"Church Burning": Desecrating and Recreating Sacred Space in Twentieth-Century Spain*

Introduction: How do churches mean?

Iconoclastic attacks on ecclesiastical buildings often took a particular form. In Spain, churches were burnt. Arson—or, as it is invariably put, "church-burning"—became the defining act of Spanish anticlericalism. Though familiar from the European Reformation, and not unknown in revolutionary Mexico or civil war Russia, anticlerical arson was so frequent in Spain that it became proverbial.[1] One English traveler in the 1940s even claimed it as "the second national sport". A disturbed night listening to the church clock in Figueras led her, she said, to now "understand the Spanish passion for church-burning".[2] Less facetiously, petitions for repair to the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas [DGRD] after the Civil War of 1936-9 invariably describe damage to church buildings with stock phrases such as "burnt", "completely burnt", or "destroyed".[3]

In the twentieth century, the connection between anticlericalism and fire was established by the Barcelona Tragic Week (1909): between July 26 and August 1, there were 49 arson attacks in the city, affecting at least 30 convents and 21 churches.[4] In contrast, law courts, the houses of the rich, and financial institutions were left alone, even though these were also easy targets, and, in Marxian terms, unproductive. The incendiarism of the Tragic Week centred on ecclesiastical property rather than exploitative capitalism, and on private rather than public space. The pattern was repeated in May 1931, spring 1936 and

during the Civil War, when anticlerical arson broke out on an unprecedented scale during the "hot summer" of 1936.

This article will look not only at the fact of anticlerical arson but also at its form, asking why the same pattern of "church-burning" recurred during every outbreak of anticlerical violence in twentieth-century Spain. Why did these persist from the Tragic Week to the Civil War, when anticlerical violence turned murderous, incorporating massacre as well as arson? What do they tell us about notions of the sacred? Church buildings contain and, in some senses, capture the sacred, which is—in Christianity as in other religions—both ineffable and embedded in space and time. Church-burning targeted the interface between sacred and secular space, the building and the outside. The walls created a defined area, separated from, and uncontaminated by, the outside world. As such demarcation is intrinsic to the notion of sanctity—shown in acts of consecration and the ritual gestures commonly made on entering and leaving church—arson acted as a confrontation between those who frequented churches and those who saw them from outside.[5]

"Sacred space" is both an actual location and a set of imagined associations that takes specific forms at particular moments.[6] From the mid-nineteenth century, ecclesiastical buildings were "reimagined as active messengers" in the urban cityscape.[7] As churches, religious houses, convent schools, orphanages, reformatories, hospitals, and dispensaries sprang up in Europe's rapidly expanding cities, the resacralization of the townscape reasserted the notion of sacred space as part of the built environment. These buildings were public statements, conveying messages to the world around them as well as to those who visited them. Unsurprisingly, then, struggles over public

space were a defining feature of the turn-of-the-century "culture wars", which pitted secularists against confessional interests and provide the most common historiographical framing for European anticlericalism.[8]

The liberal ambition for a neutral public sphere led to numerous confrontations, both legislative and demonstrative, across Europe. This focus on public space is usually understood in terms of architectural style, hence the attention paid to symbols and monuments, especially crosses.[9] But Catholics were, quite literally, looking "to reincorporate people within the architecture and the ethos of the Church".[10] Secularists, of whatever stamp, looked to do the reverse. The logic of the culture wars suggests that the assailants should have focused on the outside of the building. This was, after all, what sacralized public space and offended secularists. But architects distinguish between "layers" of built components: site, structure and "skin"—which is the outward appearance engaged with by the public—and services, space plan, and "stuff"—that is what the building contains. [11] And all the evidence we have suggests another pattern entirely, one focused far more on the building's contents or "stuff" than on its "skin".

There are various ways in which people can attack a building; it may be occupied, looted, vandalized, burnt, demolished, left in ruins, or forcibly repurposed. In every case, its boundaries must be violated and its internal space penetrated and reordered, often violently. By 1909, Barcelona had replaced Paris as Europe's most revolutionary city; those dedicated to the violent recreation of society believed "incendiarism was the way to a revolution".[12] Similarly, during summer 1936, when civil war created the space for a genuine revolutionary moment, a new social order meant destroying the symbols of the

old. Anticlerical violence was a constituent part of revolutionary praxis, not least as participating in transgressive actions cemented bonds between disparate groups of activists.[13] Carnivalesque performances and burlesques of religious rite acted as a clear signal of disrespect or contempt.[14] At their most dramatic, such transgressions broke long-established taboos, violating sacred space by desecrating tombs and exhuming corpses, particularly from enclosed convents.[15] Infamously, during the Tragic Week, one man danced down the street with the body of a dead nun.

However, widespread anticlerical violence also broke out in May 1931, under a fledgling constitutional Republic and political conditions of legislative reform. Social revolution was only a remote prospect in 1931 and so cannot provide an overarching explanation for anticlerical violence even if it was a clear frame of reference and, in their own eyes, legitimation for the assailants.[16] The unrest of May 1931 underlines the political nature of anticlerical violence, which was always triggered by something else, whether a general strike, as in 1909, monarchist provocation, as in May 1931, or the revolutionary disorder of summer 1936.[17] There was a clear association between anticlerical violence, popular protest, and the political left. Indeed, several scholars see anticlericalism as "class war by proxy", a phrase that sums up a long-standing tendency to look for socio-economic explanations for anticlerical violence.[18] Following the social history tradition of E. P. Thompson, such an approach emphasizes the rationality and lived experience of those who made up the anticlerical crowd.[19] Yet, personal experiences vary greatly, and only rarely are they devoid of ideological content.

There are thus two parts to the critique set out in this article. The first is that, in the rapidly expanding industrial suburbs, urban pastoral structures were grossly inadequate, with huge parishes, few priests, and minimal levels of religious practice.[20] Lived experience of religion, at least in the sense of daily interaction with the institutional church, is hard to gauge but cannot have been common. Condemnations of those who demanded prayers to alleviate poverty or who took money from the poor were familiar, often justified and sometimes sharp.[21] But the societal experience is impossible to quantify and the variety of individual actions, which may not have been uniformly negative, hard to evaluate. Working-class attitudes to the Church, with its deep institutional privileges and heavy cultural weight, were shaped at least as much by politics and culture as by personal interactions with priests and religious.

According to Thompson, '"the poor had their own sources of information […] They often knew the facts better than the gentry".[22] The first part of this statement is undoubtedly true, but it does not mean that the information gleaned was always reliable. Only rarely have scholars probed the nature of the knowledge that informed the rational calculations of the rioters, in part because of the assumption that these were rooted in their own personal experiences. Yet rumor, gossip, and innuendo were vital in constructing "common knowledge", not least in the febrile conditions of urban riot.[23] This is particularly pertinent in the case of anticlerical violence, which was directly shaped by a well-established and popular anticlerical discourse in which urban myth and fantasy played a large part. It is not at all clear that lived experience can easily be distinguished from this wider discourse. The anticlerical press customarily mixed the two

categories, mingling fiction and stereotype with reportage in endlessly recycled "news" stories.[24]

Herein lies the second part of this critique: human beings do not always behave as rational beings. Cultural change has no neat chronology; there are numerous disjunctures between belief and practice as, for example, in the persistence of "magical thinking" under revolutionary regimes.[25] Bolshevik leaders were well aware "that 'superstition' might prove tenacious even when anticlerical feeling was high".[26] It is this ambiguity that forms the starting point for the current article, and that is revealed if we move the focus away from the motivations of the assailants to their actions, particularly their interaction with the object of attack, that is the buildings themselves. These "material assemblages" were made up of brick, stone, clay, glass, and wood. They were subject to decay and recreation, placed within specific streets and squares, which were themselves subject to change.[27] This article will argue that these church buildings were neither perceived nor understood in a purely symbolic sense. They were not attacked simply because they represented something: the patterns of engagement shown by the process of assault are far too complex. The emotional and aesthetic responses of believers, non-believers, and the indifferent varied, but all were provoked by the architectural artefact.

1. "Burning" churches

Church buildings are fundamental not only to the practice of Christianity but also to its very definition. They allow us to examine sacred space in a material sense.[28] Like all buildings, they are complex structures, which cannot be reduced to their outward appearance. Buildings do not appear by accident or

by the sole intention or volition of those who build them. Site, structure and

skin, "all are shaped by the community at large" as real estate is bought and sold,

planning permission granted, and the edifice incorporated into an existing

cityscape. Here we see how, in Brand's words, any building is "an interface"

between those who frequent or inhabit it and those who only see it from outside.

There is a need for a shift of analysis from "what buildings are towards what they

do", including how they "behave" across time.[29]

As Europe's cities expanded, ecclesiastical buildings were constructed or

remodelled as "a medium for spiritual communication"; they conveyed specific

theological ideas as well as engaging the senses though the use of color, light,

texture, pattern, and image, and, particularly during liturgical celebrations, smell

and sound. Indeed, the wonder with which contemporaries responded to natural

and artistic beauty has recently led the architectural historian William Whyte to

add a complementary notion of "re-enchantment" to the familiar Weberian

notion of the "disenchantment" of the modern world.[30]

Anticlericalism thus had to engage directly with new buildings that acted

as mission statements, not least in their use of an ecclesiastical idiom for what

were actually often secular buildings, albeit with chapels attached. In Spain as

elsewhere, the preferred architectural style was neo-Gothic, though other

historic architectural styles, including the neo-Byzantine of Montmartre, were

quite common; indeed, in a deliberate strategy of archaism, the interiors often

combined elements of several of them. Historical aesthetics were suitable for

churches in part because they appeared old and therefore hallowed.[31] The

eclecticism of this obviously ecclesiastical style served a symbolic function,

acting as "a simile for Christianity, embracing time and space".[32] Churches and

church buildings were an integral part of the modern cityscape yet, symbolically and aesthetically, they stood outside it, challenging linear temporalities and secular ideas of progress.

This was, in itself, provocative. It was not just church architecture that changed in the nineteenth century; ecclesiology changed too. The pontificate of Pius IX, the "prisoner in the Vatican", gave church buildings a particular meaning for ultramontane Catholicism. The association between parish churches and those in Rome was continued liturgically in the celebration of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul and that of the dedication of the Lateran Basilica. To the Vatican, and to many of the faithful, churches were not simply places of worship. They symbolized the primacy of the papacy and were vehicles for the "Romanization" of Catholicism, particularly under Pius IX.

Church buildings thus combined liturgical, theological and emotional functions and were often completed over decades. Internal church space was at least as important as the exterior form, particularly in an age when Catholic teaching focused on interiority and the sacraments. Consecrated hosts—the Blessed Sacrament—were kept in dedicated ritual receptacles, usually in separate chapels. There was thus an inner sanctum even within the sacred space of the church.[33] The Eucharistic practice of "watching" the tabernacle grew steadily from 1851, when Pius IX introduced the notion of "perpetual adoration" and was greatly boosted by the building of Montmartre. In Spain, the practice of keeping watch over the Eucharist through the night spread with two sodalities, Adoración Nocturna, founded for men in 1877 and the Marías de los Sagrarios, established for women by the bishop of Málaga in 1910.[34] Several of the most widespread modern devotions originated in visions that took place inside

churches or chapels, notably the Miraculous Medal and the Sacred Heart. Bernardo de Hoyos's visions of the Heart of Jesus—which promised to "reign in Spain"—took place inside the Jesuit church of St Ambrose in Valladolid, refounded as a "national sanctuary" in 1933.[35]

In this historical context, church buildings conveyed political as well as theological messages. This was confirmed by the Barcelona Tragic Week, which established anticlerical incendiarism as an urban phenomenon, and arson as the anticlerical weapon of choice. The Tragic Week set a pattern for anticlerical violence that was repeated in every later incident of church-burning, suggesting that 1909 "had an important place in the historical memory of the working masses".[36]

There was, in effect, a specific plan of action, recorded in the compendium of first-hand accounts published by the journalist Augusto Riera y Soli. No friend to the Church—he translated Diderot and Tolstoy and was associated with communism—Riera's chronicle demonstrated that the first point of attack was the doors. These were large and heavy; entry was gained either with hatchets and battering rams or by burning them down. Once inside, as at Santa Matrona new church, "they then began the fire stacking chairs, benches and as many wooden [objects] as they found into a large bonfire". The assailants did not stop once they had penetrated the interior spaces; indeed, it was their subsequent actions that constituted the actual "burning". Building bonfires inside the church transformed the high, vaulted space into "a vast oven that consumes everything inside it". Where the fire took, as at the Marcús chapel, "within a quarter of an hour everything combustible was burning. The walls withstood the fire but everything else went up in flames".[37]

Riera commented on how the crowd moved from church to church "to admire afresh the fire's work, its invincible potential".[38] This—the nature of fire—is the starting point for much of the scholarship on anticlerical violence, particularly that influenced by cultural anthropology.[39] The fact of arson is invariably treated in a highly symbolic manner, as "the most common means of purification. […] Fire has the capacity to destroy something utterly, to reduce it to ashes and dust which blow away on the wind".[40] However, while flames undoubtedly have this capacity, it is not always realized. To put it bluntly, fires often go out; during the Tragic Week, particularly during the early stages of an assault, they might have to be set several times. This made it hard to assess the damage. On August 6 the diocese reported that twelve churches and thirty convents or religious institutions had been destroyed; three days later, the latter number had risen to forty. As Connelly Ullman points out, the discrepancy demonstrates "the difficulty of determining how many convents were assaulted but not burned and how many fires did little or no damage".[41]

The fundamental point is that in marked contrast to the claim that "[a]rson was…the quickest and cheapest way to destroy a building", these buildings were hard to burn.[42] In an illustration of the obduracy of material space, they are constructed of stone or brick, have enormously high roofs with no intervening storeys, and contain relatively few sources of combustion (no kitchens, hearths or heating systems, for example).[43] The assault on ecclesiastical buildings was thus—and in a very real sense—a confrontation with the physical materiality of the building and its contents. This is "how buildings mean". There is a relationship between the form of anticlerical violence and the material culture of what the assailants were trying to destroy. Buildings are not

simply symbolic sites. They define space in a physical way and so are constrained in both purpose and meaning not only by their function but also by the logic of their construction.[44]

This is shown quite clearly in the photographic record, which demonstrates that what had burnt, other than the furnishings, was the roof. At the Marcús chapel, for example, the massive stone walls and blackened belfry loomed over the scene long after the flames had gone out.

