



2019

IL CAPITALE CULTURALE

Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage

eum

Rivista fondata da Massimo Montella



Il capitale culturale
Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage
n. 19, 2019

ISSN 2039-2362 (online)

Direttore / Editor
Massimo Montella †

Co-Direttori / Co-Editors
Tommy D. Andersson, Elio Borgonovi,
Rosanna Cioffi, Stefano Della Torre, Michela
di Macco, Daniele Manacorda, Serge Noiret,
Tonino Pencarelli, Angelo R. Pupino, Girolamo
Sciullo

Coordinatore editoriale / Editorial Coordinator
Giuseppe Capriotti

Coordinatore tecnico / Managing Coordinator
Pierluigi Feliciati

Comitato editoriale / Editorial Office
Giuseppe Capriotti, Mara Cerquetti, Francesca
Coltrinari, Patrizia Dragoni, Pierluigi Feliciati,
Valeria Merola, Enrico Nicosia, Francesco
Pirani, Mauro Saracco, Emanuela Stortoni,
Federico Valacchi

*Comitato scientifico - Sezione di beni
culturali / Scientific Committee - Division of
Cultural Heritage*

Giuseppe Capriotti, Mara Cerquetti,
Francesca Coltrinari, Patrizia Dragoni,
Pierluigi Feliciati, Maria Teresa Gigliozzi,
Susanne Adina Meyer, Massimo Montella †,
Umberto Moscatelli, Sabina Pavone, Francesco
Pirani, Mauro Saracco, Emanuela Stortoni,
Federico Valacchi, Carmen Vitale

Comitato scientifico / Scientific Committee
Michela Addis, Tommy D. Andersson, Alberto
Mario Banti, Carla Barbatì, Sergio Barile,
Nadia Barrella, Marisa Borraccini, Rossella
Caffo, Ileana Chirassi Colombo, Rosanna
Cioffi, Caterina Cirelli, Alan Clarke, Claudine
Cohen, Lucia Corrain, Giuseppe Cruciani,
Girolamo Cusimano, Fiorella Dallari, Stefano
Della Torre, Maria del Mar Gonzalez Chacon,
Maurizio De Vita, Michela di Macco, Fabio
Donato, Rolando Dondarini, Andrea Emiliani †,

Gaetano Maria Golinelli, Xavier Greffe, Alberto
Grohmann, Susan Hazan, Joel Heuillon,
Emanuele Invernizzi, Lutz Klinkhammer,
Federico Marazzi, Fabio Mariano, Aldo M.
Morace, Raffaella Morselli, Olena Motuzenko,
Giuliano Pinto, Marco Pizzo, Edouard
Pommier †, Carlo Pongetti, Adriano Prosperi,
Angelo R. Pupino, Bernardino Quattrococchi,
Mauro Renna, Orietta Rossi Pinelli, Roberto
Sani, Girolamo Sciullo, Mislav Simunic,
Simonetta Stopponi, Michele Tamma, Frank
Vermeulen, Stefano Vitali

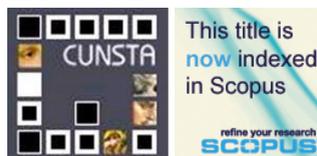
Web
<http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult>
e-mail
icc@unimc.it

Editore / Publisher
eum edizioni università di macerata, Centro
direzionale, via Carducci 63/a - 62100
Macerata
tel (39) 733 258 6081
fax (39) 733 258 6086
<http://eum.unimc.it>
info.ceum@unimc.it

Layout editor
Roberta Salvucci

Progetto grafico / Graphics
+crocevia / studio grafico

Rivista accreditata AIDEA
Rivista riconosciuta CUNSTA
Rivista riconosciuta SISMED
Rivista indicizzata WOS
Rivista indicizzata SCOPUS
Inclusa in ERIH-PLUS



Saggi

Confederate Statuary: The Difficulty of Preserving Contested Historical Monuments

Clinton J. Buhler*

Abstract

Removing public monuments from their prominent locations is an act that is likely to cause considerable controversy under most circumstances. This is particularly true when the ideology those monuments were erected to promote is hotly contested within society. Throughout the American South, cities and states are grappling with the issue of what to do with Confederate statuary, especially in the current political climate which has highlighted America's lingering race issues and the violence attached to them. Russia was faced with a similar issue two decades earlier when the Soviet Union was dismantled, but its monumental propaganda still stood on virtually every street corner and square. This problem is analyzed in this essay by systematically analyzing these monuments according to their various historical and ideological values, as categorized by the prominent art historical Alois Riegl. Strategies employed by Russian policymakers in the late twentieth century are analyzed as a potential solution for officials throughout the South as they grapple with the issue today.

