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OCT. 1945 - FEB. 1946

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OCT. 1945 - FEB. 1946

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*Yale University Art Gallery*

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*Director*

New Haven Connecticut  
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U.S. War Allied Commission  
Subcommission for Monuments,  
Fine Arts and Archives  
APO 394  
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1. Receipt is hereby acknowledged with thanks.

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ATLANTIC ALLIED COMMISSION  
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COMMISSION FOR MONUMENTS FINE ARTS AND ARCHIVES

FINAL REPORT

GENERAL

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FINAL REPORT

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20345/0/MPAL

31 Oct 45

# FINAL REPORT: GENERAL

## CONTENTS

|                                                                        | Page |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I. SCOPE OF REPORT . . . . .                                           | 1    |
| II. THE HISTORY AND PROBLEMS OF THE SUBCOMMISSION                      |      |
| Phase 1: ARMY IN SICILY . . . . .                                      | " 2  |
| Phase 2: The Invasion of Italy: Growing Pains. . . . .                 | " 3  |
| Phase 3: NAPLES: Planning and Reorganization . . . . .                 | " 5  |
| Phase 4: ROME . . . . .                                                | " 10 |
| Phase 5: TUSCANY . . . . .                                             | " 13 |
| Phase 6: The ADRIATIC COAST and the Winter Campaign . . . . .          | " 15 |
| Phase 7: The NORTH . . . . .                                           | " 15 |
| Phase 8: Outstanding Problems: Restitution . . . . .                   | " 17 |
| III. THE ITALIAN STATE SERVICE FOR ANTIQUITIES AND FINE ARTS . . . . . | " 18 |
| IV. WAR DAMAGE . . . . .                                               | " 19 |
| V. REPAIRS TO WAR DAMAGE . . . . .                                     | " 22 |
| VI. DAMAGE FROM THE AIR: ALLIED PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES . . . . .       | " 25 |
| VII. DESTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS BY THE GERMANS . . . . .                 | " 27 |
| VIII. MOVABLE WORKS OF ART                                             |      |
| a. Precautionary Measures . . . . .                                    | " 28 |
| b. Damage and Loss . . . . .                                           | " 30 |
| c. Foreign Works of Art in Italy . . . . .                             | " 31 |
| a. Reports previously issued by Subcommittee . . . . .                 | " 32 |
| IX. EXHIBITIONS . . . . .                                              | " 33 |
| X. DOCUMENTATION . . . . .                                             | " 35 |
|                                                                        | " 36 |

|                                                               |      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Phase 1. The Invasion of Italy: Growing Pains.                | " 3  |
| Phase 2. Naples: Planning and Reorganization.                 | " 5  |
| Phase 3. Rome.                                                | " 10 |
| Phase 4. Tuscany.                                             | " 13 |
| Phase 5. The Adriatic Coast and the Winter Campaign.          | " 15 |
| Phase 6. The North.                                           | " 15 |
| Phase 7. Outstanding Problems: Restitution.                   | " 17 |
| III. THE ITALIAN STATE SERVICE FOR ANTIQUITIES AND FINE ARTS. | " 18 |
| IV. AIR DAMAGE.                                               | " 19 |
| V. REPAIRS TO WAR DAMAGE.                                     | " 22 |
| VI. DAMAGE FROM THE AIR: ALLIED PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES.       | " 25 |
| VII. DESTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS BY THE GERMANS.                 | " 27 |
| VIII. MOVABLE WORKS OF ART                                    |      |
| a. Precautionary Measures.                                    | " 28 |
| b. Damage and Loss.                                           | " 30 |
| c. Foreign Works of Art in Italy.                             | " 31 |
| d. Reports previously issued by Subcommittee.                 | " 32 |
| IX. EXHIBITIONS.                                              | " 33 |
| X. DOCUMENTATION.                                             | " 35 |
| XI. LIBRARIES.                                                | " 36 |
| APPENDIX "A".                                                 | " 39 |
| APPENDIX "B".                                                 | " 40 |
| APPENDICES "C".                                               | " 42 |

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION  
APO 394  
SUBCOMMISSION FOR MONUMENTS FINE ARTS AND ARCHIVES

20345/O/WFAA

31 Oct 45

FINAL REPORT: GENERAL

I. SCOPE OF REPORT

This Final Report of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Subcommission is intended to serve both as a record of the activities and problems of the Subcommission since the first WFAA Officer landed in Sicily with AMBOT in July 1943, and as a summary account of the fate of the antiquities and monuments of Italy during the war. For this purpose it has been divided into a General Report and fourteen Regional Reports. The material contained in the latter has in many cases already been made available to the War Office and to the War Department in the Subcommission's monthly "Gatherings" but in view of the very considerable percentage of inevitable error arising out of the circumstances of the preparation of these Gatherings and of the deliberate use therein of many preliminary reports, which have later required partial correction, it has been thought wise to resummarize the salient facts, within the framework of the Regional Reports. In case of discrepancy, the latter represent the Subcommission's considered statement of fact. No attempt has on the other hand been made to supersede the official reports prepared from time to time by the Subcommission, mainly upon the activities of the Germans in Italy and upon missing or misplaced works of art and antiquities. A list of the more important of these reports is given in Section VIII d., and a summary only of their contents is here included.

In presenting this report it is desired to emphasize that the officers of the Subcommission formed a part of a complex military organization, responsible at a variety of levels to the ordinary military command and to more other.

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In presenting this report it is desired to emphasize that the officers of the Subcommission formed a part of a complex military organization, responsible at a variety of levels to the ordinary military command and to none other. It is for convenience legitimate to talk broadly of the work of the Subcommission. In fact however an officer with the Fifth or Eighth Army was just one member of the G-5 (Civil Affairs) Staff of the Army Commander; and even within the framework of AMG/AC the Regional MFAA Officer was responsible to the Regional Commissioner alone. The Headquarters of the Subcommission has been available to coordinate and to

divine or technical matters, and has in practice received every help in making such coordination effective. But the credit for the greater part of such practical good work as it has been possible to do rests with the individual MTAA Officers in the field and the responsible officers whom they have had to advise.

In stressing the military aspect of the Subcommittee's activities it would be ungracious to overlook the very valuable preliminary work done by civilian organizations in America, which constituted the essential basis of the Subcommittee's own Lists of Protected Monuments. It was a constant matter for regret that, despite the brief but very welcome visits of two members of the Roberts Commission and two visits by Col. Henry C. Newton, representing the War Department, the liaison could not be closer and more continuous. On the British side the close relations established and maintained with Lt. Col. Sir Leonard Woolley, the War Office MTAA Advisor, proved their worth time and again. It cannot however be too strongly stressed that while acknowledging these individual debts to England and America the Subcommittee itself was a completely integrated Anglo-American body, within which British and American officers worked together in complete harmony towards a common end. The experience has been, to say the least, refreshing.

In conclusion the Subcommittee wishes respectfully to put on record its gratitude for the support upon which it has always been able to count from the Chief Commissioner, Admiral Stone; from the Executive Commissioner, Brigadier M. S. Lush, who as Senior Civil Affairs Officer in Tripoli in 1943 may fairly claim to be the first official patron of Monuments and Fine Arts, and has since been a very good friend of the Subcommittee; and of the successive Vice-Presidents of the Civil Affairs Section of the Allied Commission, Air-Commodore Lord Stangeate, Brigadier G. R. Upjohn, and Brigadier M. Cair, who have in turn done so much to smooth out the difficulties of the Subcommittees in their charge.

## II. THE HISTORY AND PROBLEMS OF THE SUBCOMMISSION

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## II. THE HISTORY AND PROBLEMS OF THE SUBCOMMISSION

### PHASE 1: AMGOT IN SICILY

On 29 July 1943, some three weeks after the Allies had landed on the beaches of Sicily, the office of the Advisor for Monuments and Fine Arts to the Chief Civil Affairs Officer of AMGOT was set up in Syracuse. A week later it was transferred to Palermo as part of HQ AMGOT Sicily. On 26 Oct 1943,

with the establishment of the Allied Control Commission, AMGOT Sicily became AMG Region I. The MPAA staff consisted of two officers: Capt Mason Hammond (A), later succeeded by Lt Perry 2. Cott (A), and Capt E. H. J. Lacey (B). During the winter they also had unofficial aid from several of the MPAA Officers who had come to Palermo from North Africa on 5 November 43 with the advance contingent of HQ ACC and the MPAA Subcommission. The last MPAA Officer was finally withdrawn from Sicily on 23 March 1944.

The task of the Sicilian MPAA Officers was arduous enough in detail; and yet in some respects idyllically simple, at any rate in retrospect, and by comparison with what was to come. In the fundamental work of reactivating the Italian administrative machinery there were few tiresome complexities to be observed. The Superintendents were all at their posts, and proved themselves to be loyal and in general capable. They were moreover delighted to be for once free from the shackles of a distant and not very interested administration in Rome. The honeymoon spirit had infected (relatively speaking) even Finance, and the work of first-aid repair to war-damaged monuments proceeded rapidly and effectively. In Palermo for example it was possible to work on over 40 damaged churches; and while inevitably, in view of the limited scope of the repairs which MPAA officers are authorized to undertake, much still remained to do, it is fair to say that with the withdrawal of the last MPAA officer very little work of any urgency was still outstanding.

An important matter of principle established during this phase was the divorce of Monuments and Fine Arts from the Education Subcommission. The short-lived marriage, based presumably on the responsibility of both departments to a single Minister in the Italian Government, had nothing to commend it within the sphere of military government. The MPAA Subcommission was formally constituted late in October 1943.

#### PHASE 2: THE INVASION OF ITALY: GROWING PAINS

On 3 Sept 1943 the Eighth Army invaded Calabria: six days later came the Salerno landings of Fifth Army. No MPAA Officer was with either of the invading Armies, and it became quite inadequate to meet

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#### PHASE 2: THE INVASION OF ITALY: GROWING PAINS

On 3 Sept 1943 the Eighth Army invaded Calabria: six days later came the Salerno landings of Fifth Army. No WFLA Officer was with either of the invading Armies, and it became early apparent that the coverage was quite inadequate to meet the situation. In AMG Region III (Campania), where damage was heavy and troop problems many, the WFLA Officer, Major Paul Gardner (A.), was finally able to reach Naples only on 19 October, after spending over a month as Civil Affairs Officer on Ischia. Major Norman T. Newton (A.) was assigned

as MFAA Officer to AMG Region II (Calabria and Lucania) only on 27 November. Damage in the extreme south was limited and localized, and, despite difficulties of transport, this officer was able by February to report his work completed.

In the heel of the Italian Government the status of "King's Italy" (the four provinces of Bari, Taranto, Brindisi, Lecce) was obscure. It had been directly under the Italian Government from the time of the armistice, 8 Sept 43, and without Military Government. Only in February 44 was it even visited. Damage had happily been minimal, although it was only the rapid transit of war which had saved Castel del Monte, for example, which was in addition the repository for half of the movable works of art from Apulia, from the fate of Montecassino. The only major problems in this area, fortunately, were those caused by indiscriminate requisition. Further north, the province of Puglia was under Military Government, but without an MFAA Officer; the city of Foggia, smashed in September 43, was first visited in January 44.

The causes of this unsatisfactory state of affairs in the early days were inherent in the unnecessarily complicated division of authority that was not cleared up until the amalgamated and coordinated AMG/ACC organization was set up in January 1944. Only then was the gap bridged between AMG Armies and the Allied Control Commission, of which the MFAA Subcommission was an integral part.