Figure 1: Angel Toldrà Viazo (ATV), Capilla de Marcús, "Sucesos de Barcelona"

When the fires took, the fact that they were lit from within had the effect of hollowing out the building from inside. Wooden roofs, and the cupolas they supported, blazed and fell but the outside walls—that point of intersection between those who frequented the building and those who did not—invariably remained.[45]

This raises the question of what the target of the assault actually was. If it was the church—that is, the fabric of the building—then it is hard to see the 1909 church-burning as a success.[46] But the act of iconoclasm lay rather in forced entry and the penetration of the interior ecclesiastical space. Eye-witness accounts leave us in no doubt that apart from entry points—particularly doors, though windows were also stoned—the assailants did not so much burn churches as make bonfires of their contents. The point of the "church-burning" was to access the interior, sacred space of the church, where benches, furniture, images, altarpieces, and any other combustible materials were piled up and set

alight.[47] It is very hard to get any sense of the space plan—that is the footprint

or site—of the buildings from the evidence we have. We do not know how the

assailants moved through the building, or if they distinguished between different

areas of the property. But in convents, residences, and boarding schools, the

pattern was repeated in other parts of the building, with vernacular objects such

as furniture, beds, books, papers from archives, and even foodstuffs providing

the fuel for the fires.

The fact that these ordinary, everyday objects were inside the building,

made them into objects of attack. When the flames died down, virtually all of this

"stuff" had been consumed. In many ways, the cultural artefact of the Tragic

Week was not the burning building but the bonfire. As one observer put it: "seen

from the heights, Barcelona did not look like a burning city […] One noted that all

the bonfires shining in the darkness were perfectly contained", an effect that was

immortalized in the most famous photograph of the destruction, which shows

columns of smoke rising up from various points across the city. The impression

was, he said, "similar to those bonfires that shine from the darkness of the

mountainside on St John's Eve and Petertide".[48]

This link with festive traditions may provide one clue as to the

persistence of anticlerical arson, which also punctuated the history of the Second

Republic. But church-burning was not a rural phenomenon; the incendiarism

began in urban space and spread out to the pueblos, as in May 1931, under a

month after the declaration of the Second Republic. Eleven ecclesiastical

buildings were burnt in Madrid after a monarchist provocation on May 10;

serious disturbances then broke in Andalusia and the Levante between May 10

and 13, as convents, monasteries, and Jesuit residences were torched or

stoned.[49]   Alongside assaults on parish churches—more common in the

pueblos—schools, right-wing newspapers, and episcopal residences all came

under attack in the greatest explosion of anticlerical violence since the Tragic

Week. Again, the target was property, not people; in marked contrast to the

murderous violence of the Civil War, buildings were evacuated.

The pattern of attack also remained the same as in 1909. The first aim

was to gain entry. Fires were set against the main doors of the bishop's palace in

Zaragoza, though here the situation was calmed before they took; petrol and

petards were used against church doors in Granada.[50] At the Jesuit technical

school in Madrid, a group of young men forced the door with iron tools, and once

inside, began "heaping together as many objects, of whatever kind, they found,

adding devotional objects with no respect for anything". A car arrived with

benzine, which was used to soak the pile, "lighting a huge bonfire".[51] As during

the Tragic Week, fires were set with petrol; sacred images, vestments and

confessionals were burnt alongside non-sacred, mundane objects.[52] Now,

though, the bonfires were also seen outside the churches, in public space. In

Granada, confessionals, pews and other wooden objects from the Jesuit church

were piled up and burnt in the street, after crowds had forced the door and

danced in carrying the flag from the Casa del Pueblo.[53] The penetration of sacred

space merited its own performance.

In Málaga, the Jesuit church, a neo-Gothic building completed in 1920,

was the first to be torched, but barely a church building was left untouched by

flames and the bishop's palace was destroyed. When the fires took, the damage

was extensive. No other city experienced violence on this scale, in which

Málaga's recent experience of labor conflicts was probably a factor, reinforcing

the point that anticlerical violence always had another social or political trigger.

The artistic losses were great—sixteen of Pedro de Mena's sculptures were

destroyed, including his "incomparable" Soledad—but the emotional effect on

believers may have been greater. When the bishop wrote of the losses suffered

when the episcopal palace burned, he stopped his account, saying he lacked the

strength to go on.[54]

In May 1931, just as in July 1909 and July 1936, the arsonists' focus was

on the "stuff" inside the building. Though some, largely clerical, commentators,

argue that the 1931 "quema de conventos" marked the start of a coordinated,

state-sanctioned religious persecution, this rests essentially on the government's

failure to deploy the Civil Guard. But, like the incidence of arson itself, response

varied according to local circumstance. Attacks on church properties took place

in every year of the Republic. The great variation in the number of incidents

recorded each year makes it hard to suggest any consistent pattern, and certainly

militates against the notion that this was a systematic or coordinated campaign.

But, taken together with conflicts around cemeteries, church bells, and the

ownership of ecclesiastical buildings, these assaults continued the culture wars

into the twentieth century.[55]

The 1931 Constitution and subsequent Republican legislation set out a

secularizing program that, before the election of the Popular Front in February

1936, was largely frustrated by the confessional right. Some scholars argue that

this program was then realized "from below" and by non-legislative means

during the Civil War.[56] Yet, the context of secularization—which underpins the

culture wars framing—makes the assailants' preoccupation with church

interiors yet more problematic. Liberal constitutionalism attempted to confine

religion to the private sphere. Believers were not only entitled to worship in the privacy of their churches, but their right to do so was also enshrined in law. Though property rights were a contested field, private property was also legally protected.

 In certain specific cases—notably artistic heritage—the rights of ownership were curtailed and/or made subject to the higher authority of the state.[57] This was an attempt both to define and to protect national heritage, particularly that belonging to the Church. It dovetailed with the Republic's wider secularization project but was to safeguard historic buildings, not encourage their destruction. The simultaneous outbreak of civil war and revolution in Barcelona in July 1936 saw church burning break out on a scale unseen since 1909, to the horror of the city's many art experts. The architect and art historian Josep Gudiol saw from outside Torrelles de Llobregat "an innumerable series of black clouds of smoke", including the local parish church where, in classic style, "armed men" had set light to "the benches piled up in the center of the church". He returned to Barcelona on July 22—taking seven hours to travel under twenty kilometers—and went straight to the Gothic church of Santa María del Mar to see "through its splintered doors, the blackened and still warm mass of its vaulting and columns damaged by the fire. Outside lots of burnt papers, twisted ironwork, broken glass and shards of gilded retables filled [the] streets and pavements. It seemed to me an unreal nightmare to see what I believed to be a gem in the hearts and minds of all destroyed in a moment".[58]

277 diocesan priests from Barcelona diocese were killed there during the Civil War, 197 of them between July 19 and 31. In just one incident, on Monday July, 20 a crowd stormed the Carmelite monastery—which had been held by

rebel Civil Guardsmen—burning the church and massacring four of the monks.[59]

In total, 425 members of the diocese's religious communities were killed, as were

40 priests and 112 religious from other dioceses who travelled to Barcelona in

search of refuge or escape.[60] The contrast with the Tragic Week—when three

priests lost their lives—was sharp. The anticlerical violence of the Civil War

changed in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Yet, as events in Barcelona in

July 1936 clearly demonstrated, iconoclasm continued alongside the killings, and

in its time-honored form. Twenty-four of the city's churches were "totally

destroyed", though rarely just by fire. Rather, and in a pattern seen also in the

many "very damaged" churches, the destruction began with arson, with fires

ripping through the interiors and furnishings. Further damage was incurred

through looting, enemy bombardment, the re-use of building materials, and the

effect of the weather. Those churches that were completely destroyed invariably

had a further stage of demolition, with picks and dynamite, usually on municipal

instruction. But far, far more were "burnt" and then left damaged, but more or

less intact.[61]

The question why this pattern persists therefore remains. It is true that

church buildings were conspicuous and usually undefended, but visibility is not a

sufficient explanation, and does not account for the opprobrium directed

towards religion. There is no doubt that the Church was often resented and

disliked by urban workers and liberal intellectuals alike not least because

religious congregations, especially female ones, were easily the largest provider

of urban welfare services in early twentieth-century Spain.[62] This was, in itself,

one of the main drivers of new ecclesiastical buildings: the proximity of religious

congregations and the urban poor—and the lack of comprehension between

them—was then given architectural expression by the new Gothic Revival churches. Resentment towards Catholic charity was voiced, often bitterly, by some who practiced it as well as those who received it.[63] But resentment is not enough to explain the persistence or scale of these attacks, while the scale of the pastoral task in poor urban areas must at least problematize any notion of everyday interaction between the Church and the urban poor. Barcelona and Madrid, along with Vienna, had the highest average parochial populations in Europe and the problem of vast suburban industrial parishes was acute.[64]

The answer to this conundrum lies not in the ordinary lives of the protagonists but well beyond them, in the imaginative power of anticlericalism, and in the realm of discourse rather than experience. Lived experience is framed by culture and politics: people's knowledge of the Church depended on what they knew and believed as well as what they saw and experienced first-hand.

2. "Things hidden"

By the early twentieth century, anticlericalism was well established as a polemical language. This had verbal and textual forms as well as physical and performative ones, responding to, and mirroring, what was seen as clericalism. Print was the medium through which these culture wars were conducted. Early twentieth-century Catholicism was as much constructed by cheap print as was its anticlerical antagonist.[65] Devotional literature took numerous ephemeral forms: prayer cards, pamphlets, broadsides and other single sheets [*hojas*], religious bulletins, parish newsletters etc. Pious fiction was ubiquitous, both novels and the short stories and serials that appeared in Catholic periodicals. There was also newsprint, with an extensive and highly politicized "good press"

that blurred the lines between devotional and political papers, with commentary on contemporary events—particularly anticlerical outrages—a common feature of religious publications.

On the other side, the Spanish anarchist movement was effectively maintained by and through its press, which was a key site for anti-religious discourse.[66] Individual papers were often highly ephemeral, but the anarchist press itself was resilient, and dovetailed with socialist and Republican papers to maintain a radical and accessible political tradition, of which laicism was a core part.[67]   Print culture was thus constitutive of radical and liberal anticlericalism, both of which spoke of opening minds to the light of reason. Anarchist titles carried "scientific" proofs for the non-existence of Jesus Christ while Sébastien Faure's *12 preuves de l'inexistence de Dieu* (1908) became an instant bestseller in its Spanish translation. Faure's twelfth proof was that "God violates the fundamental principles of equity". A popular slogan was "Ni Dios, Ni Amo" [Neither God Nor Master], reflecting the anarchist belief that religion demeaned humanity by casting it in a master and servant relationship with God. The demand for a world free of hierarchies, encompassed the divine as well as the mundane. Anarchist publishers in both Spain and France did much to disseminate didactic anticlerical works, often as part of a wider pedagogic mission. But this was only part of an anticlerical print culture, which included poetry, plays, caricatures, novels and serial fiction, notably collections of novelettes sold from newspaper kiosks.[68]

Anticlerical fiction focused on the clergy, voicing deep suspicion over unnatural lives and the enclosed spaces of the convent. These widely diffused, popular novels, often translated from the French, converted critiques of the

Jesuits and other religious orders into clichés. Perfidious monks—who were also

likely to be seducers, rapists, or murderers—became stock characters.[69] As

popular fiction, anticlericalism functioned emblematically: "image, symbol and

epithet substituted for the formally established concept". The regular clergy

became a compendium of vices, both reflecting and creating a genre of visceral

"moralist anticlerical populism".[70]

These scandalous tales were the staple content of many anticlerical

publications, including the best known, José Nakens' satirical weekly *El Motín*

(1881-1926).[71] They were not news stories, but could be attached to them,

sometimes on the flimsiest of pretexts, and formed part of a common stock of

anticlerical pieces that could be reprinted again and again. The language used to

describe the clergy was consistently dehumanising—"crows", "repugnant toads",

"tentacles", "parasites"—with clear overtones of conspiracy theory.   In an

obvious parallel with anti-Semitism, metaphors of elimination were common:

graphic and textual references to "disinfection" were particularly widespread.[72]

Anticlerical political rhetoric presented the clergy—particularly the Jesuits—as a

sect, perverse and secretive, plotting behind high convent walls.[73] Though the

power ascribed to the clergy bore little relation to their actual political role, with

the rise of the radical municipal politicians Alejandro Lerroux in Barcelona and

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez in Valencia, such oratory became a staple of political life.