La rimozione di monumenti pubblici dalle loro posizioni di rilievo è un atto che può causare considerevoli controversie nella maggior parte delle circostanze. Ciò è particolarmente vero quando l'ideologia che quei monumenti sono stati eretti per promuovere è fortemente

* Clinton J. Buhler, PhD, Assistant Professor, Humanities Department, Dixie State University, 225 South University Avenue, Saint George, UT 84770, buhler@dixie.edu

contestata all'interno della società. In tutto il Sud Americano, le città e gli stati sono alle prese con il problema di cosa fare con la statuarie confederata, specialmente nell'attuale clima politico che ha messo in evidenza le persistenti questioni razziali in America e la violenza ad esse connessa. La Russia ha dovuto affrontare una questione analoga due decenni prima, quando l'Unione Sovietica fu smantellata, ma la sua monumentale propaganda si trovava ancora praticamente su ogni angolo e piazza. In questo saggio tale problema viene affrontato analizzando sistematicamente questi monumenti in base ai loro vari valori storici e ideologici, come classificato dal noto storico dell'arte Alois Riegl. Le strategie impiegate dai policymaker russi alla fine del XX secolo sono analizzate come una potenziale soluzione per i funzionari di tutto il Sud che stanno affrontando la questione oggi.

Recent political discourse in the United States has had a heavy focus on race issues. One consequence of this has been increased scrutiny of public monuments, especially Confederate statuary and symbols throughout the American south. The 2014 protests in Ferguson, Missouri and the racially motivated killing of nine people in a church in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015 gave the debate a sense of urgency, and led many to the belief that it was time to reevaluate America's past and how these monuments continue to shape attitudes in the 21st Century. In particular, these stark reminders that America's racial issues were far from being resolved brought about several campaigns to remove or modify public Confederate monuments as a way of rethinking the past. One of the first to act was the Mayor of New Orleans, Mitch Landrieu, who in 2015 called for the removal of four monuments: Robert E. Lee; Jefferson Davis; General P.T.G. Beauregard; and an obelisk honoring the 1874 insurrection by the White League (a forerunner to the KKK)¹. Following the removal of the obelisk, Mayor Landrieu stated, «We will no longer allow the Confederacy to literally be put on a pedestal»².

At the New Orleans City Council's public hearing on Mayor Landrieu's order, there were a number of heated exchanges. Some, like resident Lyrica Neville spoke out in favor of the Mayor's position: «It's psychologically damaging to walk past these murderers». However, others felt that removing the monuments amounted to little more than historical revisionism³. Throughout the country, similar actions were carried out: South Carolina removed the Confederate-era flag that had flown defiantly at the state capital for half a century⁴; the University of Texas at Austin began removing statues of Confederates from campus⁵; and the University of Mississippi even took the step of not flying the Mississippi State flag on campus because it contains the famous Confederate symbol in

¹ *Mayor Landrieu Signs Ordinance* 2015.

² Selk 2017.

³ Berry 2015.

⁴ Bauerlein 2015.

⁵ Bromwich 2017.

the top corner⁶. Each of these decisions was met with fierce opposition. A good example of the hostility each of these actions encountered can be seen by the manner in which the city of New Orleans was forced to remove their statue to Jefferson Davis – doing it very early in the morning (just before 5 a.m.), under heavy police presence, including snipers (fig. 1). As the Associated Press reported, to the echoes of protesters chanting Jefferson Davis' name, the monument was hoisted from its pedestal, «it was then lowered behind trucks encircled around the monument's base and out of view of media gathered on the scene»⁷. Its current location has not been released.