In the meanwhile an event of great importance for the future of the MFAA Subcommission had occurred. In November-December '43 the War Office Advisor on Monuments and Fine Arts, Lt Col Sir Leonard Woolley, visited the theatre and made on his return a report to ARHQ on conditions with regard to the monuments of Naples. As result of this report and of considerable public anxiety expressed in America and England, a Court of Inquiry was ordered, under the Presidency of Major General Collier, GOC 3 District. Major Theodore Sizer (2) was the representative of HQ AMG/ACC. The Court, which sat in Jan '44, found that, while individual charges of looting and gross misconduct by Allied troops were not proven, there had in fact been considerable administrative laxity in the matter; and it made in particular a number of specific recommendations to avoid future trouble. These

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cultural monuments of Italy and it established machinery to control indiscriminate requisition. Henceforth the MFAA officer had a definite task and a definite status in relation to the army, and the issue of this instruction may well be regarded as the turning point of the Subcommission's fortunes.

#### PHASE 3: NAPLES: PLANNING AND REORGANIZATION

The issue of AAI Administrative Instruction No. 10 was only one of a series of changes which took place early in 1944. Within the military government organization the sharp divorcement between the AAI of Armies and the Allied Control Commission, which had negatived the efforts of Subcommissions to be of aid regarding forward areas, and had kept the MFAA Director kicking his heels in Palermo until February 44, was replaced by the closer contacts of the integrated AAI/ACC machine. Henceforth the Director of a Subcommission, while in no position to issue orders to specialist officers in the field, was in a position to give advice on matters affecting the work of his Subcommission throughout AAI/ACC. At the same time the call for experienced officers for eventual use in North-Western Europe involved a heavy turn-over of personnel. Included among those transferred to England were both the Director, Major P. E. Baillie-Reynolds (B), and the Deputy-Director, Capt Mason Hammond (A), who had been the first MFAA Officer in the field in Sicily; also several officers whose experience to date had in fact been to sit at First Queen in North Africa, or more fortunately at Palermo or Naples, waiting for a chance to do the work for which they had been selected in such haste months previously. Such is war. Major Ernest T. De Wald (A) was appointed Director; and as Deputy Director, Major J. B. Ward Perkins (B), who had previously served from May to Sept 1943 as monuments officer to the British Military Administrations of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

The next few months were full of activity, which may for convenience be summarized under the following header: Troop-basis view; and the implementation of AAI Admin. Instr. No. 10; Liaison with the Air Forces; Deployment of personnel; and Archives.

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## 2. Implementation of A.I. Admin. Instruction No. 10

Paragraph 4 of this instruction called for the preparation and distribution by the AFMA Subcommission of Lists of Protected Comments. With the advance on home expected daily this was a matter of first priority. To be effective such lists had inevitably to be

selective, which involved a considerable labour of editing on the copious material which had been made available by the American Defence Harvard Group Committee on Protection of Monuments and by the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments. Printing facilities presented a further bottle-neck. However the first of the seven regional booklets, No. 3 (covering Lazio and the Abruzzi), was in the hands of the Armies and distributed down to battalion-level before the advance in May; and the last, No. 7 (la Tre Venezie), was in the hands of the printers before the Subcommission left Naples three months later. Nos. 1 (Sardinia and Sicily) and 2 (Campania, Apulia, Lucania, and Calabria) were at first issued in mimeographed form, but were later revised and reissued together as a single printed booklet.

Naples itself was the first testing-ground. This city was, and was to remain, a very special case. Destruction had been very heavy, and yet as the main base for the Italian campaign, it was called on to house a number very greatly in excess of its normal population. The months from March to May were spent in a bitter, and only very partially successful, effort to shake the fait-accompli and to secure implementation of the specific recommendations of the Military Court of Inquiry. The National Museum was eventually evacuated of its deposit of dangerously inflammable medical stores. Discipline among military visitors to Pompeii was improved by visiting C.M.P. patrols. The Royal Palace on the other hand, which had suffered heavily from bombing and from subsequent depredations by troops and civilians and by indiscriminate quartering, was taken over in part as a N.A.S.P./S.I. Club for British troops. In the final event this was probably not an unmixt disaster inasmuch as the heavy task of weatherproofing the badly damaged building was undertaken at no cost to the overloaded Fine Arts budget; moreover the eventual occupants have treated the palace with consistent care and consideration. The process of transformation however was carried out in an extremely hasty manner, involving the needless destruction of several damaged

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## b. Liaison with Air Forces

Early in 1944 enemy propaganda had begun to make great play over the destruction of Italian monuments by Allied air-bombardment. The problem, a very difficult one, was widely discussed at the time both in Italy and at home; and while it was clear that many enemy claims were wildly exaggerated it was equally clear that the successful prosecution of the war would inevitably and unavoidably spell yet further disaster to monuments. The clear task of the AFM Subcommission was to ensure that at least no part of this destruction should be wrought through ignorance of the existence and importance of individual monuments.

As early as October '43 the AFM Officers in Sicily had been in contact with a certain Professor Zucker-  
mann of Special Air Mission, North African Air Force, but there is no indication that the information he requested and received ever reached competent Headquarters. Simultaneously Air Marshal Tedder, then A.O.C.-in-C, had instructed Pl/Lt Christopher Morris, R.A.F., to submit a detailed report to himself, with a view to limiting damage to monuments. This report was used as a basis for the issue of a set of annotated air-photographs prepared by S/Ldr P. Shinnie, which were issued by MAAR on 23 Feb 44 with a General instruction that they were to be used in all bombing operations, and specifically limiting air activity over certain historic towns. The Subcommission assisted informally in the final stages of preparation of <sup>9</sup> volumes, but the credit for their production rests with the Air Forces themselves.

On 11 March the Montegrotto Chapel in the Church of the Armentoni at Padua was destroyed. In view of this and other disturbing reports the Director obtained permission to visit personally the Director of Operations, Mediterranean Allied Air Forces (MAAF), then Brig Gen Norstadt. This direct liaison was subsequently extended to the Tactical Air Forces. On all occasions the Subcommission received a very sympathetic hearing. Indeed it was the Subcommission's experience in every field that the extent of comprehension of its aims and the desire to help to achieve them was

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Direct liaison with AMF was maintained as occasion permitted. At the same time the Subcommittee received on demand from the Mediterranean Photographic Intelligence Centre up to date air photographs of targets, and was thus able to keep an accurate record of damage and to check the claims of enemy propaganda.

#### c. Employment of Personnel

Permission was at last obtained in March-April '44 to attach MPAA Officers to AMG 5th and 8th Armies, and (quite as important and twice as difficult) they were provided with transport. In March '44 Major Norman T. Newton (A) was assigned to AMG 8 Army, where he was joined in May by Captain R. Ellis (B), a newly-arrived Archives officer. Capt Deane Keller (A) was assigned to AMG 5 Army. Rome was allotted two officers, Lt Perry B. Cote USNR and Capt T. H. Brooke (B), Archivists; and Lt Frederick Hirtt (A) and Capt F. H. J. Maxse (B) were earmarked for Tuscany and for Abruzzi-Marche Regions respectively. There remained temporarily at Headquarters, to complete the lists of Protected Monuments, Capt E. Croft-Murray (B), who also assisted Major Paul Gardner, MPAA Officer for Campania, with the problems occasioned by the requisitioning of the Royal Palaces of Naples and Caserta; and Captain B. Harriott (B), who was subsequently called forward at short notice when it was decided to form a Lazio Region independent of AMG Rome City. Finally there remained at Salerno, as liaison officer with the Civil Affairs Section of the Allied Commission, Capt A. B. Pennyroyer (A). The Subcommittee belonged administratively to this Section, but was happily successful in its efforts to avoid physical relocation to the pleasant but somewhat remote fastnesses of Rieti HQ.

#### d. Archives

At some stage in the AMGCP period in Sicily the protection of Archives had been resumed among the varied functions of the Subcommittee. This was not an act of necessity on the part of a hungry Subcommittee (which had plenty on its hands), but the plain

and (quite an important and twice as difficult) they were provided with transport. In March '44 Major Norman T. Newton (A) was assigned to AMG 5 Army, where he was joined in May by Captain R. Ellis (B), a newly-arrived Archives officer. Capt Deane Keller (A) was assigned to AMG 5 Army. Roma was allotted two officers, Lt Perry B. Gott UNH and Capt T. H. Brooke (B), Archivists; and Lt Frederick Hartt (A) and Capt F. B. J. Maxse (B) were earmarked for Tuscany and for Abruzzi-Marche Regions respectively. There remained temporarily at Headquarters, to complete the Lists of Protected Monuments, Capt E. Croft-Murray (B), who also assisted Major Paul Gardner, AFM Officer for Campania, with the problems occasioned by the requisitioning of the Royal Palace of Naples and Capri; and Captain B. Marriott (B), who was subsequently called forward at short notice when it was decided to form a Lazio Region independent of AMG Roma City. Finally there remained at Salerno, as liaison officer with the Civil Affairs Section of the Allied Commission, Capt A. S. Penney (A). The Subcommittee belonged administratively to this Section, but was happily successful in its efforts to avoid physical relocation to the pleasant but somewhat remote fastnesses of Rear HQ.

#### d. Archives

At some stage in the AMGOT period in Sicily the protection of Archives had been assumed among the varied functions of the Subcommittee. This was not on account of rapacity on the part of a hungry Subcommittee (which had plenty on its hands), but the plain fact that at the time the work needed doing and nobody had been appointed to do it. In February 44 however there arrived on a visit Mr Hilary Jenkinson, Secretary of the Records Office and Adviser on Archives to the War Office; and he was followed in early April by Mr Fred W. Shipman, Director of the Franklin Delano

Hoover Library, Hyde Park, N. Y. Two British Archivists officers, Capt B. Ellis and Capt T. H. Brocke, were assigned to the Subcommittee, followed in September '44 by an American, Capt W. D. McCain.

The work of the archivists is subject of a separate report and is not therefore here further recorded. In view of the occasional very natural emphasis that has been laid by the Archivists upon the differences of function and interest between the Archivists officers and their Fine Arts colleagues, it may however be remarked that every officer on the Subcommittee in varying degrees played a part in the archival work of the Subcommittee. If there was a serious difference of opinion, it lay in the difficulty of reconciling the Fine Arts policy of rigid selection and pruning of unessentials as the best means to ensure the cooperation of an army at war, and the (no doubt very legitimate) archival contention that all archives are important.

Mr Jenkinson (twice) and Mr Shipman both payed subsequent visits to Italy and expressed general satisfaction with the results achieved on their advice.

No survey of the Naples phase would be complete without reference to destruction of the venerated Abbey of Montecassino by Allied air-bombardment on 15 Feb 44. Much of the comment reported at the time from England and America seemed to those on the spot wide of the mark. The real issue was not (as so often stated) "Allied Lives or a Monument" <sup>578</sup> rather whether the destruction of the Abbey would in fact achieve a useful military purpose. In effect it is doubtful whether it did. It is now established that no German was within 400 yards of the monastery, whereas after its destruction the ruins made a magnificent observation-post and strong-point. However that is knowledge after the event; and there is no doubt that the intense relief felt by the combat troops at the removal of what had become an obsession was no negligible factor. It is hard to see how any commander could have done otherwise. In passing it may be added that Montecassino's claim to outstanding consideration lay far more in its historic and religious association and its contents (which there was every reason to hope would be moved

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While all eyes were fixed on the North, the Regional KPAA Officer for Campania, Major Paul Gardner, and the Italian Superintendences were putting through a first-class programme of first-aid repair to war-damaged monuments. By mid-summer 1944 work was in many instances well-advanced, and before Major Gardner left the Region, financial authorization had been secured throughout for a comprehensive programme of Phase I repair. At the moment of writing this report, it is learned that this programme is now complete, and the Superintendences are able to turn to a longer-term programme of final restoration. To those who knew Naples in 1943/4 this is a very gratifying result.

#### PHASE 4: ROME

On 11 May 44 began the long-awaited offensive on the Cassino front and on 4 June Allied troops entered Rome. The battle had been bitterly fought, and the tale of devastation between the Gerigliano and the Gestelli Romani was to be equalled only once more in the Italian campaign, on the 1944/5 winter-line in Northern Tuscany and in the Romans.