Material targeted at the "friars" depicted enclosed sacred space—the

monastery—in terms of secrecy. These were hiding places, sheltering

conspirators and their accumulated goods. But the dark secrets of the female

convent were interpreted very differently. "Nunnery tales" were a staple of anti-

Catholic erotica, widely available in cheap print editions that sexualized

concealment and spatial confinement and had little if any serious political

content.[74] There was another, more sinister, source of such stories in rumors or

reports of sexual abuse within institutional care, which was often far from

fiction.[75] But the boundaries could be hard to see. El Motín reported regularly

on clerical "cases", which even Nakens recognized as calumnies.[76] During the

1910 Portuguese Revolution, these cases concerned the tunnels and secret

passages that connected Lisbon's religious houses, where pregnant nuns and

rubber dildos were concealed in the women's houses, explosives and

ammunition in the men's. Jesuit bomb-making was reported as fact.[77] Such a

compendium of fiction and reportage, cliché and stereotype made it impossible

to distinguish fact from fiction in the anticlerical imaginary. The discourse was

free-floating, unmoored to specific acts or political programmes. The same

nunnery tales recurred in the anarchist and anticlerical press, cheap fiction, anti-

Catholic polemic, political speeches, and, of course, gossip and rumor. Though

ephemeral, they were highly mobile, and so reflect both the sporadic and

opportunistic nature of anticlerical incendiarism and show how this was

patterned by the pre-existing discourse.[78]

     The consistent form of the violence revealed its intention, which was

revelation, the exposure of an arcanum. Once revealed, this hidden knowledge—

the truth that lay concealed in churches and convent buildings—would

demonstrate the oppressive and corrupt nature of the institution that sustained

it. Hence the attention paid to entrance points—specifically doors—and the

enormous effort that went into penetrating the interior space. This anticlerical

obsession with the arcanum thus not only explains the pattern of the arson but

also confirms its cultural and symbolic meaning. Religious violence—a category

within which anti-religious violence is obviously subsumed—was driven by the desire for revelation.[79] In this case, ecclesiastical buildings were defined by mystery.[80] Sacred space was presented as hidden places designed for concealment; hence the repeated—and fictitious—references to interconnection, usually by secret passages. Anticlerical assault was targeted on gaining access to these concealed spaces and revealing or destroying the arcanum. The attack was thus not so much on the fabric or "skin" of the building as through it.

The language of sects placed the clergy—particularly the Jesuits—outside the moral community of the city, a trope reinforced by images of darkness, obscurity, and the colour black, all of which dissipated at the violent encounter through the "skin" of the church. However, penetrating the interior was not enough, in itself, to reveal the hidden truths of female convents, which were seen, in a specifically gendered way, as places of incarceration.[81] In every episode of widespread incendiarism, convent graveyards were targeted and corpses exhumed. Even within the cloister, some places were more hidden than others. During the Tragic Week, when at least nine contemplative female convents were targeted, mummified corpses were displayed in the street as "evidence" of torture, imprisonment, and sexual misconduct. The repetition of this behaviour in Málaga in 1931, and in many cities during the "hot summer" of 1936, made the persistence and the sexual nature of these narratives apparent, tapping into an undercurrent of anticlerical titillation and the hidden male world of pornography.[82] Anticlerical discourse had not only established the convent as an object of prurient fascination, but it also determined what would be found there.

Figure 2: Crypt at the convent of the Arrepentidas in the series 'Sucesos de Barcelona" (1909) and Figure 3: Marqués Santa Mª del Villar, "Cementerio profanado por los rojos en el convento de Agustinas, Belchite" (1936-9)

Anticlerical assailants were not looking for evidence, but for proof of what they already "knew" to be true. During the Civil War, the same images of convent life recurred again and again in the interactions between religious and militiamen or Republican officials. In Madrid, the superior of the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart was asked by militiamen both if the nuns "give you much to do" and what punishments she had for them.[83] In Almería, the Adoratrices were interrogated fiercely about the location of the underground tunnels that connected the convent to the archbishop's palace.[84] This concern with the subterranean was shown repeatedly during the Civil War. The Hospitallers' sanatorium at Malvarrosa (Valencia) was searched for "arms, money and jewels" on August 12, 1936 when, although the community's valuables had already been confiscated, the "pistoleros" tried to force from the Father Superior a "confession about the cellar", even though no such cellar existed.[85] In Calanda (Teruel), repeated searches of the cellars of the Dominican monastery included the destruction of the water tank, which was thought to be the likeliest hiding place for arms while the account, from the Claretian house in Barbastro, reported how, again convinced of hidden weapons, the assailants speculated: "perhaps they have taken them out of the house, or hidden them in some mysterious well and, of course, as we don't know these labyrinths…".[86]

This preoccupation with concealment, whether of arms or "treasure", does much to explain how the assailants interacted with church buildings. The insistence on "things hidden" was shown in the repeated searches of monastic properties—which ranged from orderly to frantic—and the very fine line there was between "searching" and an invitation to loot. The "search" of the Merced community house in Jaén, which swiftly became a massacre, included the market garden and, ironically, the oil jars and wood shavings kept for bonfires.[87] Similar concerns, and the actions that reflect them, are seen in every incidence of church-burning in twentieth century Spain. Their very persistence indicates both the mobility of anticlerical myth and, paradoxically, its relative stability. The discourse remained largely unchanged, its stories and stereotypes migrating not only across various types of text but also across time, shaped at least as much by popular culture as by political events.

There is a similar point to be made about the aftermath of anticlerical arson. Churches left in ruins were profoundly marked by absence, retaining a sense of the former whole. The assaults exposed hidden interiors; sunlight streamed through the apertures made by collapsed roofs, melted ironwork and shattered windows. The picture thus created was at once both descriptive and metaphorical: "things hidden" were now open to the light; the act of iconoclasm lay in the "breaking open" of the churches. This metaphorical disinfection—the strength of the sun was a fact of life in Spain—was captured, textualized and transmitted by photography, demonstrating the darkness of obscurantism as revealed by the light of reason. After 1909, photographs established the meanings of anticlerical violence in simple but significant ways.[88]

Figure 4: ATV, Church of S Antonio Abad, "Sucesos de Barcelona"

Pictures from the Tragic Week circulated widely via the commercial networks of the modern city—the daily and illustrated press, photographic postcards—creating both a permanent record and an iconic memory of the incendiarism. The moment of iconoclasm was the moment of assault: the multiple attacks were recorded in the columns of smoke and the damage to the buildings captured and preserved by photographers. The best-known is Angel Toldrà Viazo (ATV), who produced picture postcards, specializing in Catalan landscapes. His "sucesos de Barcelona" series demonstrated photography's power as a medium of record, capturing the violence for posterity. But these postcards were also mass-produced, cheap to buy, and designed for circulation. Indeed, the period between 1890 and 1920 was the heyday of "cartomania" and huge numbers of postcards, many of them erotic—and frequently with an anticlerical staging—were in circulation.[89]

The durability of the photographic print allowed this new iconography of incendiarism to be transmitted across time. The photos of Tragic Week anticipated the modern ruins and devastated cityscapes recorded in the war photographs and "ruin-books" of the 1930s and 40s.[90] This is in part due to the clear aesthetic of Toldra's photographs, with their visual depictions of sunlight illuminating "opened" churches, a narrative that quickly became normative, not least because of photography's apparent ability to capture the reality of any given moment. It is no coincidence that the same tropes were repeated in pictures of the incendiarism of the Second Republic and Civil War, narrating it

again as a story of progress, the light of reason illuminating superstition and obscurantism.

The impact of Tragic Week thus lay in the fact of the attack. Although preserved, as effectively as if in aspic, by the photographers, the material damage to church buildings was generally repaired, though retables and other interior fittings were lost.[91] The Tragic Week was an urban insurrection, brutally quashed as a criminal episode of disorder.[92] There were to be no more large-scale church burnings in Spain until 1931, but the events of 1909 became a "mental marker", a moment that, to those who witnessed it, became indelible.[93] The photographic record of the Tragic Week textualized this "iconic memory" and so constructed not simply a narrative but more pertinently an instruction manual. It was no coincidence that, in the 1930s, anticlerical protest again took the form of church-burning.

This persistence not only of anticlerical attack but also of its form and method, shows how it depended on discursive tropes rather than simply a lived reality. It was the myth of interior darkness—the site of the arcanum—that persisted, and regardless of the fact that neo-Gothic churches were not particularly dark. Nor were churches inaccessible. The buildings had clear public functions and, while often imposing, were open to anyone who cared to enter. Even convents were not particularly mysterious. Religious communities were embedded in the urban economy, not least as employers and consumers of goods and services. They had staff, including domestic servants, kept livestock and market gardens, and also managed investments and bank accounts. Convent chapels also often served as parish churches, particularly in the big cities. And,

while all female communities kept the rules of the cloister inside the convent, the great majority worked outside it, as teachers, nurses, or social workers.[94]

Many people apart from the nuns thus passed through the convent gates, though not, of course, into the residence itself. With the exception of schools— which had a strong commercial presence—we know little about the place of religious houses in the urban economy. The established view has them as providers of charity and services that generated income, exploiting the vulnerable and "harming small businessmen".[95] This exploitative position is reflected in narratives that place the church outside the urban community, stressing the passivity of local people, who watched the churches burn, and left the nuns to fend for themselves.[96] But almost no academic work has been done on the wider economic relationships of religious communities, though these must have been extensive.

The point being made here is that people's actions—including their political actions—may be more closely related to discourse than to lived experience, driven by emotion rather than by ideology, and motivated by fiction rather than fact. This is illustrated by the language of sects, which extended far beyond anti-Jesuit oratory. The actions of the anticlerical crowd were triggered by other circumstances, but they were always spontaneous. Even so, both left and right talked of agents provocateurs and shadowy organizers; indeed, the non-existence of these secret groups and conspiratorial networks seemed no impediment to believing in them. This was particularly the case during the 1930s, when the deeply polarizing politics of the Second Republic saw positions hardening on both sides.

To those who suffered it, anticlerical violence was explained by Satanic intent. One devotional magazine described the Tragic Week in the following terms: "what is beyond horrible is the dreadful, incendiary, violent, Satanic attack on the temples and tabernacles of our Divine King Jesus […] They say that the Antichrist is among us and that he, in person, has led such an abominable tragedy!"[97] From Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's description of the anticlerical violence of the First Republic (1873-5) to the depositions made to the DGRD in the 1940s and 50s, the mob was depicted as a ravening horde.[98] But the crowd was not directing events; that role was taken by international forces: liberals, Protestants and Freemasons during the 1870s, "Judaizing" socialists in the early twentieth century, the Jewish-Masonic-Communist conspiracy in the 1930s and 40s.[99] The foundation of the USSR gave a focus to these theories, with fears that "international atheism"—now organized and radiating out from Moscow—was intent on eliminating Christian culture, and directly controlled Spain's Liga Anticlerical.[100] But most of the talk of sects focused on older enemies, specifically Masons and Jews.

Protocols of the Elders of Sion was first published in Spain in 1932, by the Catholic publishing house, Fax.[101] It was reprinted several times before the outbreak of civil war, most notoriously in Father Juan Tusquets' series, Biblioteca Las Sectas.[102] Though the authenticity of the entirely fraudulent text was widely doubted by the 1930s, various reviewers insisted on its essential truth: "evidently, it accords with actual events".[103] Its serialization in the Jesuit youth magazine *Estrella del Mar* carried prefaces on the organization of world revolution, directed through "secret societies" by "Judeo-Masonry". [104] When armed revolt in Asturias in October 1934 led to church burning and the murder

of clerics, the bishop of Málaga—who had not returned to the city after the incendiarism of May 1931—called on women to return to the inner sanctum of the Church by "accompanying" Jesus in "the profaned Tabernacles, of the burnt churches". This "new and horrendous crucifixion" had been brought about by the hatred professed by Masonry and by Marx, the inventor of "Judaic Sovietism".[105] Small wonder that opposition to the Popular Front in February 1936 was explained as Spain "in full combat against Marxism, Judaism, and Masonry".[106]

These various conspiracy theories had grown in strength as the Republic progressed, drawing again on a language of sects and shadowy controlling forces from abroad. As with anticlerical discourse, these stories and stereotypes were transmitted discursively and migrated across various forms of cheaply produced print. But, in marked contrast to anticlerical print culture, which had a spatial focus on the high walls and enclosed spaces of the cloister, Catholic conspiracy theory was entirely unbounded. The many-headed Jewish-Masonic hydra was both everywhere and nowhere, as befitted an international conspiracy of Satanic intent. Hence the different layers of Masonry, laid out in one small provincial Catholic paper, to show how, behind ordinary members lay a secret organization preparing "upheavals, revolutions, sacrileges" and, behind that, the entirely secret "head of the beast". What this was, nobody knew: it could be a man, a people, the Jews, the Protestants, or even a demon.[107]

Such remarks were far-fetched but far from unusual. It is not surprising that Christian writers perceived both divine and diabolical intention in earthly events. The workings of providence were a structuring device in what was perhaps the most significant genre of Catholic print culture, hagiography, where submission to the will of God was essential to the very definition of sainthood.