While the public nature of the debate surrounding Confederate monuments is relatively new, such a problem is not altogether unprecedented in recent history. A similar set of circumstances existed in Russia following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Because the Soviet example precedes the current debate by some two decades, its example could prove instructive to the present situation by providing insight into possible consequences of decisions made in regards to contested monuments. The dramatic end to the Cold War era led to the destruction of monuments throughout Russia, especially in the urban centers; millions around the world and within the country watched as statues were razed. The removal of some statues proceeded with relatively little resistance – such as that of the founder of the NKVD (the forerunner of the KGB), Felix Dzerzhinsky. But decisions to remove statues of figures such as Vladimir Lenin were much more controversial. While many saw Lenin primarily as the founder of a hated regime, others saw him in a more nuanced way as a man of the people, whose ideals were betrayed by later Soviet Party officials⁸. Much like with figures of the Confederacy, there are deep disagreements about his historical legacy. The highly controversial nature of the decision to remove the seated statue of Lenin that was located inside the Kremlin was highlighted by historian Trevor Smith:

The manner in which Lenin's statue was removed from the Kremlin is significant. It was not removed outright; rather, a tall wooden fence was erected around the statue one Saturday evening and it was officially explained that the monument was under repair. Three months later, the fence still stood and no signs of ongoing renovation were evident. After much prodding, and a sizable donation to a Kremlin guard, the author learned that the statue had been taken to Lenin's former estate at Leninskii-Gorki in October. The fence, the guard explained, was simply a device to ease the transition and to prevent public outcry. It would

⁶ *Ole Miss Removes Mississippi state flag from university campus* 2015.

⁷ Du Lac, *et al.* 2017.

⁸ A recent survey by the Levada Center shows that Russians continue to have mixed feelings about Lenin, despite his role in the establishment of the Soviet regime. In the survey 56% of respondents stated that the role Lenin played in Russia's history was fully positive or mostly positive (up from just 40% in 2006). This is likely related to the fact that 43% of respondents indicated that later party officials deviated from his original path. Despite this, only 31% of respondents believe Lenin should remain in his prominent mausoleum on Red Square (Владимир Ленин 2017).

remain until it became a familiar fixture. When it eventually came down people would care that the eyesore fence, not the statue, was gone⁹.

Rather than being removed under police guard to the chants of countering protesters, the Russian government applied a rather Soviet approach: bureaucracy. As with the statue of Jefferson Davis in New Orleans, the potency of the situation is largely a product of closeness. In both situations the history is that of their own society rather than one of occupying armies setting up statues and memorials¹⁰. Southern pride is intertwined with lost cause ideology and ideas of independence, in a way similar to Russian pride being heavily entangled with Soviet world superpower status.

Given the complicated legacy of these historical figures, the destruction of their monuments is understandably fraught. In both the former Soviet Union and the American South, the controversy over the preservation or removal of monuments pits one side that believes the symbols represent and perpetuate an undesirable ideology, against those who see the monuments as part of history. The first group argues that the disavowal of the ideology requires the public removal of its monuments. The other side argues that whether we like it or not, the ideology and its monuments are part of history and to destroy them is to suppress that history. What makes the situation so difficult is that both sides have legitimate arguments in terms of how monuments function within society. In his influential essay *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, art historian Alois Riegl classifies monuments according to the three values we assign to them: age value, historical value, and deliberate commemorative value¹¹. An age value monument is one we value precisely because it is old. More specifically, its value is connected to the fact that it survives from a time distant enough that we have very few remaining structures. A clear example of this type of monument would be ruins, such as the Parthenon or the Colosseum in Rome. Given the relatively recent dates of both Soviet and Confederate monuments, age-value would not be their primary function.

Historical value is similar to age value in the sense that a monument is preserved as part of the historical record and thus society demands the monument remain undisturbed. According to Riegl, any attempt to modify a monument of historical value is equivalent to editing manuscripts in an historical archive. Those who wish to leave statues in place are generally arguing from this perspective: New Orleans hotelier Jonathan Mackie exclaimed «This is not going to end! We're a historic city, a living museum»¹². Local painter George Schmidt agreed, «This is destructive of some of the finest monumental

⁹ Smith 1998, p. 334.

¹⁰ Of course, this is not the case with Soviet memorials set up in former Soviet satellites such as the Baltic States, where the removal of these monuments has been much less controversial.

¹¹ Riegl 1996.

¹² Berry 2015.

artwork in the nineteenth century, and it's an affront to the very idea of freedom embodied in creative art»¹³. Both of these arguments for the preservation of the monuments are based strictly on their historical value. Whether one sees a monument as having age value or historical value, it will retain a privileged position in which disturbing or removing it is taboo.