The Allied occupation of Rome certainly did not suffer from any lack of planning, and the KPAA Subcommittee was well represented. KPAA Officers were now with AMG of both 5th and 6th Armies. In addition, Lt Perry B. Cott (.), Regional Fine Arts Officer, and Capt Humphrey Brooke (R), Regional Archivist, were with the Advanced Regional AMG party who entered Rome on the evening of the 4th. This excellent arrangement enabled the KPAA officers with the Armies to follow up the rapid advance of the front, leaving the city's domestic problems to be settled by the Regional KPAA Staff, a precedent which was successfully followed wherever possible throughout the remainder of the campaign. The Director of the Subcommittee arrived not long after with the Advance Party of Headquarters, and eventually on 4 July was followed by the remaining HQ staff. A last-minute change of plan had divided the administration of Rome City and of Lazio into two separate Regions, necessitating the nomination of Capt Basil Marriott (E) to the latter. Thanks to sickness, lack of transport, and lack of planning, this last may be considered from the KPAA point of view as a pure diversion of effort; and on 1 August, the uneasy divorce was thankfully terminated and Lazio (and eventually Umbria) passed once more under the care of Lt Cott.

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The occupation of Rome was in striking contrast to that of Naples. Of the hundreds of world-famous monuments only the great Basilica of S. Lorenzo and sundry minor antiquities on the outskirts had been damaged; and a successful liaison with the Real Estate Office at all times kept the requisition

problem under control, though not, it must be admitted, without its uneasy moments. In August a project to requisition the Farnesina Palace as a billet for Canadian nurses was narrowly averted, and some months later the full weight of the Allied Commission's artillery was required to stave off a threat to take the Palazzo Venezia as a Red Cross Enlisted Men's Club. However both were in fact successfully fought, and (equally important), with goodwill and patience all round, alternative locations were found which gave full satisfaction to military needs. These were, inevitably, not the last occasions of conflict between military and cultural requirements. But it is generally true to say that with the northward advance such occasions became progressively fewer, and the procedure established for dealing with them worked with increasing smoothness. Naples remained happily unique.

Another novel feature of the situation was that the Italian Government had now to be reckoned with seriously, if only, as in moments of exasperation it sometimes seemed, as a negative force. The transfer to the Government on August 15, barely two months after the occupation of Rome, of all territory south of the northern boundaries of Viterbo, Rieti, and Campobasso provinces, meant that henceforth all responsibility for administration and for handling an enormous problem of reconstruction in this territory lay with the Director General of Antiquities and Fine Arts of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The Subcommission could only advise or, to a limited extent, assist when asked.

It was particularly unfortunate that in these circumstances the choice of Director General in the newly reestablished Fine Arts Service should have fallen upon an elderly administrative official, of the highest political <sup>1578</sup> ability but with little technical knowledge or drive. The results were disappointing. Out of a total budget of two hundred and fifty million lire for the Ministry of Education for 1944/1945, twenty-two million only had been allocated for repair of war-damaged monuments, barely enough to finance the repairs of a single large monument such as S. Lorenzo in Rome. Even this sum was spent sparingly, while prices rose daily and materials became increasingly scarce. Over a year after the event the Superintendent of Monuments for Lazio appears to have been able to visit only a very small part of his Superintendency, and his office is still dependent on the field-reports of the Subcommission for information as to the remain-



of neutral scholars, established beyond reasonable doubt that the Roman galleys at Kemi were deliberately fired and reduced to heaps of blackened rubble in the final stages of the withdrawal; and the packing of the Palazzo Ruspoli above in the village of Kemi was only one of the more clearly documented cases of western German savagery. On the other hand some Germans, notably an SS Lieutenant Schaubert, had done invaluable work in aiding a few devoted Italian and Vatican officials in removing movable works of art, books, and documents from the threatened zone of Southern Lazio and saving many from almost inevitable destruction. The spotlight inevitably falls on the treasures of the National Museum of Naples, which had been stored in Montecassino. They were removed thence in October 43 by the Hermann Goering Division, who took them to Spoleto and only after weeks of negotiation reluctantly handed them over, said batteries of propaganda photographers, to the Italian authorities for safe storage in the Vatican City. It was not until July 44, when the Subcommittee arranged for a joint check of the contents, that it was revealed that in saving these treasures from the Anglo-American barbarian the Division had abstracted a number of paintings (including Brougel's "Blind leading the Blind" and Titian's "Danae"), five of the great classical bronzes and the priceless collection of antique gold and silver jewelry. In anticipation it may be added that it is now confirmed that these passed to Goering's personal collection, and thence to a salt mine in Austria, where they were discovered intact by Allied Forces and now await restoration to Italy.

The unparalleled wealth of works of art stored within the Vatican made possible another venture by the Subcommittee. The exhibition of masterpieces of Italian Art arranged by Lt. Cott and open from 28 Aug 44 to 18 Feb 45, was visited by some 150,000 persons and netted a profit of a million and a half lire towards the repair of war-damaged monuments. A part of this sum has been already spent on Palazzo Vitelleschi at Terracina.

On 26 Aug 44, with the constitution of Southern Italy into a single region, Major Paul Gardner remained alone in the south, and he too was withdrawn a fortnight later. All had to be ready for the anticipated break-through in the north; and in the meanwhile Tuscany and the Maremne were demanding the Subcommittee's full attention.

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PHASE 5: TUSCANY

With the approach of the Allied Armies to Florence a fresh and urgent problem was thrust upon the Subcommittee. It had already long been known that, as a measure of protection, the Italian authorities had removed great quantities of their finest movable works of art, antiquities, books, and archives away from the cities to organized depositories in castles, villas, monasteries, and other remote localities of the countryside. Very little however could be discovered of their location, even after the entry to Rome, inasmuch as all the recent records of the Fascist Ministry of Education had been removed to the north. Such lists as were available proved in the event to be badly out of date. Moreover the problem had not so far presented itself in its full colours. Rome itself had been rightly considered a safe centre for storage, and to it had been re-collected the outlying deposits of Lazio, and indeed some from deposits as far afield as Aquila and Urbino. In Campagna and the South such deposits as there were had escaped almost without incident, although Castel del Monte, magnificent hill-top castle of Frederick II and deposit for the finest works of Apulia, could hardly have failed to have suffered in the event of serious fighting south of Foggia. As it was, only at Montecassino, where had been stored the finest treasures of the National Museum at Naples, had the dangers been brought out of a dispersion, which had been planned to meet the anticipated air-bombardment of cities without considering also the possibilities of invasion and land-fighting. There was reason to hope that this lesson had now been learned and that the treasures of Tuscany would be found concentrated once more within the city of Florence.

The first indication of the dangers ahead was the discovery between 6 and 11 July by Capt Keller of AMG S Army of three scattered deposits in the neighbourhood of Siena. Those of Montemalle and Lroeno were still under fire, and last-minute attempts by German troops to "protect" some of contents had only been forestalled by local partisans and by the initiative of a British patrol. A fortnight later, on 23 July, New Zealand and Indian troops came upon a cache of world-famous masterpieces from Florence in the villa of Sir Osbert Sitwell at Montecatini. Caring for them was the librarian of the villa, who was able to give detailed information as

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576

Deposits were damaged (Poppiano, Villa Guicciardini, where a shell-hit and subsequent carelessness by troops damaged Pontorno's "Visitation") and only one instance of misconduct by Allied troops was recorded (Poppiano, Castello Guicciardini, the elitting, allegedly by Nazi troops, of two small pictures by Melini). For record it should be added that much of the material in these deposits was unsorted and, as the battle swept past, unguarded. Nobody who saw it will soon forget the main hall at Montedifendi and its ranks of pictures ranged, face-outwards along the walls, among them Botticelli's "Primavera", the Giotto "Madonna", the Cimabue "Madonna", and Velasquez's "Philip IV". An unsorted and in its context terrifying experience.

Meanwhile the Germans had not been inactive. During July and August, in addition to helping the Italian authorities to transport back into Florence the contents of several outlying deposits, they had themselves removed to an unknown destination in the north the greater part of the contents of five more deposits, in addition to individual pictures from a sixth and several important private collections. The tale had certainly lost little in the telling, and it was still too early to judge with certainty of motives. However over 500 masterpieces of painting and sculpture were indubitably missing, and one of the urgent tasks of the MFAH officers was to record all details of their removal and compile precise inventories of the loss. In addition to these removals several of the other deposits, notably that at Barberino, had suffered damage and loss at the hands of German occupying troops.

Florence itself, entered during the second week of August, presented the familiar problems of war-damage and pillaging. The heart of the medieval city had been torn out by German demolitions and buried in the rubble were a valuable private collection of paintings and the unique library of the Columbaria. To save these and to rescue from the covouring bulldozers as much as could be of the shattered medieval framework against eventual reconstruction was to be a long and uphill struggle. Elsewhere in the valley of the Arno and to the north destruction was on a scale comparable to Southern Lazio. A large part of Pisa was a shambles, and the Camposanto a roofless wreck. Pillaging-demands too called for much hard work, particularly in relation to the villas around Florence. However the procedure laid down again proved its worth; and, once the opinions of many dia-

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These and many other problems kept three officers continuously busy in Tuscany throughout the ensuing winter: Captain Keller of AMG 5 Army; Lt Heritt of AMG, Toscana Region; and, in succession, Captains Croft-Burrey, Pincent, and Enthoven of AMG Florence City.

PHASE 6: THE ADRIATIC COAST AND THE WINTER CAMPAIGN 1944-45

The break-through on the Cassino front in May 44 had been achieved by bringing the bulk of the 8th Army to join the 5th Army to the west of the central Italian mountain-chain, and there it remained until shortly after the fall of Florence. Now in August 44 it was once more switched to the east coast for the assault on the Gothic Line, which it was hoped would open the way to the plains of northern Italy. That objective was not immediately achieved, but through the long winter the Eighth Army ground slowly and bitterly forward through the Romagna, while the Fifth lay halted in the mountains south of Bologna.

The Adriatic Zone had not hitherto presented a serious MPAA problem. Apart from a narrow belt of utter devastation in the Senigallia valley, damage during the swift subsequent advance had been local and limited, and such as could be handled unaided by Major Newton (A) for AGO 8 Army in the early days, and later by Capt Maxue (B), Regional Officer for the Abruzzi and the Marche. It was not until the shattered port of Ancona was reached that serious trouble was again encountered. From there onwards, with the mercurial exception of Urbino, the problems were all too familiar - heavy damage, intense military activity, lack of interest in essential materials. During the winter Capt Croft-Merritt (B), Regional MPAA Officer for Emilia, was brought over to help Major Newton in the forward areas; and Capt Merritt (B) aided Capt Maxue for several months in the Abruzzi-Marche.

Ancona was entered on 5 December and was found, thanks to the restraint of both armies, to have suffered no vital damage to any of its major Renaissance monuments, though many had had narrow escapes. A programme of first-aid weather-proofing was immediately put into effect and completed. For the rest there is little but rain and hard work on a series of battered towns, taken one by one, to record during this phase, both here and in Tuscany. Opportunity was taken to tighten-up the liaison with the tactical air-forces; and meanwhile all stood poised for the long-awaited break-through into Northern Italy.

PHASE 7: THE NORTH

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#### PHASE 7: THE NORTH

The break-through when it came was rapid and complete and was followed on 2 May 45 by the final surrender of the German armies in Italy. KFAA Officers were ready with their Regional teams, and were seen installed - in Liguria Lt Col Paul Gardner (A); in Piemonte Capt R. E. Enthoven (B); in Lombardy Lt (USAR) Perry B. Cott (A); and in Venetia Capt L. Marriotti (B), shortly afterwards joined by Major Norman

T. Newton (A), who had completed the advance with AMG Eighth Army. Capt Deane Keller (A) continued his work with AMG Fifth Army in the Alto Adige all summer.