During and after the Civil War, these were joined by a new sub-genre, the

martyrologies, which recounted the exemplary deaths of those priests and

religious done to death in the anticlerical violence. Often written by survivors,

these texts offer an example of how the idea and image of conspiracy intersected

with memory. Descriptions of church-burning feature routinely in these

accounts, in each case purporting to be specific and evidential. Yet they are, in

fact, entirely generic. For these authors, the simple fact of the arson is evidence

enough, proof in itself of the nature and intent behind the attack. In Barbastro,

for example, the Claretian memoir wrote of how

> The pillage and sacking of churches and religious houses soon became
>
> general [...] Through the streets walked the primitive type of militiaman
>
> of the strangest kind, soberly dressed and heavily armed. Women from
>
> Barcelona's red-light district [...] half-naked or dressed in overalls, with
>
> long knives or thick pistols hanging at the waist [...] And in front of each
>
> church the inevitable bonfire that devoured liturgical objects, insulting
>
> heaven with their tongues of fire [...][108]

Though the references to nudity and the *barrio chino* make this account

exaggerated, even in a martyrology, the stereotypes are entirely typical. The

militiaman is othered, in both his racialized profiling and his appetite for

indiscriminate destruction. There is little, if any, difference, between published

accounts like this one and those collected in archives. One parish priest in

Almería, for example, similarly recounted how "the mob, masters of the city,

drunk on perverse instinct [...] attacked the main door of the parish church with

dynamite [...] and forced their way in, soaking everything in petrol and setting it

alight". However, as the same account later made clear, it was actually a small

group that torched the church—7 or 8 people, including a woman—who were apparently responsible for burning all of the city's churches.[109]

There are always women in these accounts, usually heavily armed and in overalls. Given the actual number of militiawomen, and what we know about their role, these images—like those of sunlit church interiors—function as metaphor rather than as simple description. These women have been denatured; betraying any true female feeling, devoid of the modesty, kindness, and sympathy that supposedly characterized the female sex, these harridans represented the degeneration of the Spanish "race". As the author Concha Espina wrote while effectively under house arrest in Santander:

> The damage done by hatred and envy in the hearts of this class of people
> is very great when women behave like this and live as energumens at the
> mercy of the cruelest passions.[110]

This idea of possession, of people as automata in thrall to some hidden power, returns again and again in these accounts, virtually all of which refer to energumens. The people have become a mob—"populacho", "horda", "turba"— under the influence of shadowy forces and conspiratorial sects. At one level, this is of course a device, a means of separating the Spanish "people" from the Republican "horde". But this itself did much to legitimize the purging of post-Civil War Spain, which had to be cleansed of Republican leadership. It is quite clear that, in the Civil War, the clergy was treated as an alien group, to be purged for the health of society. But the same position—albeit with different protagonists/scapegoats—as constructed on the other side, had equally deep roots and ended in the brutality and mass violence of the Francoist repression.

These metaphors and coded references thus had a political purpose, though they also indicated just how deep rooted these stories had become.

3. Repurposing churches

Generic description, stereotyped accounts, and conspiracy theories thus informed understandings of the church burnings on both sides. The process was symbiotic; each side required an antagonist and the counterpoint between them fueled the conflict, at least discursively. But these texts do not, in themselves, tell us much about the actual buildings and, in particular, what happened to them after the burning. This is a question posed much more easily during the Civil War, when the massive outbreak of anticlerical violence in Republican Spain meant a difference not just in scale but also in kind. In marked contrast to 1909 or 1931, when normal order quickly returned, after July 1936 church buildings in the Republican zone were radically reconsidered as a new social order supported and reinforced the actions of the iconoclasts. Churches could no longer be used for their intended purpose; they were closed for worship, which was, de facto, outlawed. "Establishments" belonging to religious orders and congregations that had aided Franco's military rebellion—including by prayer— were closed by decree on August 11, 1936.

In July 1937, the Spanish bishops' joint letter, *On the War in Spain*, gave preliminary figures of "some 20,000 churches and chapels destroyed or completely sacked".[111] Authored by Cardinal Gomá and signed by the great majority of the episcopate, this polemical document insisted that Franco's war effort was a just, even a holy, war. The exaggerated numbers stemmed in part from the patchy and unreliable reports coming into Gomá, who was, along with

the Vatican, trying to ascertain the extent of the violence. But many of these

reports could not look beyond its effect. The bishop of Girona, for example,

reported that: "In Catalunya no church is left unburned […] history has no other

example of the satanic vandalism of some, and the cowardice of others".[112]

There is, again, an assumption that the incendiarism was systematic and

organized, often from outside. This carried through to the joint letter, which

pointed to "specialized agitators, sent from the Soviet Union".

But, as significant territory had fallen to Franco's troops by summer 1937,

it must already have been clear that these numbers were too high. Both the

purported figures and the accounts reinforce the notion of church-burning in a

metaphorical rather than a descriptive sense. Given the great scale of the assault,

this is perhaps unsurprising, but destruction of the architectural fabric was, in

fact, significantly less. Postwar assessments by the DGRD found 4,850 damaged

ecclesiastical buildings; 1,850 were seriously affected but only 150 destroyed.[113]

As the damage was recorded by diocese, without agreed criteria as to what, for

example, constituted "partial" destruction, there is no reliable catalogue.[114] But

it is still clear that the number of buildings rendered completely unusable by the

incendiarism was relatively low.[115] Far more were expropriated—usually after

bonfires of their altars and furniture—than were destroyed.

After July 1936, there was thus an immediate problem of what to do with

these buildings in Republican Spain, both to take advantage of the sudden

absence of religious cult, and to protect them and their surviving contents from

further damage. The improvised response was to secularize religious buildings,

which were usually seized, often by local revolutionary committees but

sometimes by municipal or regional authorities. Some scholars present this as a

coherent policy. Barrios Rozúa, for example, argues that the anticlerical violence of the Civil War was in effect a "disentailment", while Thomas sees it as a logical extension of the Republic's laicization programme. Both argue for secularization from below, emphasizing how buildings were re-purposed in practical and rational ways.[116]

Such repurposing is, of course, a re-coding of the ecclesiastical building and so is, in itself, an act of iconoclasm, particularly in Richard Clay's sense of a "transformation of sign".[117] Sacred space became secular amenity as ecclesiastical buildings were expropriated. However, some were more adaptable than others, notably the residential institutions that proved to be a valuable resource during the Civil War. The requisition of monastic buildings for military purposes had been common practice in Europe at least since the Napoleonic wars. Together with boarding schools, reformatories, and seminaries, convents posed few practical difficulties in terms of adaptive reuse. The diocese of Barcelona was not unusual in finding not only that monasteries and convents were most likely to be reused but also that the residential quarters suffered relatively little damage compared to their chapels and churches.[118]

Designed as residences, with cells or dormitories, furniture, bedding, sanitation, and fully equipped kitchens, these buildings were easily repurposed, essentially by changing those who lived in them. Invariably, they became barracks or prisons, and were used as such by both sides, often sequentially. When Cuenca fell in 1939, the "Petras" convent in use as a Republican barracks was simply taken over by Franco's troops.[119] In Tarragona, the Carmelite monastery had been adapted as a prison but was still not in use when Cataluña fell in January 1939. The new military authorities immediately returned the

church to the community but refused to hand over the residence, explaining this would be needed as a prison for "at least six months". In fact, it was over four years before the monks got their property back.[120]

The value of these buildings to the New State seems to have been just as great as it was to the Republic. Early in the Civil War, Cardinal Gomá noted that "large ecclesiastical buildings have been occupied for the needs of the War, barracks, hospitals, intendencies etc [...] Even those in Dioceses that have not been invaded have been used for the war effort of the national armies".[121] Indeed, their functional value was such that the buildings did not even have to be intact. In Toledo, the seminary building was used as a barracks, even though a third of it had burned, while the Poor Clares [Clarisas] in Almazora (Castellón) had their convent requisitioned by the "national" army, first as a prison and then as infantry barracks even though, according to the abbess, it had been occupied and "destroyed" by "the revolutionaries".[122] In all such cases, the buildings were sufficiently large to ensure that enough fabric was available to repurpose, despite the original damage.

Depositions to the DGRD show continued use after Franco's victory, not least as prisons and concentration camps. The practical value of these buildings—and the penal nature of the victorious regime—is thus quite clear. In Madrid, the Calasanz school run by the Piarist Fathers became the "Men's Provincial Prison Number 1" in August 1936. Known as the "Porlier", it changed inmates, but not function, with the fall of Madrid and served as a Francoist prison until April 1944, when it was returned to the Piarists and reopened as a school. A second Piarist school and residence suffered the same fate, serving as Madrid's San Antón prison from 1936 to the early 1950s.[123]

During the Civil War, checas also sprang up in churches and convents in large Republican-held cities, notably Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia. These were party or union offices that were also used for extra-legal police and judicial functions, including trials.[124] Barcelona's San Elías was among the most notorious, housed in a building belonging to the Poor Clares, who abandoned it at the onset of war. Commandeered by the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), it became both checa and prison with detainees, in the words of one militiaman, "locked up in the cellars or in dungeons in different parts of the convent".[125] This belief that convents already had "dungeons"—however handy—shows again how deep-rooted the popular image of the convent was. In practical terms, though, the building was large and built "of stone and bricks, there was a large courtyard with a well in the center surrounded by two large galleries". A Dominican monk transferred there in July 1938—which was, he noted, no longer a death sentence—described how the cells around "a two-storey cloister" had been converted into large rooms and showers and toilets installed in the oratorio, which prisoners would have to clean as a punishment.[126]

These large, residential buildings were thus defined by their function and adapted in practical ways by both sides. Monastic residences were too useful to pass up, even though Francoist re-use also caused significant deterioration to the fabric.[127] This was clearly no impediment; if necessary, Republican alterations were maintained even in cases of ecclesiastical buildings used as stabling. The monastery of St John of Jerusalem (Sijena, Huesca), for example, had 600 horses stabled in the building while the Conceptionist convent in Hinojosa del Duque (Córdoba) was used as a cavalry barracks by both Republican and Francoist troops.[128] Using ecclesiastical buildings as stables has hitherto been understood

specifically in symbolic terms. The defilement of sacred space by excrement, animal bedding, and the beasts themselves is seen as emblematic of contempt for church institutions, particularly given common forms of swearing, and the scatological blasphemy of shitting on God. This has, in turn, lent itself to a Bakhtinian analysis of a carnivalesque inversion of normal rules, derided and parodied by material and bodily realities.[129] But this cannot apply to cases where Francoist authorities stabled horses in monasteries, which may be better understood as a stark example of the tension between practical reuse and the concerns of those looking to restore or preserve sacred space.

The adaptive re-use of buildings cannot be understood only in symbolic terms. Residential buildings were straightforward, being used and re-used by both sides. Churches, however, posed a greater challenge. They had some advantages in that they were well positioned, prominent and large. But their function was essentially ceremonial. During the French Revolution, churches could become temples for the new Cult of Reason, just as they had been adapted by different confessions as reformed places of worship during the Reformation. But this was emphatically not an option in revolutionary Republican Spain. The early Soviet Union offered a more useful example of the mass decommissioning of ecclesiastical buildings, some of which became museums of cultural and artistic heritage. There were echoes of this in Civil War Spain, with reminders and injunctions to respect national heritage and "the labor of our companions of yesteryear".[130]

Politically, converting churches to museums made perfect sense, not least as a narrative of progress. Faith and worship were assigned to the past: art and architecture was preserved, but as heritage. The language of urban planning was

used this way too, continuing the work of demolishing old buildings to bring light and air to fetid urban streets. In Santander, the Republican mayor began an ambitious urban reform, using the opportunity to demolish various ecclesiastical buildings.[131] There were similar rationalist projects in Valencia, Oviedo, Mataró, and around Barcelona. In Sant Fost de Campsentelles, the ruined church was pulled down to leave an open space, with the rubble re-used for other building projects; similarly, in El Prat de Llobregat, the parish church was demolished by agreement of the town council. In the city itself, Nostra Senyora de la Bonanova was partly demolished and, with the presbytery, converted into public highway.[132] But, as the despoilers of monasteries in the English Reformation had discovered, demolishing churches was hard work, and cost money even when it released valuable materials.[133]

There could, though, be aesthetic benefits as when the parish church of Sant Pau del Camp, in the old Raval district, was "cleansed by fire of the presbytery that smothered its apse". A slum clearance programme would reveal the "beauty of its proportions […] for the first time for centuries".[134] Layers of history were revealed as the damage exposed the city as palimpsest. Art experts emphasized the gains as well as the losses, as in the case of Solsona cathedral, where the militias were encouraged to strip out later additions to reveal "the great twelfth-century structure" including "notable sculptures".[135]

But, only in a few cases were churches themselves recoded as national heritage, despite the determined efforts of art experts working in the Republican zone.[136] Their efforts were most likely to succeed in the great cities; for example, the urgent repairs to Barcelona Cathedral carried out by architects employed by the Generalitat after bombing raids.[137] Religious objects were widely recoded as

art during the Civil War and, in Madrid and Barcelona at least, were sometimes stored in former churches. But the buildings themselves were rarely repurposed as museums, presumably because of the practical expense of converting, preserving, and reordering them.[138]

In contrast, the reuse of these buildings was often improvised. During summer 1936, much of the very large amount of suddenly available building space was occupied by spontaneous revolutionary committees, who were looking to impose their own presence on this new, turbulent society.[139] In Murcia, the bishop's palace became the Casa del Pueblo while the seminary was taken over by the CNT; in Barcelona, as elsewhere, churches were used as offices for trade unions, proletarian organizations, and the municipal authorities.[140] Militia columns were other protagonists. As Mary Low and Juan Brea—both highly sympathetic observers—noted in Toledo: "It was not unusual to see a big table carted in and placed in front of the high altar and draped with black and scarlet banners, and here the People's Committee sat and issued safe-conducts and passes".[141]

Ecclesiastical buildings became a source of status and political prestige—not least against rival committees and labour organizations—as well as of actual space. But, while residential buildings were adapted for long term use, most of the uses to which churches were put were impromptu, as the Low and Brea quote suggests. It is one thing to use a convent as a prison, quite another to use a chapel. Yet, in Republican Cuenca, churches became prisons as well as barracks as, famously, did Jaén cathedral, while the Franciscan church in Guadalajara was used as a prison before and after the "liberation".[142] Yet, church spaces were unsuitable even as offices or committee rooms, particularly in winter, while the

clear risk of disease limited their use as places of confinement. Most

significantly, the obvious unsuitability of these buildings tended to mean that

such uses were also short-lived.

