
North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) Allies and Partner Nations have discovered the common ground where identification, protection, and respect for cultural property is imperative for the success of military missions. Meaningful efforts to protect monuments, collections, heritage sites, sacred structures, and other forms of cultural property must shift to engage with the sphere of performance destruction as a component of
The Rights of Monuments
David Gissen
The Rights of Monuments was a ten-day workshop led by David Gissen in Columbia University’s Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation. The workshop explored acts and charters from the late eighteenth century to the present that attempt to either grant or negotiate protections to historical monuments. This includes charters and laws that protect monuments from wartime destruction; international agreements that govern the movement of monuments and artifacts across national borders, and other agreements that govern things such as copyright and the reproduction of monuments. Within the workshop students were introduced to “post-humanist” critiques of rights as a way to rethink the rights of monuments from both a critical and contemporary perspective. The ultimate goal of the workshop involved a group articulation of the rights of monuments based on this theoretical reconceptualization of the historical literature. The essay is an edited version of a lecture in which the author presented many of the concepts behind the workshop.

The Spanish Civil War and Cultural Heritage
Julián Esteban-Chapapria
The Spanish Civil War lasted from July 1936 to April 1939, during which a group of rebel militarists and radical right-wing groups rose up against the democratic government of the Republic. The damage to the cities and cultural heritage was great. Soon after the start of the war both sides organized technical structures devoted to preserving the cultural heritage, although the lack of means prevented many important works of preservation and conservation from being carried out. One of the most dramatic episodes of the Spanish Civil War was the bombing by the rebel army of the Prado Museum, which forced the evacuation of its works of art to Valencia, Barcelona, and finally to Switzerland.

An important issue was born among the victors after the war: the need to establish an official history of what had happened. The goal was to legitimate what had been done, hide what was not in their interest, and misrepresent what should not even be ambiguous: the role and performance of the Republic and, in contrast, the actions taken by the nationalist leadership.

Extremism in Contemporary Cultural Heritage Debates about the Muslim World
Trinidad Rico and Rim Lababidi
This article considers the way that heritage preservation perpetuates its own mythologies, affecting public and disciplinary...
debates, with regard to popular representations of "Islamic" practices of heritage management and preservation. We suggest that representations of heritage practices in the broader Muslim world have been largely constructed on very few and regionally select reports that present Muslim communities as destructive stewards of heritage resources, including what is perceived to be their own heritage as well as the heritage of other groups within Muslim-dominant territories. We argue that the act of highlighting destructive heritage practices has therefore imagined and encouraged a preconception toward preservation that is not only monolithic but also overwhelmingly "antiheritage." In this paper, we first provide an overview of the heritage case studies that are selectively mobilized in order to sustain a view of destructive practices, and then suggest a more careful consideration of case studies from Saudi Arabia that challenge this persistent perception and encourage a better contextualization of the heritage stewardship of Muslim nations and communities. Throughout this discussion, we argue that a more inclusive review of heritage practices across the Muslim world is needed to problematize how heritage practices in this region are presented.

Destruction and Preservation as Aspects of Just War
Zainab Bahrani

The concern with monument destruction in warfare is as old as the world's earliest historical texts and monuments. This remarkable historical evidence comes from Iraq and Syria, where history is now in the process of being systematically obliterated. What is the aim of such destruction, and what is the role of preservation in these wars? This essay will address destruction and preservation as aspects of war, and will introduce the Columbia University Mapping Mesopotamia Monuments project.

Meet Me at the Plague Column: Monuments and Conservation Planning
Andrew Shanken

Beginning in the 1960s, planners in Klagenfurt, Austria, began using monuments and memorials to frame the pedestrianization of the historic city center. This strategy of urban reinvention shows the convergence of monuments, tourism, and urban planning within the project of heritage conservation, with monuments being visual, spatial, and symbolic pieces with which cities created these larger effects in the postwar period. Relieved of the burden of commemorative practice, these monuments are free to adorn, mark space, and enable the old city; in effect, to affirm its historicity in a pivotal moment of transformation. This coincided with the creation of

Minimundus, an architectural theme park in Klagenfurt, which, like Klagenfurt's historic core, treats miniature monuments as moveable props in a pedestrian zone. Through moving monuments and Minimundus, Klagenfurt staged a graceful setting for tourism using its historical assets as props. Its indifference to historical precision is, in fact, modernist. Under cover of preservation, heritage, and patrimony, planners assimilated some of the ideas birthed in the more radical context of the rise of the Modern movement in architecture.