Damage was found to be intense but localized, mainly in the big industrial cities and communications-centres. It was more widespread in Venetia than elsewhere. Movable works of art had hardly suffered at all, thanks to a wise policy, in the case of concentration into Venice, and in the west of dispersed to a series of deposits towards the Swiss border. The Superintendent proved, with a few glaring exceptions, to be competent and active, and a close liaison with the partisan forces had minimized the risk of damage or loss during the initial confusion of the liberation. The major personnel difficulty was provided by the allegedly un satisfactory political background of several of the Superintendent's assistants, necessitating their suspension. The work of the key Superintendent of Monuments for Milan suffered particularly from this cause.

The most spectacular event was undoubtedly the recovery, virtually intact, of the six hundred odd pictures and sculptures missing from the deposits of Tuscany. They were found, together with several looted private collections also from Tuscany, in the Alto Adige, at San Leonardo near Merano and at Campo Tures (Castel Neumelans) near Brunico. With them were a number of members of the German Military Film Arts Service, the Abteilung Kunstschutz, including its head, SS Colonel Langsdorff. Other members of the Abteilung were located near Como and at Venice. Some of the pictures at San Leonardo had suffered some damage, but considering the circumstances of their northward journey, unscathed and partly in open trucks, this was really miraculously light. The enquiry, undertaken in collaboration with W/Cdr Cooper of Central Commission Germany, clearly demonstrated that, even if the move had originally been undertaken, as alleged, to save these pictures from danger of destruction, it had developed a far more sinister aspect, and that the SS had no intention of their ever returning to Italy. Of that Langsdorff was certainly aware. A detailed report (20914/AFH.) on the activity of the Kunstschutz in Italy between 1943 and 1945, prepared jointly by the W/Cdr Cooper and Lt Col De Wold, was issued on 30 June 45.

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As soon as the preliminary checking was complete, arrangements were begun to transport the entire contents of the two deposits back to Florence. On 20 July 45 a special train, the first to use the restored line, left Bolzano, and two days later at a formal ceremony in the Piazza della Signoria 420 5 Army banded back to the city of Florence her missing treasures.

In May 45 two British officers (Capt E. Croft-Murray and Capt R. Brooke, archivist) were withdrawn for MFAA work in Austria. In July they were followed by three American officers: Lt Col E. T. De Veld, Director of the Subcommission, Lt (USMA) Perry B. Cott, MFAA Officer Lombardie, and Lt Harrit, MFAA Officer Toscano. At the same time Lt Col Paul Gardner was assigned away from the Allied Commission at 24 hours' notice. In August Capt W. D. McCain (American archivist) was released to the States, and Capt Deane Keller, of AMS 5 Army, was shortly after withdrawn to Austria. These withdrawals imposed a severe strain on the Subcommission. Captain Pincent replaced Lt Cott at Milan, when Emilio Regien closed on 4 Aug 45. Liguria remained without an MFAA officer, but essential outstanding business was handled by the Regional Education officer jointly with Capt Entheoven from Piemonte. At Headquarters in the meantime Lt Col J. B. Ward Perkins (P) had become Director and Major Norman T. Newton (A), from AMS 8 Army and Venezia Region, Deputy Director. Finally, prior to the termination of AMS in the north, administrative responsibility for MFAA matters in Liguria, Piemonte, and Lombardie was formally transferred to the Italian Direction General. At the time of submission of this report an MFAA officer is retained only in Venezia Region to clear up outstanding problems.

The pinch was felt particularly in Venezia Division which has been visited by MFAA officers twice only, for brief periods, between its occupation in early May and the preparation of this report. Damage was happily very limited and confined to Pola, where repairs are in hand. The Superintendent proved to be a person of outstanding competence. German activities in this zone are subject of a special report of 2 Aug 45 (20141/MFAA) by Lt Col Ward Perkins.

PAGE 3: OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS: RESTITUTION

The main outstanding problem, and one which, since the discovery of the robbery of the Neapolitan treasures removed from the deposit at Montecassino, has occupied an ever-increasing part of the Subcommission's attention, is the documentation, with a view to the eventual recovery, of the works of art still missing and believed stolen by the Germans. The information so collected will be used to substantiate claims by the Italian Government for

Severe strain on the Subcommission. Captain Piment replaced Lt Cott at Milan, when Emilio Re-  
gion closed on 4 Aug 45. Liguria remained without an MFAA  
officer, but substantial outstanding business was handled by  
the Regional Education officer jointly with Capt Enthoven  
from Piemonte. Lt Headquarters in the meantime Lt Col J. B.  
Ward Perkins (E) had become Director and Major Norman T.  
Howton (A), from 2nd Army and Venetian Region, Deputy Direc-  
tor. Finally, prior to the termination of MFAA in the north,  
administrative responsibility for MFAA matters in Liguria,  
Piemonte, and Lombardia was formally transferred to the  
Italian Direction General. At the time of submission of this  
report an MFAA officer is retained only in Venetian Region to  
clear up outstanding problems.

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restitution. As noted in Section VIII, little is missing  
from State Collections, and the most important group of  
even these, the Montecassino objects, is known to be intact  
in American hands in Germany. Private collections suffered  
more heavily, and fully documented reports have been passed  
to the MFAA Sections in Germany and Austria with a view to

identification. There are in addition a number of potential claims of a rather specialized character: gifts from prominent Fascists to prominent Nazis; works of art exported to Germany illegally or as a result of pressure; the libraries of the German Institutes in Italy. On the other side of the coin, there are at present in Italy (as loans, for safe-keeping, or as loot) a number of works of art and antiquities, which do not belong there and are themselves likely to be the subject of counter-claims upon Italy. These have obviously required very careful documentation.

In the absence of any statements of policy from higher authority, the Subcommittee has put forward for consideration its own proposals, based on what is believed to be the policy current elsewhere in Europe. It is presumed that formal claims for restitution will be a diplomatic matter. Arrangements have however been made for the retention of an SPAA Advisor to the Allied Commission after the dissolution of the Subcommittee. This advisor will handle technical liaison-work with the Allied Military Governments in Austria and Germany.

### C. III. THE ITALIAN STATE SERVICE FOR ANTIQUITIES AND FINE ARTS

The Italian State-Service for the preservation and administration of Antiquities and Fine Arts constituted before the war of a central Direction General, one of several departments of the Ministry of Education, and of a number of Regional Superintendencies. The Superintendencies were of three sorts, for Antiquities, for Monuments, and for Galleries, any of which might be combined, though in practice normally only the latter two. The areas covered varied from a couple of provinces to a whole Region or even more. The Superintendencies for Libraries were distinct, under a separate Direction General.

One of the primary tasks of the Subcommittee was to assist the reactivation of this State-service. In the field the difficulties were few. The great majority of the Superintendents were found at their posts and proved to be persons of genuine, and in many cases of outstanding, competence and loyalty. Only in a very few instances did absence, incom-

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The effective reactivation of the Direction General started from zero, and was inevitably a slower process. Even after the liberation of Rome inept appointments hampered effective action, and it was not until February 1945 that the

bureaucratic impasse was broken by the nomination of Professor Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli to the post of Director General. Since that date progress has been rapid, and it has been possible for the Subcommission to effect a progressive turn-over of responsibility to the Italian Government. In the North, where at the time of writing Military Government is still in force in five Regions, MPAAs officers have been withdrawn from all save Venetian Region and Venezia Giulia.

The future is hard to estimate. The sudden appointment in June 45 of an Undersecretary for Fine Arts served a purely political purpose, and may well have the unhappy result of causing the post of Director General once more to revert to the administrative bureaucratic side of the State-Service. At a time when strong central direction is an urgent necessity for the future of Italy's war-damaged monuments, this would be little short of a disaster. For better or for worse however it is a responsible and potentially effective administration to which the Subcommission has handed over on the completion of its work. The future rests with the Italian people.

#### IV. WAR DAMAGE

573

#### General Considerations and Prior Protective Measures

The details of war-damage are set out fully in the Subcommission's Regional Reports, but it is convenient to make here certain observations of a general character.

The great majority of damage arose out of strategic and tactical air-bombardment, and was therefore concentrated on industrial targets and (in the later stages almost exclusively) on military installations, ports, and communications-centres. It was only in those areas where there was protracted ground-fighting that devastation became more widespread and all-embracing. Thus certain areas escaped almost untouched, e.g. the Italian mainland South and East of Naples and Benevento (with a few exceptions: Reggio, Torino, Potenza, Foggia) or the Adriatic Coast from Pescara to Ancona. In the North destruction was restricted to the great centres such as Genoa, Turin, and Milan, where it was intense, and to the roads and railways leading northward through the three

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An important factor in limiting casualties was the elaborate protective programme begun by the Italian Government in 1940, whereby hundreds of monuments up and down Italy were cased in protective layers of sand-bags, masonry, or ferro-concrete. A good, though partial, idea of the character of this ambitious programme, can be obtained from the official publication, La Protezione del Patrimonio Artistico Nazionale dalle Offese della Guerra Aerea (Florence, 1942).

Considerable publicity has been given to the failure of these protective measures to save the Royal Tombs in San-za Chiera, Naples. Indeed the protective framework of timber and sandbags served in that instance only to intensify the heat of the fire and to calcine most of the tombs beyond recovery. Following this disaster there was a widespread recognition in North Italy, as a result of which the Agostino di Duccio pilasters of the Tempio Malatestiano were caught unprotected in the second raid on Rimini. There were exceptions. In Naples itself the same protective measures had done invaluable work in S. Domenico Maggiore, in S. Giovanni a Carbonara, and in the Montecitorio. The most miraculous instance of successful protection is the Last Supper at Milan, which survived the almost total demolition of the Refectory which it adorned. On balance the programme must be judged an outstanding success.

#### Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities

On the whole the remains of prehistoric and classical antiquities suffered remarkably little, due in part to the remoteness of many sites and in part to the astonishing inherent toughness of Roman masonry, a quality strikingly demonstrated for example by the Villa of Hadrian, where a heavy artillery-bombardment produced little more than superficial scars and one collapsed vault. Luck too played its part. For both Agrigento and Paestum were the scenes of major opposed landings and both escaped unscathed. Inevitably scattered monuments were hit, but few like the Amphitheatre at Cassino irreparably. In the whole of the bitterly contested zone of Southern Lazio, for example, none of the Latin cities have lost any considerable portion of their characteristic pre-Roman and Republican defences. An exception is the temple of Augustus at Pola, irretrievably shattered. The only class of classical monuments to suffer heavily has been the bridges. The Ponte della Pietra at Ver-

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The loss to archaeological collections is hard to estimate. No individual work of antiquity of first-class merit is known to have perished. On the other hand lesser archaeological collections suffered heavily, particularly in central and south Italy, where few precautions had been taken; and the value of such collections lay rather in the total weight of individually insignificant material than in the intrinsic importance of any particular items. Alfedena, Civitavecchia, Foggia, Potenza, Terni, Viterbo and Volletri are some only of the many that suffered loss or destruction. Of the more important archaeological museums, Capua received a direct hit, but the majority of the contents have been recovered; Chiusi also was hit, but the damage, at first reputed as severe, is mainly repairable; Ascona was two-thirds demolished together with the entire rich Prehistoric collection of which, quite inexorably, only a very few selected objects had been removed to safety. This was undoubtedly the worst archaeological casualty in Italy, and one of the severest losses in any field. Other losses of the first rank (to summarize) are the Gallois at Nemi; the temple of Augustus at Pola; and the bridges at Capua and Verona.