This unsuitability led to rapid changes in sequential use, which were not

necessarily related to rivalries between ad hoc political bodies. In Córdoba,

those churches that suffered only minor damage "were furthermore generally

profaned, used as public markets, warehouses for grain, meat products, farm

tools, as cinemas, theatres, halls for dances and entertainment, militia barracks,

prisons, casas del pueblo, inns, and other uses of this type".[143] To give a concrete

example, the new church of Santa Madrona in Barcelona was first designated for

educational use by the Consell de l'Escola Nova Unificada, but was handed over

to the Consejo Económico de la Madera Socializada after being deemed more

suitable for industrial use, serving as a garage, motor vehicle workshop, and

warehouse.[144] Though there is, as yet, little research available, this pattern was

so common as to be ubiquitous. To take just two examples from Cuenca: in

Alberca de Záncara the shrine was "used as a garage, theatre, warehouse for

provisions etc"; in Alcantud the parish church became a "forge, carpentry

workshop, butchers, stable" and, finally a "theatre".[145]

The adaptive reuse of churches posed significant problems, not least as

they are, along with theatres and cinemas, among the most difficult buildings to

transform.[146] This reflects a similarity of purpose, in that they are all intended

for performance, whether liturgical or secular. In structural terms, they have a

large, high, central space and few services such as heating or plumbing. Of

course, ecclesiastical architecture is governed by theological and liturgical

principles but, while churches are designed for a very specific use, their ritual

function is essentially theatrical. These cavernous buildings are thus hard to adapt to, for example, residential use, but they may swap function relatively easily. Churches are now commonly used as concert halls while their re-use as theatres or cinemas was among the most common adaptation of church-space during the Civil War.[147]

Figure 5: parish church of Yeles (Toledo) used as a theatre

There is a practicality to re-using a church as a theatre. Adaptation is relatively easy, as it is essentially for the same purpose. The case of Yeles (Figure 5) or of Montoro (Córdoba), where the church was first used as a prison, but then as a theatre and "pornographic cinema" thus has a logic that is entirely related to the structure and fabric of the building.[148] There is a clear correlation between the form of the building and the nature of its adaptation, showing how repurposing churches was constrained by the material presence of the building, its height, volume, construction, and services. Recoding a church as a "pornographic cinema" was transgressive. But reusing a church building for entertainment simply required rearranging the furniture.

Multiple sequential use has been explained as a flexible use of space: "[t]he new secular identities given to churches […] were adapted according to the changing necessities of war and the home front".[149] But this is hard to sustain. It seems clear that the Republican authorities faced considerable difficulties in finding practical uses for decommissioned churches, which, given the nature of the buildings, is unsurprising. Using church buildings as barracks, prisons, or shelters for refugees—all of which were badly needed—was not a

long-term option, given the lack of facilities. Indeed, such usage should probably

be seen more as temporary shelter for groups of people on the move—

particularly soldiers or refugees—than an actual adaptive re-use. It was much

more common for disused churches to be used as stores or warehouses—for

coal, grain, carts, agricultural produce and other, unspecified, goods—as well as

garages, stables, livestock byres, and a surprisingly large number of haylofts.[150]

Figure 6: San Roque (Santander), shrine used as a hayloft and

Figure 7: Church in Almendralejo (Badajoz) re-used as a garage

Agricultural produce posed less risk than munitions: the parish church of

Sant Feliu de Codines suffered an explosion while in use as a powder magazine.

But, in all of these cases—which are extremely numerous—the buildings are

essentially being used as containers, whether to house, goods, livestock, grain, or

motorcars. Significantly, repurposing a church as a theatre, garage or warehouse

often seems to have been the final use of the building, as at El Acebrón (Cuenca)

where the parish church was used first as "lodging for evacuees" and then a

warehouse.[151] The constraints faced by those adapting and reusing churches

during the Civil War were accentuated by a lack of economic resource. The

solution was to reuse the buildings in the simplest way possible, with a minimum

of alteration.

But even this, very basic, repurposing showed how the distinctive use of

space within churches made them hard to reuse efficiently. The photograph

from Almendralejo suggests that "garage" simply meant enclosed parking rather

than a working space with storage, inspection pits, and a floor less likely to

damage tyres. Similarly, the beachside chapel in Suances, used by the villagers to mend fishing nets, is simply an empty church. Our knowledge of its function comes solely from the caption, that is from what we are told. In architectural terms, it is serving as a shelter, somewhere fishermen could work undercover rather than on the beach.

Figure 8: Chapel in Suances (Santander) used to repair fishing nets

This raises the question as to what extent the buildings were actually repurposed. Was a temporary shelter really a "barracks"? Did an empty church with a few sacks of potatoes inside it constitute a warehouse? The photographic evidence indicates that secularizing churches in the Republican zone could simply mean renaming, removing ecclesiastical "stuff" and replacing it with, for example, some cars or sacks of coal.   The repurposing of ecclesiastical buildings was often more symbolic—even nominal—than practical. Even in the case of churches turned into theatres and cinemas it is by no means clear how often they were actually used. We have few indications as to the frequency of theatrical performances, while their use as cinemas presumably depended on the availability of travelling projectors. There is thus a provisional quality to the re-use of space even if the sheer numbers of churches repurposed in this way clearly reflects the material nature of the building.

This provisional and improvised quality to the repurposing meant that the original function and meaning of the building were often still apparent even through the various uses to which it might be put. On occasion, this may have been deliberate, as with the Toledo militias' calculated positioning before the

altar. But, whatever the intent, in almost all cases, the building remained unmistakably a church. Even the modest chapel in San Roque retained its altar niche while the vaulting of the church in Almendralejo was impossible to disguise. We simply do not know what emotional or imaginative effect this had on local communities. Centuries of Christian worship may have meant that the space was seen as special, charmed in a way that was, for example, favorable to animals that might be housed there.[152] Those recoding church buildings as ordinary structures entirely suitable for practical ends may have secularized these spaces by changing their function and stripping out their interior. But they may also not have done. To some Republicans at least, sacred space remained, defined by architecture, as Laurie Lee's recollection of the church in Tarazona de la Mancha, now "bare as a barn", suggests: "The soldiers who made free with these once holy spaces were a little more than normally loud and hearty, whereas the local villagers […] now showed half-timid, half-shocked at what they were doing". In another chapel, "wrecked and gutted", Lee was the only one to put his pack down on the altar: "Even in this bare and mutilated chapel, a holy charm seemed to lie on the ground surrounding the sacred stone. An unseen line ran from wall to wall…".[153]

Conclusion

To date, historical investigations of church-burning in twentieth-century Spain have focused on the protagonists. The anticlerical crowd was not a fixed entity and the notion of an anticlerical identity—which overlay political difference—has recently gained some traction, despite the difficulty of pinning down such a concept with any degree of precision.[154] Such an approach

continues the Thompsonian tradition of viewing crowd actions through the lens

of rationality, while positioning the debate within that of the culture wars and

European struggles over the secularization, or resacralization, of urban space.

This article has taken a different tack, examining not so much what the

assailants might have thought but what they actually did. The focus has moved

from the attackers to the object of attack, that is, the buildings themselves. It is

clear from the sources that the patterns of violence enacted on and within these

material spaces changed little over time. The initial action was always to

penetrate the enclosed space, a pattern that, this article has argued, owed much

to rumor, anticlerical fantasy, and urban myth. The hidden secrets of the

convent would be revealed by the exposure of dark, interior spaces. Once inside,

enormous damage was inflicted by lighting fires, looting, and repeated searches

for hidden weapons or treasure. The focus of the assailants' ire was not the

building itself, or its symbolic presence in public space, but what was inside it.

There is no doubt that arson was the anticlerical weapon of choice in

twentieth-century Spain, but its destructive capacity has been exaggerated,

partly by scholarship that foregrounds cultural and symbolic readings of events.

The influential anthropological work of Manuel Delgado is a case in point, with

its notion of 'sacred anger' that impels the modernising force of anticlericalism,

just as it did that of Protestantism.[155] Fire destroys, removing what is rotten and

corrupt in a profound ritual of renewal. Yet, it is quite clear that incendiary

attacks left most buildings standing. This was most apparent during the Civil

War, when ecclesiastical property was expropriated and secularized, giving rise

to a plethora of uses sometimes seen as laicization from below. Though the

arguments are not the same, ideas of modernisation are also apparent here, in

work that emphasises rational repurposing and practical use in a widespread secularization of sacred space.

Yet, as this article has demonstrated, the repurposing of churches was difficult, despite the ease with which they could be symbolically secularized. The extent of this practice during and after the Civil War provides significant evidence that the active reuse of church buildings had far more to do with recoding—that is, a transformation of sign—that with the rational re-use of space for practical ends. The substantial body of scholarship on anticlerical violence in Spain has so far failed to recognize the resilience of the architectural object that was under attack. Churches were left empty, often damaged, but intact and were re-used in cheap, simple ways. Effectively they were put to any use possible. Attempts to repurpose the buildings were constrained by the nature of the construction, that is by the material reality of the edifice and the space it enclosed. The obduracy of the material space meant, first, that performance spaces and warehouses featured heavily in the list of secular uses and, second, that the buildings remained, very obviously, churches.

The active reuse of church buildings, whether by militia groups or the Republican government, was, of course, constrained by the resources available in time of war. But the level of improvisation, together with the recurring patterns of usage, suggests that the limits imposed by the physical structures were more significant. The end of the war—when Franco's victory underscored the utter defeat of the Republic—saw an immediate restitution of the sacred that was made easier by the fact that nearly all church buildings were still instantly recognisable for what they were. Yet, and perhaps ironically, the improvised use

of sacred space continued, now as a result of church buildings being damaged, otherwise occupied, or inaccessible.

The official rhetoric of Church and state, together with innumerable public liturgies of purification, represented the profane use of consecrated buildings simply as desecration. Republican violence was equated with iconoclasm, though the deterioration of historic buildings used as barracks and garages was also a significant problem.[156] However, despite the promises of restoration, the material damage could not simply be undone. Correspondence to the DGRD as late as the 1950s complains again and again of inadequate church provision, of congregations crowded into too-small churches or makeshift chapels. In Torrefarrera (Lleida) mass was even being said in an entertainment venue ["local de espectáculos"], which is, again, clear evidence that the practical purpose of the building outweighed any symbolic meaning.[157] Local clergy had been fulminating against cinemas and dance halls for decades. But that did not outweigh the fact that these spaces would accommodate acts of liturgy far more comfortably than the sacred space of a tiny wayside shrine.

Well into the post-war period, Spanish Catholics continued to practise the makeshift and improvised uses of sacred space many had developed when worshiping clandestinely in the Republican zone during the Civil War. The underground practice of religious cult developed from the end of 1936, particularly in the large cities, and inevitably involved the sacralization of domestic space. A flat in Madrid—Hermosilla, 12—became well known as a place to hear mass, housing a small community of nuns and sheltering itinerant priests.[158] By the end of the war, numerous masses were said there every Sunday, in contrast to the early months, when the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart

prepared an altar in a bedroom and heard their first mass in months, using a champagne glass as a chalice and a saucer as the ciborium.[159] But the process of recoding was the same. Despite the presence of the consecrated host, these domestic spaces and objects could not become what they were not. A saucer is not a ciborium; a bedroom does not resemble a church. They were put to a different purpose within the confines of what they could offer, sacralized by the intention of the worshippers and the gestural and behavioural codes they employed.

After Franco's victory in April 1939, Catholic worship in private houses was immediately restricted, as was, emphatically, the involvement of laypeople in the liturgy. Sacred space and Christian liturgy were, supposedly, immediately restored with, for example, plans to establish twenty new parishes in Madrid in acknowledgment of the severe shortage of pastoral structures in the industrial suburbs and outlying areas.[160] But it is one thing to decree the foundation of a new parish and quite another to build a church. Eleven new parishes were canonically established in the capital in April 1939 but building work only began on one of these new churches that year and most construction had to wait until the late 1940s or even the 1950s.[161] Outside the capital, the situation was even worse. The improvised use of sacred space persisted as the DGRD began its painstaking work—continually hampered by the lack of resources—of restoring the burnt churches of Spain.