Memory Matrix
Azra Akšamija

We live at the time when deliberate targeting of cultural heritage has become an instrument of genocidal and territorial conquests. We also live at a time when new technologies can be used to document the erasure of heritage as it takes place and to restore it much faster than has been possible before. Hardly any other historic site has generated more intense public debate about these two issues than Palmyra. The impetus to defy Palmyra's destruction notwithstanding, the questions of whether, when, and how to restore it remain controversial. These questions provide the conceptual basis for the Memory Matrix project—a public-space intervention referencing Palmyra's Arch of Triumph—that counters the destruction of monuments with the creation of new ephemeral monuments engaging new fabrication technologies and transcultural collaborations. In the context of preservation and war, the Memory Matrix endorses the use of technology to form educational exchanges and foster solidarity with those who have been stripped of their home, culture, history, and identity. Preservation can be also about growing the positive aspects of human interdependence in the face of global problems that are affecting communities across borders, both today and in the future.

Artist Intervention. Men Loving: New Killings
Clive van den Berg

Men are being thrown off rooftops in Syria and Iraq. Accused of being gay by members of ISIS, they are blindfolded and bound and then pitched to the streets below where crowds of men and boys wait with piles of stones.

The killers photograph these murders from the tops of buildings or from the pavement. The photographs are then published by ISIS and form part of a visualized ideology skillfully disseminated through their own publications and released on other news platforms. Clive van den Berg has been working from these images. They are appalling, difficult to look at, as much for the immediacy of the individual tragedies as for
the fact that these men cannot be mourned. Unnamed and
unnamable, they are denied any connection with familial and
social fabrics, leaving the photographs taken by the killers
as the dominant public record of their deaths. Clive van den
Berg discusses his recent sculptural commemorations of these
events.

Panel One: Prewar
From the 2016 Fitch Colloquium:
Preservation and War

Lucia Allais, Assistant Professor of Architecture, Princeton University
Leila A. Amineddoleh, Founding and Managing Partner at
Amineddoleh & Associates
David Gissen, Professor of Architecture, California College of the Arts
Laurie W. Rush, Cultural Resources Manager and Archaeologist,
US Department of Defense
Tim Winter, Research Chair of Cultural Heritage, Deakin University

Friday, September 30, 2016

ERICA AVRAMI: Professor Winter, you spoke about issues of
national narratives and the way heritage can be exploited as a
propagandist tool, and others as well commented on heritage
being a victim of propaganda. Professor Gissen reminded
us that heritage is in fact propaganda itself. We are trying to
identify and protect monuments from trauma, yet they can be
inherent contributors to conflict, tension, and injustices.
Young professionals entering this field are faced with a set
of tools that have defined the conventional core of preserva-
tion: listing, designation, tools bearing the traditional vocabu-
larly of preservation. How can emerging professionals transform
the field to effectively respond to the contemporary challenges
of preservation that are laid bare in these conflict situations?

LEILA A. AMINEDDOLEH: The recent acknowledgment that the
destruction of heritage is linked to the loss of human life is be-
coming stronger through data coming from terrorist organiza-
tions: the destruction of sites is used as a propaganda tool for
the growth of terrorist organizations. Law enforcement officials,
agents, attorneys, and people working in the field recognize
how important it is to stop the destruction, far more than the
UN or its member states.

LUCIA ALLAIS: Heritage is propaganda and relies on the propa-
ganda value of objecthood—of things that can be listed. Why is
our preservation vocabulary articulated in such old-fashioned
language? There’s no need to limit the preservation of heritage
to objects. For example, today’s conversation showed alter-
nate ways of drawing the Silk Road that reflect more accurately
what preservationists do when they engage conversations on
significance rather than decisions on singular things. Architec-
tural practices that evolve past the designation of objects make
The Spanish Civil War and Cultural Heritage

For the majority of the world, the twentieth century cannot be conceived disassociated from war. This short century begins, as noted by British historian Eric Hobsbawm, in 1914 with World War I, and ends in 1991 with the fall of communism. It has had one or more war conflicts opened at once, always with serious international implications.