#### Post-classical Monuments

272

The tally of damage to post-classical monuments in Italy is so lengthy and so diverse that few generalizations can be anything but misleading. There is little danger of contradiction however in stating that the Baroque and later styles have been the heaviest sufferers, on account both of the quantity of monuments available for destruction and of the fragile quality of so much of their construction and essential ornament. It is safe also to say that in general the earlier middle ages were singularly fortunate. None of the more important Renaissance monuments nor of the great Norman monuments of Sicily was seriously hurt. The damage to S. Lorenzo in Rome is mainly repairable and missed the really important parts. S. Ambrogio in Milan, another notable exception, could have been very much worse. Unquestionably the outstanding disaster to the Renaissance monuments in Italy was the shattering of Manfredo cathedral and of its stupendous bronze doors. It may be added that the bronze doors of Montecassino are reported recovered and restorable. With the exception of those at Pisa, which had been left in place and were hit by a bomb, which had been left in place

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In listing a few of the outstanding casualties of succeeding centuries it is vital to distinguish those that can be substantially repaired from those which are total losses. To the former belong such primarily architectural casualties as S. Cirillo at Ancona and (in the main) the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini; or the Palladian facades of the streets of Vicenza. To the latter the fire-gutted 16th-18th century interiors

of Genoa, Turin and Milan; or the frescoed and stuccoed interiors of hundreds of churches throughout Italy. Outstanding casualties, in one or other sense, are the following: Santa Chiara, Naples (the later baroque trappings and the Angevin royal tombs, by Tino di Cambrino and others, are largely destroyed; the medieval shell can be successfully restored); Pisa, Camposanto (structure completely reparable; frescoes severely damaged, the Benozzo Gozzoli probably irreparably); the Montagna Chapel in the Eremitani at Padua (a total loss); the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini (shattered, but in almost all essentials reparable); the Basilica Palladiana at Vicenza (medieval roof only destroyed; reparable). To this list should perhaps be added the Abbey of Montecassino, as an outstanding example of rich Southern Baroque architecture. Two towns of unusual character which have suffered particularly heavily are Viterbo (medieval centre mainly intact, but circuit of walls and three fine churches, S. Francesco, S. Sisto, and S. Maria della Verità, smashed); and Vicenza (street facades to a considerable extent reparable; interiors gutted). Of the hundreds of destroyed bridges, outstanding are the Ponte Santa Trinità at Florence (details rescued; can be rebuilt, if not, in a strict sense, restored); the Ponte Scalligero at Verona (a total loss); and, as a group, the vanished medieval bridges of Umbria.

Individual artists whose works have suffered most heavily are Tino di Cambrino (Santa Chiara, Naples; and some damage to the altar representing the Enthroned Madonna in the Camposanto at Pisa; the statues from the tomb of Henry VII at Pisa were stored in safety in Florence); Mantegna (the loss of his great fresco-cycle in the church of the Eremitani, Padova); and Tiepolo (the Palazzo Valierani di S. Faustino in Vicenza, destroyed, and Palazzo Colleoni-Porto, damaged; the Palazzo Caccossa in Verona, destroyed; the Palazzo Arcozzini and sacristy of S. Ambrogio in Milan, destroyed; and the Palazzo Labia at Venice, damaged though mainly restorable).

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#### V. REPAIRS TO WAR-DAMAGE

The guiding rule in undertaking the repair of war-damaged monuments has been that, failing special circumstances, only such work should be done as was strictly necessary to prevent further deterioration. This limitation of objective was felt to be vital if the work of the Subcommittee was to justify itself in the face of hundreds of other pressing claims upon the money and materials available. Complete restoration remains a matter of long-term Italian policy. It was the business of the Subcommittee, however, at least to ensure that when the time came restoration should still be a practicable possibility.

Work has therefore been concentrated mainly upon repairing roofs and making damaged buildings otherwise weatherproof; on provisional buttressing and underpinning; on recovering buried collections or decorative detail for eventual use in restoration; on securing damaged frescoes; and on preventing access by persons in search of loot or building-materials. In certain instances, involving complicated scaffolding or where a building can thus be put to immediate use, complete restoration has been justified as a measure of eventual economy or of public expediency. In a few cases, such as fragmented terracottas and frescoes, complete restoration has been the only possible means of conservation.

The MEAL Officer has had the overriding responsibility for all repairs in AMG territory, but for technical advice and the direction of work he has naturally relied largely on the Italian Superintendents when these were available. The record of cordial collaboration has generally been very high. The primary practical task of the MEAL Officer has been that of securing financial approval (the money, like all other funds in AMG territory, has come from credits advanced by AMG on behalf of the Italian Government), of securing the release of critical materials, and of getting the necessary transport.

The limiting factors throughout have been military necessity, materials, cost, and the extent of other civilian claims. Some notion of the extent of the problem can be given by the following figures. In June 45 a first-aid programme of repairs in Milan, consisting mainly of putting roofs to important monuments, would have come to over one hundred million lire (one million dollars or two hundred and fifty thousand pounds at current rates of exchange). The current estimates for the complete restoration of S. Lorenzo, Rome, and for the Tempio Malatestiano are approximately twenty-five and fifty million lire respectively. In the spring of this year it cost some fifty lire to put a single tile in place in Southern Lazio. A tremendous programme of restoration still awaits the Italian Government. Nevertheless recent reports show that, despite black spots, of which Lazio is still by far the worst, the Phase I programme is in many places complete, even as far north as Ancona.

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It has not proved possible within this report to give any over-all figure for the amount spent by the Subcommission on first-aid repairs to monuments. Financial procedure has varied radically from one phase to the next and, in the early stages, from one Region to another. Prices have risen astronomically since 1943. Numerous repairs, for which the Superintendence gave the necessary technical supervision, were financed by other agencies - the Church, the Genio Civile (Public Works), or private owners. It must also be remembered

that much of the money authorized for repairs under AMG has in fact been spent in the ensuing phase by the Italian Government, so that any distinction between the two budgets is somewhat meaningless.

With these provisos in mind it may be useful to record a few figures. In Campania the total sum authorized to the Superintendencies for Phase I repair-projects, since completed under the Italian Government, was sixty-three million lire. In the Abruzzi, where damage was limited and repairs could be undertaken before prices rose, only two and a half million lire were required, exclusive of Public Works projects. In Emilia, six million lire were authorized to the Superintendencies, exclusive of considerable sums previously advanced at Ravenna and elsewhere by AMG with the Armies for repairs of special urgency. Projects in Emilia amounting to twenty-four million lire, including twenty-one millions for the shattered church of S. Francesco in Bologna, were referred to the Italian Government for direct financing after the handover from AMG.

In Lombardy, eight and a half million lire were authorized to the Superintendence, exclusive of Genio Civile projects, and this is admittedly only a beginning. An estimate for a comprehensive programme designed to make weather-proof the main damaged monuments in Milan alone totals over one hundred million lire. In Venetia Region AMG has to date financed Superintendency projects for a total of nearly forty million lire, in addition to Genio Civile projects of about seven millions on monuments. It is again emphasized that the above gives at best only a partial picture of the repair program. The important point is that while much has been done towards solving the problem, a staggering amount still remains to be done by the Italian government.

Technically the repairs have mostly been of a high quality, thanks in part to the use of traditional materials, in part to the vigorous survival of traditional craftsmanship. The Umilian or the Neapolitan mason who has done the repairs is the great-great-grandson of the man who created the original building. Coupled with this is a consummate technical skill in certain classes of specialized restoration, notably in the repair of shattered frescoes. Two outstanding examples may be quoted. When the church of Santa Maria della Verità at Viterbo was hit, the chapel containing the magnificent fresco of Lorenzo de Viterbo was so badly shaken

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have been brilliantly supplied in a technique which combines pictorial effect with complete scientific honesty. It is an outstanding achievement. No less striking is the story of the recovery of the tabernacle by Filippino Lippi, which formerly adorned the master's house at Brato. When the house was demolished, the fragments of this tabernacle were rescued by the devotion of an employee of the Superintendency living near-by, who on his own initiative bicycled across and collected them, took them to his house and with infinite patience once more reassembled them.

At the other end of the scale we may quote the action of the Bishop of Benevento, who, rather than let the battered fragments of the bronze doors of his cathedral be stored in safety within the civil museum to await scientific restoration, insisted that they be left in a small dusty, windowless room of the Seminary, their friable surface exposed to the elements. Comment is superfluous.

#### VI. DAMAGE FROM THE AIR: ALLIED PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES

570

At least ninety-five per cent of the damage inflicted to major monuments by the Allies was caused by air-bombing. As a statement of fact, it is therefore important to record the sincere efforts made by the Air Force to limit such damage. As a matter of opinion, it is perhaps also permissible to record the views of the Subcommittee on the success of these efforts and on the extent to which any portion of that damage could reasonably have been avoided without prejudice to the overriding issue of defeating military power in Italy.

The record from 1943 to 1945 is one of steady improvement in spite of the far greater weight of Allied air-power employed during the later stages of the campaign. In the light of what was achieved later, some of the earlier destruction does indeed appear to be out of proportion to the military results achieved. The lower half of Benevento was pulverized when there were barely fifty Germans in the town. In September 43 the heart of Milan burned for three days after a fire-raid. For lack of specific targets the Castello Romaci were on several occasions indiscriminately bombed in early 1944 on the chance of killing the Germans quartered

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The record from 1943 to 1945 is one of steady improvement in spite of the far greater weight of Allied air-power employed during the later stages of the campaign. In the light of what was achieved later, some of the earlier destruction does indeed appear to be out of proportion to the military results achieved. The lower half of Benevento was pulverised when there were barely fifty Germans in the town. In September 43 the heart of Milan burned for three days after a fire-bomb. For lack of specific targets the Castellani Romani were on several occasions indiscriminately bombed in early 1944 on the chance of killing the German quarters therein. Viterbo was smashed with a total loss of 3 Germans and 2000 civilian Italians to create a road-block which could be cleared in half an hour by a bull-dozer. The two hundred bombs dropped on Pompeii, quite apart from any damage done, were two hundred wasted bombs.

The machinery to control such unnecessary destruction was initiated late in 1943 by Air Marshal Tedder, who ordered the compilation of a series of annotated air-photographs of Central and North Italian cities, marking the major monuments, to be widely distributed and used in briefing whenever any of these cities were to be attacked. At the same time the conditions were defined under which alone certain outstanding cities could become a target. These instructions (see Appendix C) were issued in February 44. The results were proved in the brilliant precision raids on the marshalling-yards at Florence and Siena, and on the harbour-area at Venice.

The information on the Tedder maps was supplemented from time to time by information supplied by the Subcommittee, notably as to the location of deposits of work of art in the north; and in the later phases a very close liaison with technical Air-Forces is known to have been effective in saving at least one major monument (the Villa Nazionale at St. Remy), perhaps many. Nevertheless it is important to remember that the initiative came from the Air Forces themselves; and the Subcommittee wishes to put on record the outstandingly sympathetic hearing by strategic and tactical Air Force Headquarters whenever this difficult problem was discussed.

There were inevitably mistakes, for example the bomb-loads which fell on the centre of Treviso and of Verona in mistake for the marshalling-yards, spoiling at Verona an otherwise admirable record of carefully placed bombing. There are one or two mysteries, which have yet to be officially explained, such as the bombing (both by day and by night) of the heart of Vicenza, or the two night-raids on Ravenna, or the earlier raid at Fossoli. There were no doubt reasons, but they have never been released. Bearing in mind these exceptions, and remembering all the strands of combat-counties, the results of the later phases of total air-war in Italy are far from discreditable to the participants. The answer to Vitorbo and Benevento can be seen at Florence, Orvieto, Siena, Perugia, Bologna, Parma, Modena, Padova (save for the unlucky chance of the Eremitani chapel), Venice, and scores of other north Italian towns, whose railway yards are a tangled mass of twisted scrap-iron, while in the inhabited centres damage is confined to a small and inevitable percentage of error.