Building—and reusing—churches is complex, lengthy, and often expensive. Correspondence to the DGRD reveals endless complaints, appeals, and requests for favors in a process of restitution that lasted into the 1960s. During this time, numerous parish congregations and religious communities

were accommodated in inadequate or profane spaces, using improvised means

of sacralization to convert these buildings into church spaces. The destruction of

ecclesiastical interiors also meant that, while the buildings could be reordered,

they could not necessarily be restored. The loss of innumerable retables—which

were invariably destroyed—changed the interior layout, with simple

communion tables replacing the Baroque high altars of old.[162] This meant a

simplification of church interiors, which anticipated the aesthetic influence of

ecclesiastical modernist architecture, the liturgical changes of Vatican II, and,

most significantly, the post-1945 emphasis on the social and pastoral role of the

parish.

In stripping out the ornate interiors, an altered sense of the sacred space

of the church—one defined more by the building than by its contents—emerged.

The restoration of the church of S Pedro in Figueres (Girona), for example,

emphasized the elegance of the building, which was "sober and of great

austerity". But the description of the lost interior detailed four sets of relics and

twenty-two named images, not including the titular patrons of the seven side

chapels and nine dedicated altars.[163] The destruction and reconstruction of

ecclesiastical buildings during and after the Civil War thus illustrates both the

obduracy of material space and its potential for renewal.

[1] Julio de la Cueva, "Violent Culture Wars: Religion and Revolution in Mexico, Russia and Spain in the Interwar Period," *Journal of Contemporary History* 53 (2018): 503-32 esp 522 and "El asalto de los cielos: Una perspectiva comparada para la violencia anticlerical española de 1936," *Ayer* 88 (2012): 51–74. For overviews, Emilio La Parra López and Manuel Suárez Cortina (eds), *El anticlericalismo español contemporáneo* (Madrid, 1998) and Manuel Suárez Cortina, *Entre cirios y garrotes: Política y religion en la España contemporánea, 1808-1936* (Santander, 2014).

[2] Rose Macaulay, *Fabled Shore* (London, 1949), 17, 51

[3] These files are held in the Archivo General de la Administración (henceforth AGA), Alcalá de Henares. I am very grateful to Paolo Raimondo for research assistance in this archive.

[4] Joan Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week; a Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875-1912*, (Cambridge MA, 1968); Joaquín Romero Maura, *La Rosa de Fuego: Republicanos y anarquistas: La politica de los obreros barceloneses, 1899-1909, (*Barcelona, 1975), figures given 515-16; 74

[5] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (NY, 1959); Aviad Kleinberg, *Flesh Made Word: Saints" Stories and the Western Imagination* (Cambridge MA, 2008), 1-8

[6] Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "Defining the Holy: the Delineation of Sacred Space" in Hamilton and Spicer (eds), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London, 2016), 1-23; Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, "Introduction" in Coster and Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), 1-16

[7] William Whyte, *Unlocking the Church*: *The Lost Secrets of Victorian Sacred Space* (Oxford: 2017), 58-9, 69, 96, quote at 97; Raymond Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart* (Berkeley and LA, 2000), 177-97, 224-44

[8] Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (eds), *Culture Wars: Secular Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003). On Spain, Julio de la Cueva, *Clericales y anticlericales: el conflicto entre confesionalidad y secularización en Cantabria, 1875-1923* (Santander, 1994) and, with Feliciano Montero (eds), *La secularización conflictiva: España, 1898-1931* (Madrid, 2007); Joseba Louzao Villar, *Soldados de la fe o amantes del progreso: Catolicismo y*

modernidad en Vizcaya, 1890-1923 (Palma de Mallorca, 2011) and "Catholicism versus Laicism: Culture Wars and the Making of Catholic National Identity in Spain, 1898–1931", *European History Quarterly* 43:4 (2013): 657-680.

[9] For example, Els Witte, "The battle for monasteries, cemeteries and schools: Belgium" in Clark and Kaiser (eds), *Culture Wars*, 102-28 barely mentions the actual buildings.

[10] Whyte, *Unlocking the Church*, 123

[11] Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (London 1997), 12-13, 17

[12] Connelly Ullman, *Tragic Week*, 323

[13] Richard Maddox, *El Castillo: The Politics of Tradition in an Andalusian Town* (Urbana, 1993), 145-68; the argument is also familiar from studies of early modern iconoclasm

[14] Manuel Delgado Ruiz, *La ira sagrada: anticlericalismo, iconoclastia y antirritualismo en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona, 1992) and "Anticlericalismo, espacio y poder. La destrucción de los rituales católicos, 1931-1939," *Ayer* 27 (1997): 149-180; Mary Vincent, "'The Keys of the Kingdom': Religious Violence in the Spanish Civil War, July-August 1936" in Chris Ealham and Michael Richards (eds), *The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-9* (Cambridge, 2005), 68-92; for a case study, Lucía Prieto Borrego, "La violencia anticlerical en las comarcas de Marbella y Ronda durante la guerra civil," *Baetica* 25 (2003): 751-72 at 769

[15] Bruce Lincoln, "Revolutionary Exhumations in Spain, July 1936," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27:2 (1985): 241-60; Maria Thomas, *The Faith and the Fury: Popular Anticlerical Violence and Iconoclasm in Spain, 1931-6*, (Brighton, 2013), 125-30

[16] The fullest study of the protagonists is Thomas, *The Faith and the Fury*, 74-99

[17] Stanley Payne, *40 preguntas fundamentales sobre la Guerra Civil* (Madrid, 2006), calculates at least 101 assaults in 1931, 15 in 1932, 70 in 1933, 25 in 1934, 2 in 1935 and 208 before 18 July 1936. A recent study increases this last figure to 870, Manuel Álvarez Tardío and Roberto Villa García, "El impacto de la violencia anticlerical en la primavera de 1936 y la respuesta de las autoridades," *Hispania Sacra* 65 (2013): 683-764 at 697

[18] Maddox, *El Castillo,* 156

[19] Notably, Connelly Ullman, *Tragic Week* and, his critique of Ullman notwithstanding, Romero Maura, *La Rosa de Fuego*; Thomas, *The Faith and the Fury*, has recently revived the position, see esp 20-44, 177

[20] Mary Vincent, 'Spain' in Tom Buchanan and Martin Conway (eds), *Political Catholicism in Modern Europe, 1918-65* (Oxford, 1996), 98-9

[21] A famous example is by the scholarship boy, Arturo Barea, *The Forging of a Rebel* ed. Nigel Townson (London, 2001), 94-110

[22] E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century", *Past and Present* 50 (1971), 76-136 at 115

[23] David Coast and Jo Fox, "Rumour and Politics", *History Compass* 13:5 (2015), 222-34

[24] For examples, see the coverage of the Portuguese Revolution in *El Motín*

[25] S. A. Smith and Alan Knight (eds) "The Religion of Fools?: Superstition Past and Present", 199 Supplement *Past and Present* (2008); S. A. Smith, "Bones of Contention: Bolsheviks and the Struggle against Relics 1918–1930", *Past and Present* 204 (2009): 155-194

[26] Catriona Kelly, *Socialist Churches: Radical Secularization and the Preservation of the Past in Petrograd and Leningrad, 1918-1988*, (DeKalb, 2016), 3

[27] Tim Edensor, "Entangled agencies, material networks and repair in a building assemblage: the mutable stone of St Ann's Church, Manchester", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (2011), 238-52

[28] Leif Jerram, "Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?", *History and Theory* 52 (2013): 400-19

[29] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 73, 212, 213; see also Whyte "How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture," *History and Theory*, 45:2 (2006): 153–177

[30] William Whyte, "Buildings, Landscapes and Regimes of Materiality," *TRHS* (2018): 135-48

[31] Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship*, (Oxford, 2008), 163-7

[32] Günter Bandmann, "Church Art" in Hubert Jedin (ed), *The Church in the Industrial Age* (London, 1981), 295-6; see also Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart*

[33] On differentiation within consecrated space, see Hamilton and Spicer "Delineating the Holy"

[34] For "watching", Mary Vincent, *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930-6* (Oxford, 1996), 84-91; Miguel Angel Hernández Fuentes, "La comunión reparadora: Piedad eucarística y renovación católica en Zamora durante la Restauración," *Studia Zamorensia* 15 (2016): 165-184.

[35] Luis Cano, *"Reinaré en España": La mentalidad católica a la llegada de la Segunda República* (Madrid, 2009), 29-51; Pauline Carminati, "Regards sur l''iconographie mariale au XIXe siècle: la Vierge de la Médaille Miraculeuse" in María Bolaños et al (eds), *Imágenes, devociones y prácticas religiosas: La Europa del sur, 1800-1960* (Valladolid, 2019), 153-74

[36] Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa, *Iconoclastia 1930-1936: La ciudad de Dios frente a la modernidad*, (Granada, 2007), 137; on the Tragic Week as a model, de la Cueva, "El asalto de los cielos", 54.

[37] Augusto Riera, *La Semana Trágica: Relató de la sedición e incendios en Barcelona y Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1909), 103-251 at 39, 116-17; as a similar pattern of arson is recorded in the Reformation, the material flammability of wood must be significant here, Margaret Aston, "Iconoclasm at Rickmansworth, 1522: Troubles of Churchwardens", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40:4 (1989), 524-52

[38] Riera *La Semana Trágica*, 35

[39] Manuel Delgado, *Luces iconoclastas: Anticlericalismo, espacio y ritual en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona, 2001)

[40] Vincent, "'The Keys of the Kingdom'", 77

[41] Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 286

[42] Vincent, "'The Keys of the Kingdom'", 77

[43] Jerram, "Space", 415-18; Thomas F. Gieryn, "What Buildings Do," *Theory and Society* 31 (2002): 35-74

[44] Whyte, "How Do Buildings Mean?"

[45] Fire's different effect on wood and stone is a clear example of the agency of non-human elements, Edensor, "Entangled Agencies". 241-4

[46] In 1909, e.g., from the outside of the Magdalenas, "no signs of fire were visible, but there were [signs of] destruction" Riera, *La Semana Trágica*, 137

[47] Surprisingly, there are no references to the most combustible material commonly found in churches, which was wax.

[48] Riera, *La Semana Trágica*, 43; as this passage makes clear, there is an association with festivals: Timothy Mitchell, *Violence and Piety in Spanish Folklore* (Philadelphia, 1988), 102-6; Xavier Costa, "Las fallas de Valencia: El arte de la consagración del fuego," *Reis* (1998): 275-89. For the photograph

https://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Setmana_Tràgica#/media/File:Semana_Trágica_en_Barcelona.jpg

[49] Barrios Rozúa, *Iconoclastia*, 121; José Ramón Hernández Figueiredo, *Destrucción del patrimonio religioso en la II República, 1931-6* (Madrid, 2009), 62-5; the geography was, however, different. Alicante, Valencia, Murcia, Sevilla, Granada, Cádiz, Jérez, and Orihuela were all affected but protests remained peaceful in Aragón and Cataluña

[50] Mª Pilar Salomón Chéliz, *Anticlericalismo en Aragón: Protesta popular y movilización política, 1900-39* (Zaragoza, 2002), 283; Hernández Figueiro, *Destrucción del patrimonio religioso*, 91

[51] "Relato suscrito por José Mosquera Amores, testigo del incendio", reproduced in Hernández Figueiredo, *Destrucción del patrimonio religioso*, 66

[52] See further, Mary Vincent, "'The Martyrdom of Things': Iconoclasm and its Meanings in the Spanish Civil War", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (2020), 141-63

[53] Barrios Rozúa, *Iconoclastia 1930-6*, 128-30

[54] Juan Escolar García, *Un reportaje histórico: los memorables sucesos desarrollados en Málaga los días 11 y 12 de mayo de 1931* (Málaga, 1931), 9-10; Hernández Figueiro, *Destrucción del patrimonio religioso* 67-83, at 81 and 70.

[55] Todd Weir, "A European Culture War in the Twentieth Century? Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Bolshevism between Moscow, Berlin, and the Vatican, 1922-33," *Journal of Religious History* 39 (2015): 280-306; Matthew Kerry, "The Bones of Contention: The Secularization of Cemeteries and Funerals in the Spanish Second Republic," *European History Quarterly* 49 (2019): 73-95; for local examples, Salomón Chéliz, *Anticlericalismo en Aragón*, 284-91; Fernando del Rey, *Paisanos en lucha: Exclusión política y violencia en la Segunda República española* (Madrid, 2008), 167-85, 511-20

[56] See further below pp. 22-3 [fn 116]

[57] Rebeca Saavedra Arias, *Destruir y proteger: El patrimonio histórico-artístico durante la Guerra Civil* (Santander, 2016), 158-9; Alicia Alted Vigil, "Recuperación y protección de los bienes patrimoniales en la zona insurgente: El Servicio de Defensa del Patrimonio Artístico Nacional" in

Arte protegido: Memoria de la Junta del Tesoro Artístico durante la Guerra Civil ed. Isabel Argerich and Judith Ara (Madrid, 2009), 97

[58] *Tres escritos de Josep María Gudiol i Ricart* ed. Arturo Ramón and Manuel Barbié (Barcelona, 1987), 89-90

[59] Alejo de la Virgen del Carmen, *"Nuestros Mártires" de la Provincia de S José de Cataluña* (Lérida, 1944), 84-7

[60] Vicente Cárcel Ortí, *La persecución religiosa en España durante la Segunda República, 1931-9* (Madrid, 1990), 234-5 (he gives 279 as the number of priests killed, which is taken from Antonio Montero Moreno, *Historia de la persecución religiosa en España, 1936-9* (Madrid, 1961)) and Josep Mª Martí Bonet, *El martiri dels temples a la diòcesi de Barcelona (1936-1939)* (Barcelona, 2008), 55-9, who gives the lower number of 277

[61] Martí Bonet, *El martiri dels temples*, 83-8

[62] For an overview of welfare provision by religious orders, Enrique Vargas-Zúñiga, "El problema religiosa en España III," *Razón y Fe* 110 (1936): 99-116

[63] e.g. Dolores Ibarruri, *They Shall Not Pass* (London, 1966), 54-7; Constancia de la Mora, *In Place of Splendour* (London, 1940), 44-5

[64] Callahan, *Catholic Church in Spain*, 193-8; Romero Maura, *La rosa de fuego*, 525-6; F.S.M. "La vida parroquial antes y después de la guerra" and "Por las afueras de Madrid, *Ecclesia* 1, 15 April 1941

[65] See, e.g., Antonio Moliner Prada, "Félix Sardá y Salvany, escritor y propagandista católico," *Hispania Sacra* 53 (2001), 91-109

[66] James Yeoman, *Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement in Spain, 1890-1915* (London, 2019); the anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT, was only founded in 1910

[67] Suarez Cortina, *Entre cirios y garrotes*, 150-2; there is a strong contrast to the Christian socialist traditions in English-speaking countries

[68] Lily Litvak, "Introducción" in Litvak (ed), *Antología de la novela corta erotica española de entreguerras 1918-36* (Madrid, 1994), 11-74; Maite Zubiaurre, *Cultures of the Erotic in Spain, 1898-1939* (Nashville, 2012), 16.