The years of greatest intensity were those from 1914 to 1918, with two world wars. In between them, from 1936 to 1939, the Spanish Civil War took place, in which a group of rebel militarys backed by the country's most radical right-wing groups rose against the democratic government of the Republic. Despite its strict location within Spain, it was a phenomenon with deep international roots in which we find foreign influences: Russia and Mexico provided assistance to the Spanish Republic, Germany and Italy to the military rebels against it; France and England adopted neutral position, while international Brigades fighters from different countries, including the United States, fought on the Republican side. These issues would make it a clear prelude to World War II, which would break out within a few months after the end of the Spanish Civil War.

But this war was primarily a confrontation between Spaniards, whose ideological and religious convictions radicalized until fellow citizens became irreconcilable enemies. At its base, issues such as religion, education, freedom, material and moral progress, property, and privileges of class were at stake. In this dynamic, global capitalism and communism were not allies in a determined manner against fascism, as they would be shortly after in the rest of Europe.

In this conflict, as in other European wars of the twentieth century, the destruction of the past, or rather the social mechanisms linking the individual's experience with previous generations, was one of the most characteristic phenomena, and the damage to cultural heritage was particularly serious.

The Spanish Civil War was extraordinary, in part, because during the armed conflict measures were taken in the two Spains to protect and restore heritage in danger of destruction. The institutions established at that time and their functioning should be considered extraordinary. Their study should cover diverse aspects such as destruction, dispersion, conservation measures, damage assessment, recovery and restoration of the
affected goods, and, finally, the management of the memory of the events.

After the first days of the military uprising in July 1936, Spain was divided into two: one loyal to the constitutional government of the Republic and one occupied by the military and their supporters. The physical limits dividing both sides would change with the evolution of the conflict until the final victory of the rebels.

In the first area, the Republican one, originated what has been defined as the period of dual power (referring to the situation established between the people and the republican institutions). The reality is that the anarchist and socialist unions became the real masters, with an almost disjointed state apparatus, because the only path the government had left was to support the popular defense initiative with weapons. The occupation of convents and palaces packed with art, along with the burning of churches, as symbols of those who rebelled,

were the immediate reasons behind the creation of the Board of Confiscation and Protection of the Artistic Treasure. The establishment of this board took place thanks to the concern of a group of mostly communist party members organized as the Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals. The board developed an important task in the conservation of cultural property outside the Ministry of Education, which had no means or capacity for action.

The situation normalized in early 1937 when the restoration phase of the State and liquidation of the revolutionary powers in favor of the government was completed. The Ministry of Education then was able to set the structure that would govern the policy of fine arts and heritage conservation until the end of the war, through the creation of the Central Board of Artistic Treasures.

Indeed, 1937 was marked by two cultural events of great public importance: the Spanish participation in the international exhibition "Arts and Techniques of Modern Life," held in Paris, and the celebration of the International Congress of Antifascist Writers, meeting in Valencia. However, the military setbacks suffered by the Republic from the autumn of 1937, and the bitterness of the political struggle within their field, came to set back the work of communists in the ministry when administrative centralization was almost complete and was beginning to reap the fruits of that work.

Madrid was an exceptional case in the territory that remained in the Republican area, both for the importance of the movable and immovable property that was in the city, as well
as for the significance of the capital itself, which attracted the
s iege of the rebel army and air bombardments that led to the
removal of the government to Valencia in November 1936.
The picture that was formed in the long thirty-three months
of war had a particular accent on cultural heritage.

The Board of Confiscation and Protection of the Artistic
Treasure came to Madrid to protect existing artwork in buildings
seized by political and union organizations mobilized in de-
fense of the Republic. Installed in the convent of the Descalzas
Reales, the Board was divided into a number of committees and
working groups dedicated to visit, seize, and transfer assets at
risk, thus establishing a regulation that would last (with slight
modifications) until the end of war.1

The government suspended restorations both ongoing and
scheduled. Regular inspection of works by conservation archi-
tects and other members of the Superior Artistic Treasury Board
could not be performed normally. However, the new conditions
required performing other jobs of even higher intensity. These
included safeguarding measures, photographic archiving,
inventorying personal seized property, dissemination and
awareness activities such as printing brochures, posters, and
signs for monuments, and armed surveillance; the protection
of property endangered by the war, mainly museums, libraries,
and buildings, the construction of tank refuges for storage of
movable goods; and the transfer of the most important collec-
tions, uniquely those in Madrid, and the safeguard, protection,
and transfer of property located on the front lines or affected by
bombings.