The last of Riegl's categories is deliberate commemorative value monuments. Most monuments begin in this category. They involve monuments whose symbolic values still carry weight within their societies. Those pushing for the removal of Confederate monuments see them as primarily having deliberate commemorative value, not historical value. Mayor Landreau exhibits this belief when he states, «The record is clear: New Orleans's Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis and P.G.T. Beauregard statues were erected with the goal of rewriting history to glorify the Confederacy and perpetuate the idea of white supremacy. These monuments stand not as mournful markers of our legacy of slavery and segregation, but in reverence of it»¹⁴. It is evident that he understands that these monuments have a role in shaping the present, not simply commemorating the past. The removal of Jefferson Davis' statue is therefore not a neutral act, but an active condemnation of his ideology. Likewise, allowing Confederate monuments to remain in place goes beyond dispassionate historical study, but implicitly constitutes an institutional endorsement of the "lost cause" view of history they represent. Therefore, allowing these monuments to remain standing in prominent places emboldens those who still harbor racist attitudes; it implies that the values the monuments represent still enjoy a certain level of institutional and societal sanction.

This is the reason the shooting in South Carolina led straight to Confederate statuary. When Dylann Roof walked into Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church and killed nine people for no other reason than their race, he did so because he believed in the continuing efficacy and societal embrace of his ideology. This was confirmed as pictures of him posing with the Confederate flag emerged along with a manifesto indicating that he was hoping it would spur action leading again toward the re-institution of segregation (fig. 2)¹⁵. The shooter's photos in which he prominently displays the Confederate flag led many to target South Carolina's continued glorification of the Confederacy through the flying of the flag on capital grounds. This controversy escalated to the point that activist Bree Newsome memorably scaled the flagpole and removed it herself¹⁶. Dylan Roof's action would suggest that there is a real danger to allowing Confederate monuments to stand so long as people still embrace their ideology. Roof's horrific act likewise spurred Mayor Landrieu to remove

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Du Lac *et al.* 2017.

¹⁵ Corcoran 2015.

¹⁶ Neuman 2015.

monuments in his own city, stating, «This is the right thing to do and now is the time to do it»¹⁷. By removing Confederate imagery, the city of New Orleans is hoping to make a statement that this ideology is obsolete and unwelcome and will no longer receive legitimation through public commemorative statuary.

So why is it that some view the statues as historical, and others commemorative? The answer to this is undoubtedly complicated. No doubt, many on each side do see some validity to the other's argument. After all, historical and deliberate commemorative value are not mutually exclusive. This is true in a situation where a monument is old enough to be thought of as historical but is not old enough to have outlived completely the ideals that inspired its erection. Many of the most popular monuments in America have both. The Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C., for example, is perceived at this point to have historical value. But it also retains deliberate commemorative value for the reasons it was erected. The commemorative value of the monument played a central role in the Civil Rights march on Washington D.C. in 1963. But, because the commemorative value it represents is widely favored in society, the monument stands without controversy; the commemorative value works in concert, rather than in conflict, with its historical value. Likewise, there is a lack of controversy when there is broad consensus that the commemorative message is undesirable, as in the case of a monument erected by an invading country – in that case the historical value is often easily disregarded.

In the case of Confederate monuments in New Orleans or the Soviet statuary in Russia in the 1990s, however, the drive to preserve their historical value clashes with the desire to disavow the commemorative ideals. Society must then decide which value is more significant, and this will depend on each individual's position relative to the commemorative ideology. For example, those pushing for the removal of Confederate statues may acknowledge that they have some historical significance, though the relative value is minor as compared to the continued damage it does to society. From this perspective it is understandable why a person arguing for a monument's historic value would do little to deter those who perceive the deliberate commemorative value as dangerous and detrimental. In the reverse, one who sees historical value might concede that some continuing symbolic value may persist, but may write it off as only true of a small group of extremist individuals or may believe that the ideology is not particularly dangerous. Perceiving no real threat from the statue's ideology, destroying its historical value becomes a gross violation.