[69] Manuel Revuelta González, "El anticlericalismo en el s.XIX", in Paul Aubert (ed.), *Religión y Sociedad en España s. XIX y XX*, (Madrid, 2002), 166-8; Timothy Mitchell, *Betrayal of the Innocents*:

Desire, Power and the Catholic Church in Spain (Philadelphia, 1998), 40-1; Juan Ignacio Ferreras,

La novela por entregas 1840-1900 (Madrid, 1972), 272-80

[70] Manuel Suárez Cortina, "Democracia y anticlericalismo en la crisis de 1898" in Aubert (ed.),

Religión y sociedad, 186-7

[71] Enrique A. Sanabria, *Republicanism and Anticlerical Nationalism in Spain* (New York, 2009), 48-

50; Manuel Pérez Ledesma, "José Nakens (1841-1926): pasión anticlerical y activismo

republicano" in Isabel Burdiel and Manuel Pérez Ledesma (eds), *Liberales, agitadores y*

conspiradores: biografías heterodoxas del siglo XIX (Madrid, 2000), 301-30

[72] José Alvarez Junco, *El emperador del Paralelo: Lerroux y la demagogia populista* (Madrid, 1990),

401-3; quotes at 402; graphic examples reproduced Barrios Rozúa 111, 155. See further de la

Cueva, *Clericales y anticlericales*, 291-333

[73] Alvarez Junco, *El emperador del Paralelo*, 397-414; Demetrio Castro, "Palabras de fuego: El

anticlericalismo republican," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 6 (2005): 205-25. On anti-

Jesuitism see Geofrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century*

France (Oxford, 1993), Roísín Healey, *The Jesuit Spectre in Imperial Germany* (Leiden, 2003), and

Manuel Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy" in Silvia Patriarca

and Lucy Riall (eds), *The Risorgimento Revisited* (London, 2012), 191-213.

[74] Zubiaurre, *Cultures of the Erotic*,

[75] Stephen Haliczer, *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned* (Oxford and New York,

1996), 183-204; Francisco Vázquez García, "La campaña contra los sacerdotes pederastas (1880-

1912): Un ejemplo de 'pánico moral' en la España de la Restauración," *Hispania* 78 (2019): 759-

786.

[76] Juan Cantavella, "José Nakens, prototipo del periodista anticlerical", in Cantavella and José

Francisco Serrano (eds), *La prensa anticlerical en la historia* (Madrid, 2011), 90

[77] *El Motín* 20 Oct 1910

[78] For the mobility of anticlerical riot as a mode of political protest, Eduardo González Calleja, *La*

razón de la fuerza, (Madrid, 1998), 332-40

[79] René Girard, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, trans. Stephen Bann and Michael

Metteer (Stanford, 1987) and *The Scapegoat* (Baltimore, 1986).

[80] "City mysteries" were a popular genre of 19th-century novel e.g. José Nicasio Mià de la Roca, *Los misterios de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1844); Antoni Altadill, *Barcelona y sus misterios* (Barcelona, 1860)

[81] Pedro Voltes Bou, *La Semana Trágica* (Madrid, 1995), 111-12

[82] This aspect is overlooked in Lincoln's pioneering article, "Revolutionary Exhumations", which explains the phenomenon in terms of resentment at the institutional church.

[83] María Luisa Fernández and Mª Leturia, *Catorce meses de aventuras bajo el dominio rojo* (Rome, 1939), 25-6

[84] Testimony from RM Fermina Beperet de Jesús, AHN, CG, Legajo 1164-1

[85] *Violencias, profanaciones y asesinatos cometidos por los marxistas en los establecimientos de S Juan de Dios* (Palencia, 1939), 20, 22

[86] Manuel García Miralles OP, *Los dominicos de la provinca de Aragón en la persecución religiosa* (Valencia, 1962), 21; Jesús Quibus, *Misioneros Mártires: Hijos del Corazón de María de la Provincia de Cataluña sacrificados en la persecución marxista* (Barcelona, 1941), 45

[87] "La tragedia de la Merced en Jaén", AHN, CG, Legajo 1009

[88] See further Kitty Hauser, *Shadow Sites: Photography, Archaeology and the British Landscape, 1927-55* (Oxford, 2007), 231-54

[89] Zubiaurre, *Cultures of the Erotic*, 101, 132-4; see also Antonio Viñao and María José Martínez Ruiz-Funes, "Advertising, Marketing and Image: Visual Representations and School Modernity through Postcards," *Sisyphus: Journal of Education IV* 1 (2016): 42-66

[90] See further, Julia Adeney Thomas, "The Evidence of Sight," *History and Theory* 48 (2009): 151-168; Tom Allbeson, "Visualizing Wartime Destruction and Postwar Reconstruction: Herbert Mason's Photograph of St. Paul's Reevaluated," *The Journal of Modern History* 87 (2015): 532-578; Antonio Monegal, "Picturing Absence: Photography in the Aftermath," *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 9 (2016): 252-270; Paul Betts, *Ruin and Renewal: Civilising Europe after the Second World War* (London, 2020) esp. 31-9, 164-9.

[91] See Valentí Serra de Manresa, "L"Església de Catalunya durant la Setmana Tràgica. Incidència de la revolució del juliol de 1909 en la vida ecclesial," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia: Revista de ciències historicoeclesiàstiques* 82 (2009): 141-226. As Edensor points out, managing decay is integral to the upkeep of church buildings.

[92] The point was made graphically in a cartoon "La evolución de un templo" published *La Campana de Gracia* 1911, which shows a much grander church rising from the smoke of the burnt one, reproduced Barrios Rozúa, *Iconoclastia*, 159

[93] My argument here is strongly influenced by Koenraad Jonckheere, "The Power of Iconic Memory: Iconoclasm as a Mental Marker," *BMGN: The Low Countries Historical Review* 131 (2016): 141-154.

[94] Among very few studies of Spanish nuns, Mónica Moreno Seco, "Religiosas, jerarquía y sociedad en España, 1875-1900," *Historia Social* 38 (2000): 57-71; Frances Lannon, "The Socio-political Role of the Spanish Church: A Case Study," *Journal of Contemporary History* 14 (1979): 193-210

[95] Connelly Ullman, *Tragic Week*, 192, 212; on schools, Maitane Ostolaza, *Entre religión y modernidad: los colegios de las Congregaciones Religiosas en la construcción de la sociedad guipuzcoana contemporánea, 1876-1931*, (Bilbao, 2000); Till Kössler, "Towards a New Understanding of the Child: Catholic Mobilization and Modern Pedagogy in Spain, 1900–1936," *Contemporary European History*, 18 (2009): 1-24

[96] e.g. Dolors Marín Silvestre, *La Semana Trágica: Barcelona en llamas, la revuelta popular y la Escuela Moderna* (Madrid, 2009), 261-333

[97] *La lámpara del sagrario* [Boletín de Adoración Nocturna] 76 (1909), 266

[98] *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* (Madrid, 1992), vol. 2, 1336-7

[99] José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *El contubernio judeo-masónico-comunista: del satanismo al escándalo de la P-2* (Madrid, 1982); Gonzalo Alvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España: La imagen del judío 1812-2002* (Madrid, 2002), 301-81

[100] See, e.g. Constantino Bayle SJ, *Sin Dios y contra Dios: la campaña de nuestros días* (Madrid, 1935)

[101] On the *Protocols* in Spain, Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España*, 301-10; 496-8

[102] Active in Barcelona 1932-6 http://www.filosofia.org/ave/001/a440.htm; Paul Preston "Juan Tusquets: A Catalan Contribution to the Myth of the Jewish-Bolshevik-Masonic Conspiracy" in Alejandro Quiroga and Migal Ángel del Arco Blanco (eds), *Right-Wing Spain in the Civil War Era: Soldiers of God and Apostles of the Fatherland, 1914-45* (London, 2012), 177-94

[103] *Razón y Fe* 101 (1933)

[104] *Estrella del Mar* 24 June, 8 July , 8, 24 Dec 1932

[105] *Crónica de las Marías* Nov 1934.

[106] "Crónicas Cientifico-Sociales", *La Ciencia Tomista* (1936): 265

[107] *Miróbriga* (Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca) 5 July 1936

[108] Quibus, *Misioneros Mártires,* 62

[109] AHN, CG, Legajo 1164-1

[110] Concha Espina, *Esclavitud y Libertad: Diario de una prisionera* (Valladolid, 1938), 74

[111] "Sobre la Guerra de España" in *Documentos colectivos del episcopado español, 1870-1974* ed. Jesús Iribarren (Madrid, 1974), 219-42 quote at 232; two bishops refused to sign owing to its contents: Françesc Vidal i Barraquer (Tarragona) and Mateo Múgica (Vitoria)

[112] Letter to Cardinal Gomá from the bishop of Girona, 10 Aug 1936, *Archivo Gomá: Documentos de la Guerra Civil* ed. José Andrés-Gallego and Antón M Pazos Vol. 1 (Madrid, 2001), 75

[113] Juan Manuel Barrios Rozua, 'Secularización, uso y deterioro de la arquitectura religiosa durante la guerra civil" in *La Guerra Civil española 1936-1939: congreso internacional, Madrid 27, 28 y 29 noviembre de 2006* (Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2006) available at https://www.ugr.es/~compoarq/compoarq_archivos/profesores/jmbarrios_archivos/Mis%20publicaciones%20PDF/2006-Secularizacion_arquitectura_Guerra_Civil_%28Juan_M_Barrios%29.PDF; see further José Álvarez Lopera, *La política de bienes culturales del Gobierno republicano durante la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid, 1982), Vol 1, 53-102; Vol 2, 7-37

[114] This is clearly the case with the registers returned to the Causa General

[115] The Sisters of Mary Immaculate were not alone in finding their convent "indecently dirty" but undamaged when they returned to Almería after the Civil War, AHN CG 1164-1

[116] Thomas, *The Faith and the Fury*, 45-73, 114-16, 131-44; Barrios Rozua, 'Secularización, uso y deterioro"; for the tensions around secularisation and heritage, Kelly, *Socialist Churches*

[117] Richard Clay, 'Smells, Bells and Touch: Iconoclasm in Paris during the French Revolution," *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35 (2012): 521-33

[118] *Els martiri dels temples*, 89

[119] Letter from bishop of Cuenca, 22 Dec 1949, Dirección Regiones Devastadas, SIGNAGA 26/16202; among numerous other examples Pontificia y Real Academia Bibliográfico-Mariana de

Lleida (letter from director 27 Feb 1947, SIGMAGA 26/17256), Augustinian convent in Rubielos de Mora, Teruel (letter from prioress 5 Feb 1949, SIGNAGA 26/16210), Benedictine convent ("Las Benitas") in Toledo (letter from superior, Jan 1941 SIGNAGA 26/16202) were among many used as barracks by both Republican and Nationalist troops. Cirac Estopañán, *Martirologio de Cuenca*, 172 has the Petras [Justinian sisters] church used as a kitchen.

[120] Alejo de la Virgen del Carmen, *Nuestros Mártires*, 17; the only adaptation mentioned was fitting basins on the second floor.

[121] 24 Oct 1936, *Archivo Gomá*, Vol. 1, 251

[122] *Archivo Gomá,* Vol 1, correspondence, 363; "Asuntos generales de la Sección Asuntos Religiosos" SIGNAGA 26/16232; a bomb-damaged convent in Guadalajara was also used as a barracks, Letter from the superior, 14 March 1951, Dirección Regiones Devastadas, SIGNAGA 26/16202.

[123] Javier Cervera, *Madrid en guerra: La ciudad clandestine 1936-9* (Madrid, 2006), 84; *Guía arquitectura de Madrid* databse: https://guia-arquitectura-madrid.coam.org/#inm.F1.63 and https://guia-arquitectura-madrid.coam.org/#inm.F2.205 On penal institutions more generally, Gutmaro Gómez Bravo, *El exilio interior: Cárcel y represión en la España franquista, 1939-50* (Madrid, 2012)

[124] Cervera, *Madrid en guerra*, 64-72; 7 of the 19 major *checas* he lists in Madrid (out of a total of 200) were in religious buildings.