In the Prado Museum of Madrid, protection measures were
carried out starting in October 1936. When fear became reality
and the bombing of the museum and the Academy of Fine Arts
began, an affidavit was raised documenting the damages. Thus
began one of the most unique episodes of the Civil War: the
p reation of the most significant works of the main art gallery
in the country. A symbolic and risky transfer was carried out
with the limited means that were available, first to Valencia,
and then to Barcelona, Figueres, and Cartagena, before, fi-
nally, Switzerland. This event, known by the League of Nations,
would serve as the basis of the evacuation of the treasures of
the Louvre Museum toward the south at the beginning of World
War II.

The monuments protection work was carried out by various
agencies: city halls, the Works and Fortifications Command,
and the Reform, Reconstruction, and Sanitation Committee of
Madrid, which operated under the Ministry of Public Works. It
was a joint, collaborative effort that intervened in the protec-
tion of various monuments in Madrid. In Valencia, the capital
at the time of the Republic, adaptation work was carried out in
the Torres de Serranos and the Colegio del Patriarca to hold the
works that were being moved from Madrid.

As explained in 1937 by Josep Renau, managing director of
fine arts to the League of Nations in Paris, two facts were
key to the heritage protection in Spain during the war: the
popular collaboration and the technical measures adopted
for conservation. These two issues that discussed in parallel,
sometimes intermingled with exciting results. It is true, also
in his words, that "some intellectuals couldn't find themselves
in the democratic turmoil posed by the popular reaction against
the military coup," and also added that "almost from one day
to the next, the Republican cultural policy had to change sign.
It no longer conjoined under modules emerged from liberal and
well-meaning brains."
The personal and political commitment of politicians and technicians would end up dragging them,
during the sinking of the Republic, toward exile or assimilation
in the new state, although we cannot know for sure, due to the
lacerations and internal wars that occurred during the war.

In nationalist Spain—that is, the region occupied by mili-
tary rebels—the period of civil war also should be considered
an extraordinary situation, with the creation of the Committee
of Culture and Education.

In a first stage, running from October 1936 to January 1938,
rules with military background and form were established in
relation to the artistic heritage. The most important were those
issued in December 1936 for the creation of the Boards of His-
torical Culture and Artistic Treasure in charge in each province,
and in January 1937 for the organization of the Vanguard Artis-
tic Service, which was responsible for the rescue of buildings
and the collection and custody of works of art in the liberat-
ed areas. These boards, as installed in the rear lines, were ordered
to collect data on heritage damage since the proclamation of the
Republic in 1931.

The Vanguard Artistic Service counted a total of forty-four
agents by June 1937. They were teachers, architects, archivists,
artists, painters, and collectors, all of whom had limited means. The
remaining agents were placed on reserve and waited for the
takedown of Madrid. The following was said of these agents:

Agents were as close to the villages to be conquered as the
military commanders allowed them, and used as compre-
prehensive data as were provided by the Directorate concern-
ing existing works of art, found private collections, etc.

Once the villages were conquered, they collected the
scattered art that had been stored or delivered for safe-
guarding, using receipts for each of them. The architects
organized the rescue of endangered buildings, staying
behind when their services were needed, which led to the
high proportion of architect agents in Toledo. When necessary they sealed notable buildings. The criterion used by the Vanguard Artistic Service was to not undertake any full protection of monuments or to remove from its place elements whose destruction was possible. Therefore they covered only the smaller and most important areas, such as doorways or glass windows. They, however, only acted in places of utmost importance. Regarding the movable heritage, it was decided, in view of the experience of the deposits found in the Republican zone, that only the essentials would be moved, and such a move would be done in order of danger and importance, first to temporary shelters and then to their final storage facilities.

In a second stage, which ran from April 1938 to January 1940, the administration of the new state was organized into a series of ministries. The fine arts fell under the purview of the Ministry of National Education, which had an appellation similar to the one used at the time by countries such as Germany, Italy, Portugal, and France. A number of provisions during this period addressed the protection of heritage, since the confidence in victory, based on the progress of rebel troops, forced them to take measures that had the dual purpose of regulating an extraordinary situation caused by the Civil War and move on the future of the new state. For this reason was created the Service of Defense of the National Artistic Heritage, with the goal of organizing the recovery tasks of artistic heritage and ensuring the state protection of monuments.