Of course, many of those actively trying to save these monuments with appeals to their historical value are likely using that as cover for the continued promotion of their commemorative ideologies. In truth, these monuments have as much to do with today as with the past. After all, why would one erect an ideological monument if not to promote that ideology to future generations? As

¹⁷ *Mayor Landrieu Signs Ordinance 2015.*

Jacques Derrida stated in his seminal study of the archive, *Archive Fever*, «The question of the archive is not, we repeat, a question of the past. It is not the question of a concept dealing with the past that might *already* be at our disposal [...] It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow»¹⁸. The drive to protect all historical documents, including historical value monuments, is the drive to archive (recall how an earlier defendant of these monuments referred to the city as a «living museum»). As Derrida argues, the archive is not about protecting the past for its own sake, but as a way of using the past to shape the future. The archive represents the preservation of «a promise», and what is more emblematic of lost cause ideology than its oft-repeated promise that «The South will rise again!»?

Further, there is a certain disingenuousness in the argument that we must preserve these monuments because they are part of the past; it glosses over the fact that these monuments were erected as a way to paper-over and reinterpret the past in an attempt to shape the future. Indeed, very few Confederate monuments – and none of those ordered removed in New Orleans – actually date back to the Civil War era. As the National Trust for Historical Preservation (an organization that has as an underlying principle that historical value must be preserved) asserted in their official statement, «Decades after the war, advocates of the Lost Cause erected these monuments all over the country to vindicate the Confederacy at the bar of history, erase the central issues of slavery, and emancipation from our understanding of the war, and reaffirm a system of state-sanctioned white supremacy»¹⁹. Losing control of the placement and preservation of commemorative monuments becomes a crisis for lost cause supporters precisely because it represents the loss of the right to the institutional interpretation of history.

An illustrative example of this was the statue of Jefferson Davis in New Orleans, which was erected in 1911. As noted earlier by the National Trust for Historical Preservation, its erection was not merely in the interest of preserving the history of the Civil War. On the contrary, the ideals of the Civil War were being weaponized and revised in this era to support the Jim Crow south. This statue was a piece of monumental propaganda put up at a time when the Lost Cause narrative of the Civil War was used to solidify white supremacy throughout the South²⁰. Its presence, along with the other statuary and street names, stood as a

¹⁸ Derrida 1995, p. 36.

¹⁹ *Statement on Confederate Memorials* 2017.

²⁰ How explicit this was understood at the time can be seen in the dedicatory speech by Julian Carr at the unveiling of a Confederate statue in North Carolina (both statues were commissioned by the United Daughters of the Confederacy). In his speech, Carr explains, «The present generation, I am persuaded, scarcely takes note of what the Confederate soldiers to the welfare of the Anglo Saxon race [...] their courage and steadfastness saved the very life of the Anglo Saxon race in the South – When ‘the bottom rail was on top’ all over the Southern States, and to-day, as a

testament to state-sanctioned supremacist attitudes. Just as Leninist statuary in the Soviet Union was part of a concerted plan of monumental propaganda, so too was Confederate statuary used to reinforce the system of Jim Crow in the wake of the 1896 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision, which legalized segregation (another spike in the erection of Confederate statuary, it should be noted, occurred in response to the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision which reversed *Plessy vs. Ferguson* and kick-started the Civil Rights movement)²¹.

While the continuing efficacy of a monument's commemorative value does create conflict by sanctioning a problematic ideology, it also creates an opportunity for the monument's opponents to use that value against it. The removal of Jefferson Davis' statue in New Orleans is unlikely to completely eradicate its memory from the minds of local residents. This is especially true, since one of the streets that runs by that spot remains named Jefferson Davis Parkway²². But the fact that Jefferson Davis' monument will be remembered does not necessarily go against the overall goals of the city in removing it. In fact, the political statement the city is making will last precisely as long as the people remember that the statue previously stood there. To better understand how this can be used to bolster a disavowal of Confederate ideology, it is useful to note that Confederate monumental propaganda (as was the case with Soviet propaganda) operates in a way similar to advertising: messaging relies heavily on frequent encounters which gives the viewer a sense of the messages authority and inevitability. Just as an ad campaign will involve the viewer seeing a corporate logo repeatedly on billboards, park benches, and houses, Confederate and Soviet ideology was ever-present in numerous statues, street signs, and building names throughout the city²³.

consequence, the purest strain of the Anglo Saxon is to be found in the 13 Southern States – Praise God». (Carr 1913).

²¹ Parks 2017.