[125] *Diario de un pistolero*, 180; the phrase is repeated p. 185 when describing the detention of Antoni Tort and various clerics who were "locked up in the dungeons" at S Elías.

[126] *Diario de un pistolero*, 180; García Miralles *Los dominicos de la provincia de Aragón*, 174

[127] The abbess of the Clarisas in Espinosa de Henares complained of "lamentable conditions" left by Nationalist troops converting the building into a prison, 17 April 1951 SIGNAGA 26/16197

[128] Sijena 26/16200; Hinosa del Duque SIGNAGA 26/16200, which was then converted into a prison

[129] Vincent, "'Keys of the Kingdom'", 88-9; Delgado Ruíz, *Luces iconoclastas*, 127-45; Thomas, *Faith and the Fury*, 128

[130] *Un testimonio oficial de la destrucción del arte en la zona roja: El libro de actas de la Junta Republicana del Tesoro Artístico de Castellón* (Bilbao, 1939), 7; see further, Saavedra Arias, *Destruir y proteger*; Kelly, *Socialist Churches*

[131] Saavedra Arias, *Destruir y proteger*, 123-4; Concha Espina commented "Cerveruca [the nickname derived from the demolitions] went on pulling down half of Santander", *Esclavitud y libertad*, 86

[132] *Els martiri dels temples a la diocesi de Barcelona 1936-9*

[133] Margaret Aston, "English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 231-55

[134] Macaulay, *Fabled Shore*, 54, quoting unnamed "Catalan Republicans"; she had become fascinated with ruins during the London Blitz, Hauser, *Shadow Sites*, 244, 247

[135] *Tres escritos de Josep María Gudiol,* 100

[136] See further *Arte protegido* ed. Argerich and Ara; *Tres escritos de Josep María Gudiol*, 89-115; Joan Cid i Mulet, *La guerra civil i la revolució a Tortosa, 1936-9* (Barcelona, 2001); *Un testimonio oficial de la destrucción del arte en la zona roja*

[137] Barcelona. Catedral (1939-40) SIGNAGA 26/16195

[138] AHN CG Legajo 1066-1 records one church in Lorca recoded as a museum. Later artistic repurposings are often highly respectful, e.g. the contemporary artspace Espacio Torner, housed in the church of S Pablo in Cuenca, which was gutted in 1936, Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, *Martirologio de Cuenca* (Barcelona, 1947), 170-1

[139] Thomas, *Faith and the Fury*, 136-44

[140] *Tres escritos de Josep María Gudiol*, 100; *Diario de un pistolero anarquista* ed Miquel Mir (Barcelona, 2006), 178-9

[141] Mary Low and Juan Brea, *Red Spanish Notebook* (San Francisco, 1979; 1st ed 1937), 153

[142] Victór de la Vega Almagro, *Tesoro artístico y guerra civil: El caso de Cuenca*, (Cuenca, 2007); Informe AHN CG Legajo1009 Jaén; Letter from superior, VOT de S Francisco, Guadalajara, 18 April 1951, SIGNAGA 26/16232

[143] Obispado de Córdoba, Contestación al cuestionario 22 Nov 1940, AHN, CG Legajo 1044-2

[144] http://altaveu.barripoblesec.org/la-iglesia-de-santa-madrona-y-la-ebullicion-social-de-principios-del-xx/

[145] Estopañán, *Martirologio de Cuenca*, 31

[146] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 108; for examples of active reuse in the USSR, see Kelly, *Socialist Churches*, 8, 29-30.

[147] S Pablo, Cuenca, today the Espacio Torner, was used for concerts from 1962, when it was still in liturgical use.

[148] https://abcfoto.abc.es/fotografias/temas/iglesia-parroquial-montoro-cordoba-convertida-13789.html

[149] Thomas, *Faith and the Fury*, 133

[150] Víctor de la Vega Almagro, *Tesoro artístico y guerra civil: el caso de Cuenca*, Cuenca, 2007; Cirac Estopañán, *Martirologio de Cuenca,* 23-4, 28-9, 31, 41, 37-9

[151] Cirac Estopañán, *Martirologio de Cuenca*, 23

[152] For examples, Vincent, *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic*, 80

[153] Laurie Lee, *A Moment of War* (London, 2014), 59-60, 76

[154] Thomas, *The Faith and the* Fury, 20-44; 74-99; Julio de la Cueva, "Anticlericalismo e identidad anticlerical en España: del movimiento a la política (1910-1931)" in Carolyn Boyd (ed), *Religión y política en la España contemporánea* (Madrid, 2007), 165-86; on identity, Joan Scott, "Fantasy Echo: History and the Construction of Identity", *Critical Inquiry* 27:2 (2001): 284-304

[155] Delgado, "Anticlericalismo, espacio y poder" and *La ira sagrada*.

[156] This is a constant theme in the post-war petitions for repair made to the Dirección Regiones Devastadas, see e.g. architects' letters on the Benedictine nunnery in Toledo, Jan 1941, the diocesan seminary in Osma, used first as a barracks and finally as a concentration camp, 6 June 1947, SIGNAGA 26/16202, 26/16203 and the itemized survey of the Dominican convent of S Catalina de Sena (Madrid) 15 Sept 1950, 26/16210

[157] SIGNAGA 26/16443 [1011]

[158] As one of the sisters was a Cuban national, the flat was under the protection of the embassy, Manuel Montero Moreno, *Historia de la persecución religiosa en España, 1936-9* (Madrid, 1961), 104-5

[159] María Luisa Fernández and María Leturia, *Catorce meses de aventuras bajo el dominio rojo* (Rome, 1939), 261

[160] *Boletín oficial del Obispado de Madrid-Alcalá* 1667 16 Aug 1939, 249

[161] José Luis Alfaya, *Como un río de fuego: La persecución religiosa en Madrid en 1936* (Madrid, 2017), 237; https://guia-arquitectura-madrid.coam.org/index.htm#car.webK_03; four buildings were underway by 1943

[162] Correspondence about the parish church in Benisa (Alicante), Feb 1954, where the reredos was destroyed and the building used as a market, Dirección Regiones Devastadas SIGNAGA 26/16179

[163] *Reconstrucción* 27 Nov 1942, 407-18

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Figure 1: Angel Toldrà Viazo (ATV), Capilla de Marcús, "Sucesos de Barcelona"
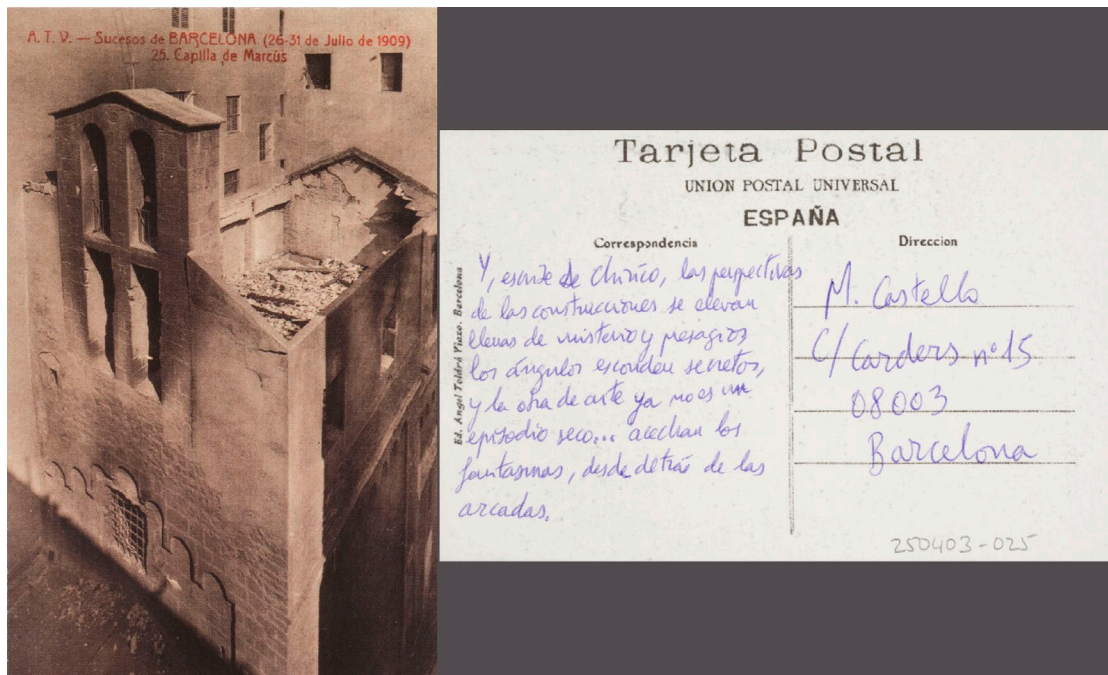
Figure 2: Crypt at the convent of the Arrepentidas in the series "Sucesos de Barcelona"
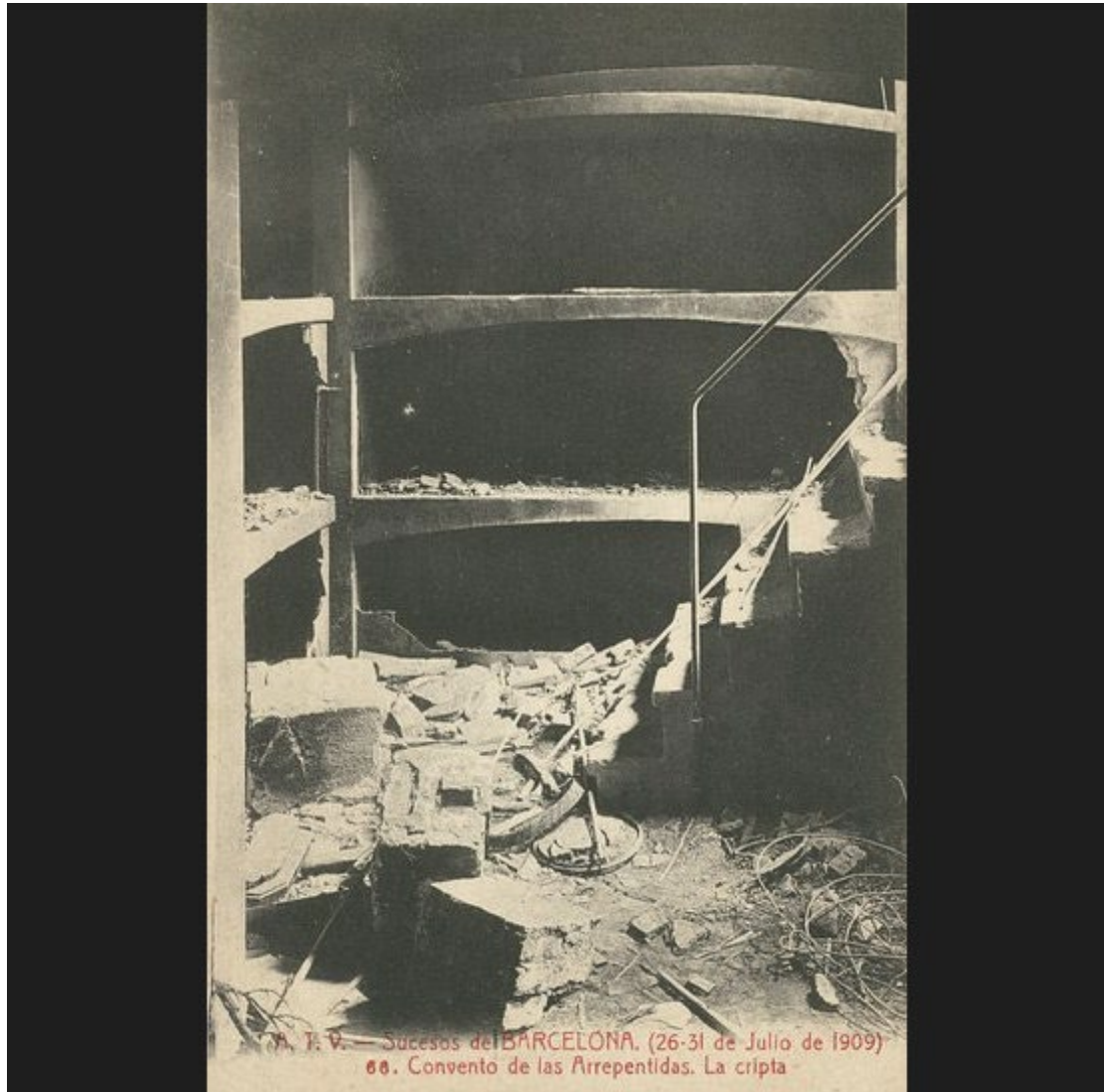
Figure 3: Marqués Santa Mª del Villar, "Cementerio profanado por los rojos en el convento de Agustinas, Belchite"

Figure 4: ATV, Church of S Antonio Abad, "Sucesos de Barcelona"

A. T. V. — Sucesos de BARCELONA, (26-31 de Julio de 1909)
4.-Interior de la Iglesia de S. Antonio Abad.

Figure 5: parish church of Yeles (Toledo) transformed into a theatre

Figure 6: San Roque (Santander), shrine used as a hayloft

Figure 7: Church in Almendralejo (Badajoz) re-used as a garage

Figure 8: Capilla del Carmen, Suances (Santander) used by local fisherfolk to repair nets