The work and dedication during the sixteen months that Pedro Muguruza was in charge of the service were of great intensity, although had poor results. Most of the efforts by those responsible were consumed in the organization of the service and with finding ways to provide resources to the zone commissarists into which the service was divided. They also put great effort into foreign propaganda through visits of foreign guests to counteract Republican propaganda and domestic war routes; small urgent conservation actions on damaged monuments during the fights, including the Cathedral of Sigüenza; and the recovery of heritage dispersed by the war. However, time was still found to prepare a draft bill of the defense of National Artistic Heritage, although it was never approved.

In August 1938 rules were dictated on how zone commissioners should govern. Months later alternate commissioners were added to the service, as were the so-called Agents of Artistic Recovery in the Vanguard Artistic Service and the Assistant Advisors of Artistic Recovery. None of the commissarists were provided with the means necessary to carry out work of any substance, an issue that contrasted with the attention received by the Devastated Regions Service, which was created following the Belgian example after World War I and that perhaps best represented the scope and objectives of the National Movement.

Regarding interventions on monuments, it should be emphasized the almost total absence of financial means to address repairs. Private donations, however, allowed the restoration of the Cathedral of Sigüenza by the architect Leopoldo Torres Balbás, which had been seriously damaged by the nationalists when Republican forces had taken refuge in it. The damage was explained by stating that "it had fallen like one more man." In other cases, agents were able only to avoid imminent ruins by tackling them with the available means. During 1938, works in the Torre del Salvador and the Cathedral of Teruel were addressed, while at the Cathedral of Huesca the apse was repaired, the collapse of which was threatening the cathedral’s important altarpiece. Economic investments were almost always symbolic, but propagandists spun it a different way. For instance, the choice of Teruel as emblematic city, even for monument interventions, was brought to light in a radio talk broadcast by Radio Zaragoza in late 1938.
Another activity to which notable efforts were dedicated was the programming of areas to occupy. In Catalonia, from December 1938, following reports of people with affinity for the new regime in Republican areas, the so-called fifth column, or from those that escaped to areas held by the Nationalists, a detailed plan of occupation was prepared with maps in which the objectives were designed in coordination with the so-called Column of Order and Police. Attention was first placed on heritage museums, archives, and libraries; second, on churches and religious buildings; third, on public buildings; fourth, on collections of a major importance; fifth, on occupied dwellings; sixth, on antique dealers, booksellers, and traders who worked with artistic treasure, and, finally, on storehouses built by the Republic, political parties, and other associations.

The procedure began with the sealing and taking custody of the premises to ensure their safety. It was followed by the transfer of objects to safety and the organization of large storage spaces for the general transfer of recovered artifacts, prior to their inventory and classification for subsequent return. Special concern was required for the large deposits created by the government of the Republic, some of which were the most recent and largest storage spaces.

Between April and November 1939 (that is, from the fall of Madrid to the departure of Muguruza from the Commissariat) the work began of returning to Spain the artistic works that had been removed to Geneva and Paris. The efforts of the new and internationally recognized government were highly effective, especially given the delicate situation in Europe during that time, and found all the support that months earlier the Central Board of Artistic Treasury of the Republic had been denied. To this overseas effort was added the endeavor within Spain for the protection of heritage dispersed throughout the entire Mediterranean corridor, from Girona to Cartagena, and the deposits found in Madrid, which required the planning of a rational system of return that was announced in June 1939.

Aragón was perhaps the region that suffered the most during the civil war. The Aragonese territory saw some of the bloodiest episodes of the three-year conflict, which included the battles of the Ebro and Teruel. After the uprising, the region was divided by the war front that crossed it from north to south, creating an unstable strip that advanced and receded, causing continuous reprisals in towns and cities. This meant that in this region hostilities did not cease throughout the war, to which a harsh repression right after its end would be added.

British historian Anthony Beevor wrote:

Teruel's taking is one of the most horrific episodes of the Spanish Civil War. You have to fight in the streets, filled with rubble, and clear every house with hand grenades and bayonets. Large holes in walls and house floors are opened, through which machine guns are shot and hand grenades are thrown. Stalingrad will not be much worse.³

After the war, Aragon appeared first in the statistics for most damaged regions, followed by Catalonia and Madrid, with a volume of destruction similar to that experienced by German capitals after 1945. These developments partly explain the subsequent relationship of General Franco and the regime of Aragon. If in this region some of the most important and bloody wartime events had developed, the new State made it one of its favorite territories, highlighting it with the appointment of numerous localities adopted by Franco, the first of which being Belchite and afterward Teruel. Indeed, with Belchite a decision was made so that along with the reconstruction of a new town under the guidelines of the General Directorate of Devastated Regions, the ruins of the ancient village destroyed by the battle would be left as a permanent reminder of the war, and at the same time a tribute to the heroes of the pro-Franco side. These
museums, and the lack of premises in Madrid with the proper dimensions and conditions. But beyond technical considerations, as openly admitted, the evacuation was based on political and military reasons by the Republican government. Priority was given to the view that all works of art and objects of value to artistic heritage should be deposited in the site where the government resided. Thus serving as a sign of identity that legitimized the displaced government, on which rested the superior responsibility of safeguarding such objects.