²² The commemoration of these histories is rarely limited to statues and other like monuments, but often takes the form of the naming of streets, cities, and buildings. One great example of that was the movement in Texas after the Charleston shooting to rename elementary schools named after Confederates. While there are those who fought to keep the names in place, ultimately several schools have been renamed – a list likely to keep growing (Taft 2016). The symbolism of place names was similarly considered after the fall of the Soviet Union in Russia. The most prominent example of this was the renaming of Saint Petersburg. Hoping to purge the city of Lenin's influence following the Soviet Union's collapse, city officials decided to change the name Leningrad and once again call it Saint Petersburg, in honor of Peter the Great.

²³ The closeness of advertising campaigns and propaganda programs is evident in the way marketing specialists describe what it is they do. For example, Scott Bedbury – head of marketing at both Starbucks and earlier at Nike (where he oversaw the “Just Do It!” campaign), explains that advertisement isn't primarily about selling a product; rather it's about selling a particular lifestyle and worldview (or might we say, ideology?): «Nike, for example, is leveraging the deep emotional connections that people have with sports and fitness. With Starbucks, we see how coffee has woven itself into the fabric of people's lives, and that's our opportunity for emotional leverage» (Webber 1997, p. 96).

The removal of Jefferson Davis' statue thus undermined the legitimacy of lost cause ideology by stripping it of state-sanctioned authority. The vacant foundation that has been left becomes a reminder of that ideology's fall from grace. Evidence that the empty site will continue to hold symbolic meaning for viewers can be found in an earlier removed Soviet monument to Felix Dzerzhinsky, the founder of the NKVD (a forerunner of the KGB). Dzerzhinsky's statue quickly came under attack in 1991 as the Soviet Union began disintegrating. The statue was deposed and hauled off on a semi-truck, but the pedestal was left standing. The pedestal stood as a reminder of the recent crumbling of the Soviet state and an unknowable future – an unresolved empty (yet symbolic) space. The empty pedestal created a powerful void that people immediately felt compelled to fill, such as attempts to raise an Orthodox cross on the site – efforts that were blocked by the authorities. Even a decade after its removal the site continued to cause controversy. In September 2002, Mayor Yury Luzhkov even suggested replacing the statue to resolve the tensions – though his efforts were blocked. Today, the site sits empty in front of the building that acted as the KGB's headquarters. That building continues to remind viewers what once stood on the empty site, prolonging the denunciation of Dzerzhinsky's ideology.

Because propaganda works like advertising, it is also vulnerable to a form of critique known as culture jamming. In her seminal book on the subject, *No Logo*, Naomi Klein describes the process of culture jamming as «interceptions – counter messages that hack into a corporations own method of communication to send a message starkly at odds with the one that was intended»²⁴. The book analogizes culture jamming to jiu-jitsu, where the goal is to use the strength and momentum of the opponent against it²⁵. This method of critique can take many forms, from modifying existing billboards (as does the San Francisco based Billboard Liberation Front), to creating counter advertisements that use the imagery of corporate branding campaign (as do artists such as Ron English). The modification or re-contextualization of Confederate monuments could be employed as a means of undermining its ideology.

The strategies of culture jamming may also be useful for resolving some of the conflict related to these statues' historical value. At this point, it is clear that leaders such as Mayor Landrieu have decided that the continued potency of the commemorative monuments must outweigh any concerns for their historical and artistic value. One solution sometimes proposed is to simply construct a museum of these statues where they may be housed away from the public squares. This solution is certainly preferable to leaving them in place, but it does run the risk that such a location could become a pilgrimage site for lost cause ideologues. Additionally, state museums carry a certain degree of official authority and sanction, even if it is to a lesser degree than a public square.

²⁴ Klein 2001, p. 281.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

However, there is a way to preserve these statues and monuments in a museum setting, but also frame them in such a way that strips them of official sanction. Again, the experience of the Soviets is instructive. Many of the Soviet era monuments that stood throughout the city of Moscow were eventually placed in the Muzeon Park of Arts (or the Fallen Monuments Park) – a sculpture garden outside the Tretyakov Gallery of Modern Art. Putting the monuments on display in this museum setting effectively neutralizes any arguments that their historical value is being violated.