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VII. DESTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS BY THE GERMANS

Skilful propaganda did indeed hard, and in measuring the much publicized damage wrought by the Allied Armies, it is all too often forgotten how much of the ruin which now meets the eye was in fact the work of German hands. This may be divided broadly into two categories: deliberate vandalism, which served no military purpose; and destruction which, however ruthlessly executed, may be claimed to have been required by the military situation.

Major recorded instances of wanton and senseless destruction are:

- a. the deliberate burning of the library of the Royal Society of Naples on 12 Sept 43 (catalogued-ly as a reprisal)
- b. the deliberate burning near Nola on 10 Sept 43 of the deposit containing the finest historical records from the Neapolitan State Archives, including the Hohenstaufen and Angevin and many of the later Royal records. An irreplaceable loss to scholarship.
- c. The deliberate burning on 31 May/1 June 44 of the Roman galleys at Brind.

569

There were in addition numerous instances of malicious destruction, of less intrinsic importance but not inconceivable in aggregate. These ranged from whole villages (Mignano with its castle and collections, in Campania; Pieve Santo Stefano, S. Godeardo, Civitella della Chiana, Vicchio di Mugello in Tuscany) to churches (e.g. the parish church of Rocca Pia in the Abruzzi, burned for sport on Christmas Eve 1943) and individual houses and palaces (e.g. the Palazzo Ruspoli at Rome, where every stick of furniture remaining was hacked to pieces and the pictures slashed to ribbons). The German Parachutists had a particularly bad record in this respect, as typified by their savage destruction in Pesaro.

Military demolitions were carried out with characteristic thoroughness by the Germans under the various heads of destroying possible observation-posts, creating obstructions, blowing bridges, and clearing fields of fire. The vanished campanili are one of the saddest losses of North Tuscany and

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Military demolitions were carried out with characteristic thoroughness by the Germans under the various heads of destroying possible observation-posts, creating obstructions, blowing bridges, and clearing fields of fire. The vanished campanilli were one of the saddest losses of North Tuscany and the Northern Maremma and of Southern Romagna. In almost every case the falling tower has severely damaged the church beneath. Some were legitimate victims of war. Others were butchered simply because orders had been given to destroy all campanilli. Of the seven destroyed towers in Rome, four could never by any stretch of imagination have served as useful observation posts, and anyway our already established air superiority

rendered such OPs unnecessary. Many of the destroyed towers in Tuscany were completely overlooked by the surrounding hillsides. Particularly tragic and stupid was the mining of the Torre del Colombelone at Endin a Settimo together with its great Gothic relief.

Road-blocks exacted a heavy toll. Hardly a village along the roads leading north through central Italy but has been in some way mined. Town-gates in particular suffered. Bridges inevitably have been blown by the thousand. The price of saving the Ponte Vecchio in Florence (on Hitler's express orders) was the destruction of a considerable section of the medieval city. Sometimes, e.g. the picturesque foot-bridge, the Ponte di Cecce, at Ascoli Piceno, it is hard to see what purpose was gained. Saddest of all is the loss of Ponte Scalligero and Ponte della Pietra at Verona, destroyed during the last week of fighting in contravention of German orders and despite elaborate concrete road-blocks, which would have rendered both bridges quite impassable to military traffic.

It is well to remember that inevitably and (granted the justification of war at all) justifiably both sides destroyed monuments during the fighting. It was, as it happened, an Allied shell that fell short and set fire to the Campanile at Pisa. A month later it was the German artillery's turn, but by then there was little to burn. Both sides shelled S. Gimignano. A German bomb wrecked the church of Montecelio in Naples; another demolished S. Biagio in Forlì and all the civilians in it. Equally, both sides respected Siena, Urbino, the centre of Bologna, and Ravenna. There can on the other hand be no doubt but that the Germans were the more ruthless in applying the wages of war; and the percentage of war-damage to monuments for which they were directly responsible is no inconsiderable part of Italy's loss.

#### VIII. MOVABLE WORKS OF ART

##### A. Precautionary Measures

Concurrently with the programme for defending bulky works of art in situ, the Italian Government in 1940 instituted an elaborate dispersal scheme for movable works

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##### A. Preventatory Measures

Concurrently with the programme for defending bulky works of art in situ, the Italian Government in 1940 instituted an elaborate dispersal scheme for movable works of art and antiquities, which were transferred by the thousand to remote castles, villas, and monasteries throughout Italy. In these deposits they would be safe from air-bombardment. At the time the possibility of invasion had not been considered.

After the Allied landings in Sicily and Southern Italy, and particularly as the threat to the deposit in Montecassino became apparent, security against damage in ground-fighting became a major consideration. The position was further complicated by fears of German "protective" action. After prolonged negotiation the Vatican was persuaded late in 1943 to offer an asylum, and despite ever-increasing difficulties and dangers, a great number of outlying deposits from as far afield as Urbino and Aquila were successfully brought to Rome, largely through the devoted enterprise of a few former officials who had been recently dismissed by the Fascist Republican Government. The success of this scheme was however only partial. The Superintendent of Florence for example, rather than send anything to Rome, as instructed, preferred to leave his charges in the outlying deposits, whence too late a few were transferred once more into Florence, while the rest were either removed by the retreating Germans or overrun by the Fighting of Lugat-September 44. In the North some of the more remote deposits were allowed to remain; some were brought back into Bologna, many more into Venice; while so many as could be moved of the treasures of north-western Italy were transferred to deposits in the lakes near the Swiss border.

That there were some errors of judgement was almost inevitable. It is hard to believe that the Superintendent of Galleries for Tuscany, complex as his problems were, could not have done better than in fact he did; and the decision of the Superintendent of Antiquities of Ancona to leave ninety-nine per cent of his exhibits in situ within two hundred yards of a busy port is incredible. But the success of the program as a whole can be measured in results. The only deposits to perish, together with their contents, were those from the Museo delle Ceramiche at Faenza. On the other hand the buildings which had housed several others, for example Marzabotto, were destroyed after the evacuation of their contents; and countless museums and galleries, which had been wholly or partially cleared of their contents, were subsequently damaged or utterly destroyed.

The collection and circulation of information regarding these deposits was one of the major tasks of the Subcommittee during the last year of hostilities. The information alleged to have been passed through neutral channels by the North Italian Committee of National Liberation unfortunately never reached the Subcommittee, so that a good deal of the

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#### b. Damage and Loss

Thanks to the measures described in the previous section, the destruction of Italy's movable works of art of the first rank has been miraculously slight. In Tuscany, for example, the Region worst hit in this respect, the list of destruction and damage (detailed in the Regional Report), though it includes works by such well-known figures as Perugino, Verrocchio, and Michelozzo, is negligible when confronted with the two facts of Italy's incredible artistic wealth and of the passage of a bitterly contested military campaign. In Emilia, Guido Reni and Canova head the list of destruction and damage. Against this, however, must be set a very heavy loss in the minor arts, notably to period furniture and fittings. The destruction of the Museum of Carmine at Florence and of the greater part of its contents is a serious loss. Precise information as to church treasures has been very hard to obtain. It can be stated with confidence that no outstanding objects have been destroyed; but some destruction or loss of lesser items is to be feared, notably in Southern Lazio. In at least one instance, the polyptychs of Fra Angelico and of Sassotico from S. Domenico in Cortona, looted in total secretiveness resulted in serious damage from neglect and damp.

In addition to works of art known to have been destroyed, a large number were at various times reported missing, the majority as a result of German action. Their recovery has been a major preoccupation of the Subcommission, and the results have been gratifying. A certain number of alleged losses, such as the famous Tavolette di Biccherna from the State Archives of Siena, proved on investigation to be unfounded. The missing masterpieces of Naples, stolen from Montecassino by the Hermann Goering Division, have been recovered intact among Goering's collections in Austria. Almost the entire missing contents of the deposits of Tuscany were recovered, mainly in good condition, in two localities in Bolzano province, together with the greater part of three private collections (Contini-Bonacossi, Salvi, Bourbon-Parma) missing from Tuscany. These (except for the Bourbon-Parma collection, which is Luxembourg property) have already been restored by the Allies to Florence. Numerous lesser items have been recovered in Bolzano and in Carinthia.

The following are the most important items still missing:

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The following are the most important items still missing: 9 paintings from deposit at Montebelluna, Province of Pienza (these include works of Pollaiuolo and Lorenzo di Credi); 25 full-size fresco-cartoons from deposit at Barberino di Mugello, Province of Pienza (these include works by Pintoretto and Andrea del Sarto); 8 pictures belonging to the heirs of Mrs Olga (Charles) Loewer, missing from Porli (attributions to El Greco, Jacopo del Casentino, Hogarth are represented

herd); 3 or 4 paintings from collection of Conte Contini-Benacossi, Florence (among them attributions to Murillo and Zurbaran); 17 paintings, owned by Sig. de Tocchi van Marle, removed by Germans from villas near Perugia (14th-17th centuries, largely of unknown masters). Particulars are furnished in the appropriate Regional Reports.

Some of the above certainly, possibly all, were removed by the Germans. It is important to remember however that there were many opportunities, not all of which were neglected, for the removal by local civilians of valuable objects from damaged buildings. The panels of the medieval Byzantine iconostasis in the Greek church at Livorno were stolen by a civilian and sold on the Florence market. There can be little doubt that many of the coins and minor antiquities missing from Southern Italy are now in the hands of local antiquaries. The head of the statue of Spring from the Ponte Santa Trinita at Florence was undoubtedly stolen. So almost certainly were some of the missing panels of the destroyed bronze doors of Benevento. Allied troops too have not been wholly skillless. The only gross case however was the removal, by officers of a distinguished British regiment, of a number of books belonging to the Naples University library from a deposit at Misturno. The London dealer to whom they were offered reported the matter to the police, and the books have been returned to Naples through the Subcommission.

#### Q. Foreign Works of Art in Italy

In addition to works of art of Italian origin and ownership, there are in Italy a number of works of art from abroad, the property of other nations or of former Italian Colonies. It has been a special task of the Subcommission thoroughly to inventory all of these, against any future claims for restitution. They fall into three main categories:

1. Objects brought to the Italian mainland for safe-keeping during the war.
2. Objects illegally acquired by Italian subjects.
3. Objects on temporary loan to metropolitan Italy prior to 1940 and not since restored.

To the first group belong two crates of valuable archaeological material brought to Italy from Cyrenaica and Tripoli in January 1943, and now stored in the Museo Coloniale, Rome; and a number of antiquities, from Zara, now

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Outstanding among the second group are nine French impressionist pictures recently recovered in Florence, of which seven at any rate are German loot from French Jewish collections. Others are believed to await recovery. Reports of Italian looting of Greek archaeological sites have as yet yielded no results. Final reports on the details of these are now in preparation.