The Central Artistic Treasury Board also agreed to start publishing brochures on its work, opening a front in the propaganda war against the nationalists. Its purpose was to counter the information disseminated abroad by the pro-Franco side but had other important internal purposes, namely to keep the Republican masses up to date with their cultural work and to instill respect for the works of art.

An important issue was born among the victors—that is, the nationalist side—after the war: the need to establish an official history of what had happened in order to legitimize what had been done, hide what was not in their interests, and misrepresent what should not even be ambiguous, which included the destruction, spoliation, and dispersal of assets, the role and performance of the Republic in relation to heritage, and in contrast, the actions taken by the nationalist leadership. So they devoted themselves to the task both within and from outside the Defense Service of National Artistic Heritage.

The nationalist texts written in this regard tried to establish various theses and antitheses in Republican treatment of heritage from each of the two sides, which indicated that the destruction of heritage was an essential phenomenon of the Republic starting from its proclamation. The losses that took place in 1931, 1934, 1936, and throughout the period of the Civil War were said to demonstrate this tendency. Conversely, the new regime was credited with being concerned with the protection and conservation of heritage from the very beginning of the war.

Nationalists pushed the idea that the only interest the Republic showed on heritage was a material and economic nature. This claim was supposedly supported by pointing out the heritage diaspora and its exit from the national territory, which was said to be done with no intention of protecting but only appropriating heritage, placing it at risk. Furthermore, they argued that the symbolic value and its consideration as a hallmark of defining values were unique to the nationalist camp, which was said to have carried out restorations in different monuments even during the war, while Republicans were accused to have destroyed or endangered them.
MUSEO DE ARTE Y HISTORIA

JUNIO, JULIO, AGOSTO DE 1920

EXPOSICION

MUSEO DEL PRADO

GINEBRA

La exposición de obras maestras del museo del Prado en Ginebra fue un evento importante en el contexto de la guerra civil española. Fue organizada por la Fundación de Arte y Cultura, con el apoyo de la embajada española en Ginebra. La exposición incluyó obras de arte de los siglos XVI al XIX, destacando a artistas como Velázquez, Goya y Picasso.

La exposición fue un éxito, siendo visitada por miles de personas. Además de ser un evento cultural importante, también fue visto como una forma de presionar a las potencias internacionales para intervenir en la guerra civil española, apoyando al gobierno republicano.

La exposición fue inaugurada el 1 de junio de 1920 y finalizó el 31 de agosto de 1920. Durante este período, la exposición recibió el apoyo de la prensa y la opinión pública, tanto en España como en Ginebra.

La exposición fue una oportunidad para que la comunidad española en Ginebra mostrara su solidaridad con el gobierno republicano y su apoyo a su causa. La exposición fue vista como un paso hacia la creación de una alianza internacional que apoyara la causa republicana en España.
Spain, the postwar, or the Franco regime, would last until the death of the dictator in 1975 and, to some extent, the problems caused by the historical memory of the conflict persist today.

Biography
Julian Esteban Chapaola was manager of the Historical Archives of the Architecture Institute of Valencia Community until 1991, when he undertook management of the building heritage of the Valencian Government. From 1992 to 2001 he managed the Architecture Service. He is associate professor in the architecture projects of the Technological Polytechnic University of Valencia. As an architect he has overseen numerous restorations and has also designed new buildings.

Notes
This study was conducted under the project of the National Plan for R&D "Built, Phip, and Interventions on Cultural Heritage" (2001-2007), entrusted by the Ministry of Culture and Competitiveness of the Government of Spain.
5 Ibid., 2.
7 José Ignacio Casar Pinam and Julian Esteban Chapaola, eds, Bajo el signo de la victoria: La conservación del patrimonio durante el primer franquismo (1936-1950) (Valencia: Penitudal, 2008).