To ensure that such a setup does not imbue the statues (and their continued commemorative value) with a perception of official state sanction, those statues are juxtaposed with other artworks to properly *frame* the monuments and their ideology properly. Most noteworthy of these artworks is the *Victims of the Totalitarian Regime* (1980) by artist Yevgeny Chubarov. This artwork consists of 283 carved stone heads, displayed behind a stone, rebar, and barbed wire structure that resembles the fence around a prison camp. In addition to his main structure, there are numerous disembodied and ghostly figures spread out across the surrounding lawn. In the middle of all these sculptures stands a relocated statue of Joseph Stalin (fig. 3). Striding forward, hand to his chest the statue was erected to bolster Stalin's cult of personality and convey a sense of him being in control. In his new setting, surrounded by Chubarov's artwork, Stalin's statue still projects a sense of his power over the country, but it repurposes that message to focus on the millions of victims who died in the Gulag prison camps when Stalin chose to wield that power. In this way, the statues act like an altered billboard, reminding viewers of Soviet ideology in order to undermine it. From Stalin's position one looks out in the direction he is striding, and off to the left stands a towering monument to Felix Dzerzhinsky, relocated from in front of the KGB headquarters, representing the organ Stalin used to oppress Soviet citizens²⁶ (fig. 4). The recontextualized display of memorials not only preserves them for their historical value, but actually allows the viewer to understand their historical significance in a much truer way than if they had been allowed to remain in their original locations.

Such an approach could likewise be employed with Confederate statuary as it is removed from its privileged sites throughout the American South. The lost cause ideology has done much to shift the narrative surrounding the Civil War throughout the twentieth century. Whereas the stated ideals that led many states to secede were directly related to the preservation of slavery, the historical revision these monuments participated in prioritized a narrative that the war was fought primarily over states' rights and independence, with a clear overtone of white supremacy. Should these monuments be displayed in a way similar to the Soviet examples in Moscow, their propagandistic message could

²⁶ The other statue that stands near Chubarov's artwork is of Yakov Sverdlov, who is rumored to have been the Soviet official who ordered the execution of the Romanov family.

be redirected in such a way as to directly connect them to the brutal history of slavery and the continued oppression of segregation and racial violence. This would allow cities like New Orleans to answer the critics that demand the monuments' historical value be preserved while still being able to disavow the lost cause ideology attached to their commemorative value.

References / Riferimenti bibliografici

- Bauerlein V. (2015), *Confederate Flag Removed From South Carolina Statehouse*, «The Wall Street Journal», <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/confederate-flag-removed-from-south-carolina-statehouse-1436538782>>, 22.06.2018.
- Berry J. (2015), *Removal of Confederate Monuments Compared to ISIS*, «The Daily Beast», <<https://www.thedailybeast.com/removal-of-confederate-monuments-compared-to-isis>>, 14.05.2018.
- Bromwich J.E. (2017), *University of Texas at Austin Removes Confederate Statues in Overnight Operation*, «The New York Times», <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/21/us/texas-austin-confederate-statues.html>>, 12.03.2018.
- Carr J. (1913), *Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University, June 2, 1913*, <<https://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/files/original/c1160e4341b86794b7e842cb042fb414.pdf>>, 22.07.2018.
- Corcoran K. (2015), *Roof named Charleston as his target in hate-filled manifesto that referred to blacks as 'stupid and violent' and detailed his wish for every Jew to turn BLUE*, «Daily Mail», <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3132670/Dylann-Roof-manifesto-Killer-unveils-Charleston-target-church-massacre-calls-black-people-stupid-violent-complains-s-no-real-KKK-help-him.html>>, 11.07.2018.
- Derrida J. (1995), *Archive Fever*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Du Lac J.F., Ross J., Selk A. (2017), *Jefferson Davis disappears as New Orleans removes tribute to 'lost cause of the Confederacy'*, «The Washington Post», <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/05/11/jefferson-davis-disappears-as-new-orleans-removes-another-tribute-to-the-lost-cause-of-the-confederacy/>>, 12.11.2017.
- Klein N. (2001), *No Logo*, London: Flamingo.
- Mayor Landrieu Signs Ordinance Calling for Relocation of Four Confederate Monuments* (2015), «City of New Orleans», <<https://www.nola.gov/mayor/news/archive/2015/20151217-pr-monuments/>>, 22.04.2018.
- Neuman S. (2015), *Activist Climbs Flagpole at S.C. Statehouse, Removes Confederate Banner*, «NPR», <<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo>>