By far the largest category is the third, consisting of objects on temporary loan to Italy for exhibition. A few allied loans to the Leonardo da Vinci and Veronese Exhibitions are safe and in good condition. The great majority of such loans were to the ill-fated Mostra dello Arte Italiana d'Oltremare, which opened at Naples in May 1940 and closed in disorder a month later. The grounds, after being for some time open to all comers, were eventually occupied in Sept 43 by an American hospital unit. The fate of many of the exhibits (including much of the ethnographic material) probably never will be known, but nearly all the important antiquities and works of art have, after a year's hard work, been accounted for. Missing is a very second-rate statue of Venus Genetrix and sundry architectural pieces from Tripolitania; and four marble Roman statues, including the body of the important Grande Greco-Romane, from Albania, all believed to have been destroyed. All surviving items have been inventoried and are in safe hands. In all, five special reports have been prepared on the Mostra d'Oltremare. These are listed in Section VIII d, items 10-14.

d. Reprints Previously Issued by MPAA Subcommission

Art Deposits

1. Index (20906/4/MPAA, dated 25 Nov 44)
2. Summary (20906/5/MPAA; dated 3 Dec 44; forwarded by letter 20906/6/MPAA, dated 6 Dec 44)

Official German Activities

3. Kunstschätze (20914/MPAA, dated 30 June 45; forwarded by letter 20914/MPAA, dated 9 July 45)
4. Activities in Operationszone Administration Ostland (20141/MPAA, dated 2 Aug 45, forwarded by letter 20141/MPAA, dated 9 Aug 45)

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1. Italy (20906/4/MPAA, dated 25 Nov 44)
2. Tuscany (20906/5/MPAA, dated 3 Dec 44; forwarded by letter 20906/8/MPAA, dated 6 Dec 44)

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4. Activities in Operationszone Adriatischer Küstenland (20141/MPAA, dated 2 Aug 45, forwarded by letter 20141/MPAA, dated 9 Aug 45)

Special Instances of Removal of Deposits and Collections

5. Montecassino; Indications of German Misappropriation (20909/MPAA, dated 20 July 44, forwarded by letter 20900/MPAA dated 18 Aug 44)

6. Perugia, Van Marle collection (20909/20/A/MFAA, dated 25 Aug 45 forwarded by letter 20909/20/A/MFAA, dated 29 Aug 45)

7. Vipiteno (20909/25/B/MFAA, dated 18 Sep 45, forwarded by letter 20909/25/B/MFAA, dated 26 Sep 45)

8. S. Giorgio; Looser Collection; Barberino di Mugello; (20909/20/MFAA, dated 17 Oct 45, forwarded by letter 20909/20/MFAA, dated Oct 45)

9. French Impressionists (in preparation)

Report on Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare

10. I. Provisional General Report (20034/5/A/MFAA, dated 16 Dec 44, forwarded by letter 20034/5/MFAA, dated 19 Dec 44)

11. II. Albanian Exhibit, 1 (20034/5/A/MFAA, dated 29 Mar 45, forwarded by letter 20500/MFAA, dated 31 May 45)

12. III. North African Exhibit (20034/5/A/MFAA, dated 27 June 45, forwarded by letter 20500/MFAA, dated 16 Aug 45)

13. IV. Albanian Exhibit, Second Report (20034/5/A/MFAA, dated 28 June 45, forwarded by letter 20500/MFAA, dated 16 Aug 45)

14. V. Miscellanea (20034/5/MFAA, dated 29 June 45, forwarded by letter 20500/MFAA, dated 16 Aug 45).

IX. EXHIBITIONS

566

An interesting side-line of the Subcommittee's work has been the arranging, wherever practicable, of special exhibitions of works of art, with the primary purpose of showing troops something of the things that they were being asked to protect. The first, and in many ways the most striking, of these was opened in Rome at the Palazzo Venezia on 28 Aug 44, less than three months after the liberation of the city. It was an outstanding success with both the troops and the civilian population, and received in six months some 150,000 visitors. Other special exhibitions were opened in Siena, Perugia, Urbino, and Venice. At Flor-

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13. IV. Albanian Exhibit, Second Report (20034/5/A/MPAA, dated 26 June 45, forwarded by letter 20500/MPAA, dated 16 Aug 45)
14. V. Miscellaneous (20034/5/MPAA, dated 29 June 45, forwarded by letter 20500/MPAA, dated 16 Aug 45).

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The following catalogues have been issued by the Sub-commission or by the Italian authorities, or jointly, in connection with these exhibitions:

Catalogue of an Exhibition of Masterpieces of European Painting XV-XVII Centuries. Palazzo Venezia - Rome 1944. Organized and Arranged by Division of Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives - Region IV Allied Military Government. (In addition to this basic catalogue, issued also in Italian translation, a fully illustrated catalogue was available.)

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna. Esposizione d'Arte Contemporanea. Roma 1944-45. (Illustrated. Also issued in English translation.)

Mostra Temporanea di Insigni Opere d'Arte Appartenenti alle Gallerie di Roma - Napoli - Urbino - Milano - Venezia. Galleria Borghese, Roma - MCMXLV. (Not illustrated. Also issued in English translation.)

Biblioteche Ospiti della Vaticana nelle Seconda Guerra Mondiale col Catalogo dei Cimeli Esposti nel Salone Sistino. Biblioteca Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, MCMXLV. (Illustrated. Also issued in English translation.)

Mostra d'Arte Italiana a Palazzo Venezia, 1945. Associazione Nazionale per il Restauro dei Monumenti Danneggiati della Guerra. (Issued also in English translation.)

Diocesan Museum of Cortona. (Not illustrated.)

Exhibition of Masterpieces of Sienese Art. Held at Regia Pinacoteca, Siena, commencing 18th December, 1944. (Not illustrated.)

Four Centuries of Painting in Umbria. An Exhibition Commemorating the Fifth Centenary of the Birth of Pietro Perugino. Perugia, National Gallery of Umbria, 1944. (Illustrated.)

Cinque Secoli di Pittura Veneta. Catalogo della Mostra a cura di Rodolfo Pallucchini. IIa Edizione con 80 Tavole. Venezia, 1945, Precuratio Nuova. (The first edition carried no illustrations. Both editions were produced also in English translation.)

Mostra della Firenze Distrutta. Inaugurata a Palazzo

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna. Esposizione d'Arte Contemporanea. Roma 1944-45. (Illustrated. Also issued in English translation.)

Mostra Temporanea di Inalini Opere d'Arte Appartenenti alle Gallerie di Roma - Napoli - Urbino - Milano - Venezia. Galleria Borghese, Roma - MCMXLV. (Not illustrated. Also issued in English translation.)

Biblioteca Ospiti dello Vaticano nella Seconda Guerra Mondiale col Catalogo dei Cimeli Esposti nel Salone Sistino. Biblioteca Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, MCMXLV. (Illustrated. Also issued in English translation.)

Mostra d'Arte Italiana a Palazzo Venezia, 1945. Associazione Nazionale per il Restauero dei Monumenti Danneggiati dalla Guerra. (Issued also in English translation.)

Diocesan Museum of Cortona. (Not illustrated.)

Exhibition of Masterpieces of Sienese Art. Held at Regia Pinacoteca, Siena, commencing 18th December, 1944. (Not illustrated.)

Four Centuries of Painting in Umbria. An Exhibition Commemorating the Fifth Centenary of the Birth of Pietro Perugino. Perugia, National Gallery of Umbria, 1945. (Illustrated.)

Cinque Secoli di Pittura Veneta. Catalogo della Mostra a cura di Rodolfo Pallucchini. III Edizione con 80 Tavole. Venezia, 1945, Precuratio Nuova. (The first edition carried no illustrations. Both editions were produced also in English translation.)

Mostra della Firenze Distrutta. Inaugurata a Palazzo Strozzi nell'Anniversario della Liberazione della Città. Catalogo. 11 Agosto 1945.

S. Archivio di Stato di Lucca. Mostra delle Relazioni Storiche fra Lucca e l'Inghilterra. Settembre-Ottobre MCMXLV.

In addition to the above catalogues the following publications, designed primarily for use by troops, were prepared (the second only in part) by personnel of the Subcommittee:

The Royal Palace of Naples. Historical and Architectural Guide to the State Apartments by Edward Giffey, P. 3. A.

The Royal Palace of Caserta. Historical and Architectural Guide by Dr Bruno Molajoli.

Soldier's Guide to Rome. Allied Control Commission - Italy.

A Soldier's Guide to Florence. Prepared by Morale Services Section, HQ, SO3, NATOUSA and the Subcommittee for Monuments and Fine Arts, Allied Control Commission.

### 3. DOCUMENTATION

Adequate documentation of the work of the Subcommittee has had a double significance, both as short-term counter-work in a field which will be remembered long after many more ephemeral matters have been forgotten. In addition therefore to special reports on particular subjects the Subcommittee has, each month, despatched through channels to London and Washington a comprehensive gathering of reports, press-cuttings, and other documents illustrating its work. It is understood that these have been found to be of considerable value both for record and for publicity purposes.

Special emphasis has been placed upon photographic record. This was badly hindered in the early stages by lack of equipment. Recently however a file of nearly three thousand photographs of war-damage and repair-work has been compiled by Capt A. J. Penneyer (A) and Capt P. H. Maxse (R), successive photographic officers at Headquarters. Collections of selected photographs have been sent to London and Washington, in addition to photographs of missing Italian works of art. The Italian Government has been supplied with a complete microfilm record of the photographic file for purposes of scientific study.

Italy. A Soldier's Guide to Florence. Allied Control Commission -  
vices Section, HQ, 503, MATOUSA and the Subcommittee  
for Monuments and Fine Arts, Allied Control Commis-  
sion.

### X. DOCUMENTATION

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## XI. LIBRARIES

Books have been among the worst sufferers of the Italian campaign. Despite a widespread policy of dispersion, effected on lines parallel to the measures adopted to safeguard movable works of art, considerations of bulk alone limited attention to a relatively small percentage of individually precious volumes; whereas it is essentially the organic whole, which distinguishes the library from a mere collection of books. As in the somewhat similar case of archaeological collections, the total of unspectacular but essential loss is almost impossible to estimate. Owing to the two nineteenth century suppressions of religious corporations, communal libraries throughout Italy were notable not only for their rich collections of manuscripts and incunabula, but also for their wealth of seventeenth and eighteenth century general literature. It is this latter class, together with the technical libraries of Universities and other learned bodies, many sections of which (for example at Pisa, Genoa and Turin) have been destroyed in their entirety, that have undoubtedly been the heaviest sufferers.

Of the major battle-zones Southern Lazio suffered numerically heavy loss in respect of its smaller libraries. Evacuation of the intrinsically more important MSS and books had however been singularly thorough, thanks to the help given by the Vatican; and the great libraries of Montecassino and Grotteferrata in particular are intact. Tuscany was on the whole fortunate. The three outstanding losses here were the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Livorno, which was destroyed by bombing and some hundred thousand volumes only recovered; the physiologic section of the University Library of Pisa, which was systematically removed by the Germans, and destroyed on the docks at Genoa during transfer to the Reich; and the Colombaria Library in Florence, mined and totally destroyed by the Germans. A considerable percentage of this unique collection was recovered under dramatic conditions by AMG. Other important losses were the library of the Accademia Petrarca at Arezzo, destroyed by bombing; and the Communal Library at Pieve Santa Stefano, mined by the Germans. At Ancona the Communal Library was totally destroyed, but a very large part of its contents were successfully evacuated by AMG. In Emilia casualties were in the circumstances surprisingly light. Of the more important libraries

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Elsewhere, in the South damage was limited. The buildings of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Palermo were severely damaged, but an insignificant percentage of the books was

destroyed. The contents of the damaged libraries of Reggio, Potenza, and Foggia all escaped lightly. Only at Cosenza and at Cagliari, in Sardinia, was the total loss of serious proportions. The Communal Library at Cagliari was especially rich in publications of a local character, and their loss can probably never be made good. In Campania damage was more widespread, although a thorough policy of dispersion proved its value. The chapter-libraries of Benevento and Capua were both partially destroyed. In Naples itself, apart from the two libraries burned by the Germans and from the unlucky chance of a bomb bursting within the tower of the Castel Nuovo, which was housing the Library of the Deputazione di Storia Patria, damage was almost miraculously slight. Even after the evacuation of the most precious volumes from the Biblioteca Nazionale in the Royal Palace, some three-hundred-thousand volumes remained in place in a building that was hit in all by twenty-three bombs. Less than a hundred volumes perished. The University Library also escaped intact. Untouched too was the great library of the Abbey of the Trinità di Cava, above Salerno.