- way/2015/06/27/418011332/activist-climbs-flagpole-at-south-carolina-statehouse-removes-confederate-banner>, 12.07.2018.
- Ole Miss Removes Mississippi state flag from university campus (2015), «The Guardian», <<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/oct/26/ole-miss-removes-mississippi-state-flag-university-campus>>, 13.06.2018.
- Parks M. (2017), *Confederate Statues Were Built To Further A 'White Supremacist Future'*, «NPR», <<https://www.npr.org/2017/08/20/544266880/confederate-statues-were-built-to-further-a-white-supremacist-future>>, 12.07.2018.
- Riegl A. (1996), *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development*, in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, edited by N. Price, Jr. M.K. Talley, A.M. Vaccaro, Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, pp. 69-83.
- Selk A. (2017), *New Orleans removes a tribute to 'the lost cause of the Confederacy' – with snipers standing by*, «The Washington Post», <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/04/24/new-orleans-removes-a-tribute-to-the-lost-cause-of-the-confederacy-with-snipers-standing-by/>>, 15.06.2018.
- Smith T.J. (1998), *The Collapse of the Lenin Personality Cult in Soviet Russia*, «Historian», Winter, Vol. 60, Issue 2, pp. 325-343.
- Statement on Confederate Memorials: Confronting Difficult History* (2017), «National Trust for Historic Preservation», <<https://savingplaces.org/press-center/media-resources/national-trust-statement-on-confederate-memorials#.WZSYPFGGOU>>, 01.08.2018.
- Taft I. (2016), *10 Texas School Names Honoring Confederates Have Changed. At Least 24 Haven't*, in «The Texas Tribune», <<https://www.texastribune.org/2016/08/14/school-year-begins-communities-take-stock-confeder/>>, 15.06.2018.
- Webber A. (1997), *What Great Brands Do*, «Fast Company», August/September, p. 96.
- Владимир Ленин (2017), «Левада-Центр», <<https://www.levada.ru/2017/04/19/vladimir-lenin/print/>>, 13.05.2018.

Appendix

Fig. 1. The Statue of Jefferson Davis is removed from its pedestal in New Orleans on May 11, 2017 (Gerald Herbert/AP)



Fig. 2. A photo Dylan Roof had posted on a white supremacist website (now de-activated) along with a manifesto explaining his motivations.



Fig. 3. Yevgeny Chubarov, *Victims of the Totalitarian Regime* (1980), with a relocated statue of Joseph Stalin standing in front (photo of the author)



Fig. 4. Statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky relocated from in front of the KGB headquarters (photo of the author)

JOURNAL OF THE SECTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata

Direttore / Editor

Massimo Montella †

Co-Direttori / Co-Editors

Tommy D. Andersson, University of Gothenburg, Svezia

Elio Borgonovi, Università Bocconi di Milano

Rosanna Cioffi, Seconda Università di Napoli

Stefano Della Torre, Politecnico di Milano

Michela di Macco, Università di Roma "La Sapienza"

Daniele Manacorda, Università degli Studi di Roma Tre

Serge Noiret, European University Institute

Tonino Pencarelli, Università di Urbino "Carlo Bo"

Angelo R. Pupino, Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale

Girolamo Scullo, Università di Bologna

Texts by

Gabriele Ajò, Letizia Bindi, Massimiliano Biondi, Clinton Jacob Buhler, Flaminia Cabras,

Chiara Capponi, Michele Catinari, Giacomo Cavuta, Chiara Cerioni, Mara Cerquetti,

Paolo Clini, Annalisa Colecchia, Federico, Lattanzio, Manuel De Luca, Sara Manali,

Dante Di Matteo, Anna Rosa Melecrinis, Emanuele Frontoni, Letizia Gaeta,

Maria Teresa Gigliozzi, Gianpasquale Greco, Elena Montanari, Rossella Moscarelli,

Caterina Paparello, Giulia Pappani, Michela Passini, Roberto Pierdicca,

Mariapaola Puggioni, Ramona Quattrini, Manlio Rossi-Doria,

Leonardo J. Sánchez-Mesa Martínez, Federica Maria Chiara Santagati,

Andrea Ugolini, Carmen Vitale

<http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult/index>