In the North there were some heavy losses in the big cities. Elsewhere damage was negligible. Turin in particular suffered from a disastrous failure to carry out any evacuation. The Biblioteca Nazionale alone lost two-hundred-thousand books. At Genoa the Biblioteca Civica Berio and several lesser libraries were considerably damaged, but the University Library escaped relatively intact. In Lombardy the outstanding casualty was the Biblioteca Queriniiana at Brescia. In this instance the loss was offset by the prior evacuation of the more important contents, and by the recovery of a very considerable percentage of the books from the rubble. At Milan, although both the Ambrosiana and the Biblioteca Nazionale Bresciana in the Brera were hit, there was no appreciable damage to their contents. The two university libraries, however, and the library of the Ospedale Maggiore all suffered severely, and the Biblioteca Trivulziana in the Castello Sforzesco was hit, with some loss, although the best books had been evacuated. At Verona the chapter-library was demolished, with heavy loss to the contents; and the Biblioteca Comunale suffered serious structural damage and the loss of the section of the library consisting of bibliographical aids.

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two libraries burned by the Germans and from the unlucky chance of a bomb bursting within the tower of the Castel Nuovo, which was housing the Library of the Deputazione di Storia Patria, damage was almost miraculously slight. Even after the evacuation of the most precious volumes from the Biblioteca Nazionale in the Royal Palace, some three-hundred-thousand volumes remained in place in a building that was hit in all by twenty-three bombs. Less than a hundred volumes perished. The University Library also escaped intact. Untouched too was the great library of the Abbey of the Trinità di Cava, above Salerno.

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The cumulative damage, which results from neglect and damp, is such that, with AMG in the field, damaged libraries have received a high priority, both for the urgent weather-proofing of damaged library-buildings and roofs and for the evacuation of important buried collections. In both instances much has remained to do, but on the whole the results have been gratifying. Self-help too has counted for much. In Urbis for example, at Città della Pieve, where the Communal

Library was mined, and at Folligno, where a bomb exploded among the crates of books from the library stored in the crypt of the Cathedral, the local authorities in both instances set to work promptly and vigorously, and a very large percentage of the books have been recovered and safely housed. At Terni on the other hand, where a bomb had seriously damaged the roof of the library, the director watched his books settling into damp, mildewed masses, rather than lift a finger to remove them to a dry place. These three instances typify, in miniature, the history of Italy's libraries in war.

The German record in respect of libraries in Italy is particularly unsavoury. At Naples they wantonly fired and destroyed the Library of the Royal Society and the Biblioteca Brancaccio; and in a score of towns in central and northern Italy library buildings and their contents have been partially destroyed by demolitions. At Pisa and in the military zone of Udine and Venezia Giulia, libraries were systematically stripped for transport to the Reich. Jewish libraries, notably the entire library of the Rabbinical College in Rome, were widely plundered. In Rome and Florence the good name of over a century's honoured research was blotted by the removal, contrary to solemn pledge and in despite of urgent assurances of Vatican protection, of the four libraries dedicated to archaeological and art-historical study. It is not a record on which German scholarship will be able to look with pride.

The official estimate of the Direction General for Libraries is that, while the loss of intrinsically outstanding books and manuscripts has been light, at least twenty per cent of the total contents of Italy's libraries has been destroyed, and another ten per cent so damaged as to need skilled attention. The estimate may be somewhat high, but it gives some measure of the problem. Coupled, as it is, with a far higher percentage of damaged or destroyed library buildings and fittings, it is evident that the fate of libraries in Italy during the war has been particularly hard.

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Appendix "A" to  
Report 20345/G/MEAA

List of Final Reports Issued by MEAA Subcommittee

0. General Report (20345/G/MEAA.)
1. Sicily (20345/1/MEAA.)
2. Apulia, Calabria, Lucania (20345/2/MEAA.)
3. Campania (20345/3/MEAA.)
4. Lazio (20345/4/MEAA.)
5. Abruzzi-Molise (20345/5/MEAA.)
6. Umbria (20345/6/MEAA.)
7. Tuscany (20345/7/MEAA.)
8. Le Marche (20345/8/MEAA.)
9. Emilia (20345/9/MEAA.)
10. Liguria (20345/10/MEAA.)
11. Piemonte (20345/11/MEAA.)
12. Lombardia (20345/12/MEAA.)
13. Veneto and Veneto Tridentina (20345/13/MEAA.)
14. Gardinia and Venetia Giulia (20345/14/MEAA.)

2. Apulia, Calabria, Lucania (20345/2/MEAL)
3. Campania (20345/3/MEAL)
4. Lazio (20345/4/MEAL)
5. Abruzzi-Molise (20345/5/MEAL)
6. Umbria (20345/6/MEAL)
7. Tuscany (20345/7/MEAL)
8. Le Marche (20345/8/MEAL)
9. Emilia (20345/9/MEAL)
10. Liguria (20345/10/MEAL)
11. Piemonte (20345/11/MEAL)
12. Lombardia (20345/12/MEAL)
13. Veneto and Venezia Tridentina (20345/13/MEAL)
14. Sardinia and Venezia Giulia (20345/14/MEAL)

563

Approved by to  
Report 2032/C/18/1A

List of Allied Military Personnel on Active Assignment  
to the 17th Air Reconnaissance Group 1943-1945

A. ACHIEVEMENT:

Officers:

1st Lt (S.O.) PAUL Y. B. COOT, USMC: Worcester Art Museum,  
Worcester, Mass.

1st COL ROBERT T. W. HALL, Spec Res: Professor of History  
of Art, Princeton  
University.

1st COL PAUL GARDNER, AUS: Director, Nelson Museum,  
London City.

Capt MAJOR HARRISON, AC: Professor of Classics, Harvard  
University.

1st Lt MEDLICK HATT, AB: Research Student in History  
of Art, Yale University.

Capt DAVID HATT, Spec Res: Professor of Drawing and  
Painting, Yale University.

Capt WILLIAM D. McCAM, C.O. (Archivist): Director,  
Department of History and  
Archives, State of Missis-  
sippi.

Major ROBERT T. HATT, AC: Professor of Landscape Archi-  
tecture, Harvard University.

Capt ALBERT S. PIERCE, C.O. Painter, New York City.

Major THOMAS H. SMITH, AB: Director, Museum of Fine Arts,  
Yale University.

S.O.

HP:

1st Lt Paul O. Hatcher: Clerk to National

**Outlets:**

Let (S.O.) and T.B. Co., Ltd. be the respective  
 directors, and

LEO GORDON T. M. GALL, Open Room: Professor of History  
of Art, Princeton  
University.

Dr. Carl Paul Gaudin, 413; Director, Wilson Museum,  
Kansas City.

COLEMAN, JR., M.D., at: Professor of Clinics, Harvard University.

Let L. RUDOLPH BATT, AS: Research Student in History  
of Art, Yale University.

Capt William H. Hall, Assoc Rec: Professor of Drawing and  
Painting, Yale University.

COPT WILLIAM D. MCCAIN, C.2 (Archivist): Director,  
Department of History and  
Archives, State of Missis-  
sippi.

Professor M. C. HUTTON, D: Professor of Landscape Archt-  
ecture, University of London, England

Carey Anderson & P. M. O'Brien, OR: Painter, New York City.

Major THOMAS BAKER, AG: Director, Bureau of Plant Arts,  
Yale University.

Figure 1

Prof Paul O. Bleeker: Clerk to Regional Bd., W. Virginia,  
Tussey, Millie, and  
Lambert

LT/5 Nick J. Doring: Clerk, HQ. ADJUT GENERAL and MAJ. S/C,  
Hq. 1st.

Prof Robert J. Tardiff, Jr, Clerk, Min. S/C, HQ 40.

Get Arnold P. Lucin: Clerk, MFN. S/C. HQ AD.

T/Sgt Bernard M. Peebles: Chief Clerk, MP's. S/C, Hq. AC;  
formerly Member of Faculty,  
St. John's College, Annapolis,  
MD.

Cpl Edward H. Willard: Filled and Registry Clerk, 18th S/C,  
11th AG.

• **RESEARCH**

MAJOR P. K. BALLIE RETIRED, RA.: U.M. Office of Works.

Major H. E. Ball, JEC (archivist): Lecturer in History,  
University of London.

Captain T. S. P. BRIDGOD, I.C. archaeologist, Oxford University.

Major J. I. ELLIOTT, Headsex Sect: Archaeologist,  
Cambridge University.

Captain T. H. BROOKS, KMAC (Archivist); Assistant Keeper  
of the Public Records.

Captain E. CLOFF-LUREAY, IC: British Museum, Department  
of Prints and Manuscripts.

Captain R. H. Willis, late (Archivist): Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

Captain R. S. SIMMONS, CL: Architect.

Captain E. MATHISON, GL: 10011602.

Suppl. 5. H. 5. 14832, Royal Sussex Hosp.

David C. H. Price, dl: architect.

Dr COL J. D. GAIL PAINES, Hon. Professor of Archaeology,  
Royal University of Malta

The following awards were received for work with the Subcommittee:

### Additional Personnel:

 $\frac{1}{n}$ 

Lt. Col. De Wain

Major P. F. BAILEY ETHOLOG, I.C.: H.M. Office of Works.

Major H. B. BELL, ABC (Archivist): Lecturer in History,  
University of Durham.

Captain J. S. P. BARNFORD, IC: Archaeologist, Oxford  
University.

Major J. I. A. BROWN, Middlesex Regt: Archaeologist,  
Cambridge University.

Captain T. H. BROOK, IMAIC (Archivist): Assistant Keeper  
of the Public Records.

Captain E. CLOVE-DAVEY, IC: British Museum, Department  
of Prints and Manuscripts.

Captain R. H. MILL, IMAF (Archivist): Assistant Keeper  
of the Public Records.

Captain R. E. KATHOVEN, CI: Architect.

Captain B. MARRIOTT, CI: Architect.

Captain F. H. J. MAXE, Royal Sussex Regt.

Captain C. R. PINSENT, CI: Architect.

Lt Col J. B. J. L. PERKINS, RA: Professor of Archaeology,  
Royal University of Malta.

562

The following awards were received for work with the Subcommittee

a. American Personnel:

M. D. S.

Legion of Merit

Bronze Star

Lt Col De Wald

Lt Col De Wald  
Capt Keller

Lt Hurtt  
T/Sgt Peebles

b. British Personnel:

Mentioned in Despatches

Lt Col Ward Perkins

- 61 -

Appendix "C-1" to  
Report 20345/5/AFM

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS  
Office of the Commander-in-Chief

AG 006.4-1

29 December 1943

SUBJECT: Historical Monuments

TO : All Commanders

Today we are fighting in a country which has contributed a great deal to our cultural inheritance, a country rich in monuments which by their erection helped and now in their old age illustrate the growth of the civilization which is ours. We are bound to respect these monuments so far as war allows.

If we have to choose between destroying a famous building and sacrificing our own men, then our men's lives count infinitely more and the buildings must go. But the choice is not always so clear-cut as that. In many cases the monuments can be spared without any detriment to operational needs. Nothing can stand against the argument of military necessity. That is an accepted principle. But the phrase "military necessity" is sometimes used where it would be more truthful to speak of military convenience or even of personal convenience. I do not want it to cloak slackness or indifference.

It is a responsibility of higher commanders to determine through A.M.G. Officers the locations of historical monuments whether they be immediately ahead of our front lines or in areas occupied by us. This information passed to lower echelons through normal channels places the responsibility on all Commanders of complying with the spirit of this letter.

/s/ ELIGHT D. BISHOPMAN  
General, U. S. Army,  
Commander-in-Chief.

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Today we are fighting in a country which has contributed a great deal to our cultural inheritance, a country rich in monuments which by their creation helped and now in their old age illustrate the growth of the civilization which is ours. We are bound to respect these monuments so far as war allows.

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/s/ DAVID D. BISHOP  
General, U. S. Army,  
Commander-in-Chief.

Appendix "C-2" to  
Report 2015/07/24

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS  
APO 512

GENERAL ORDERS )

NUMBER 66 )

29 December 1943

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

1. Buildings.

a. No building listed in the sections "Works of Art" in the "Zone Hand-Book" of ITALY issued by the Political Warfare Executive to all Allied Military Government officers will be used for military purposes without the explicit permission of the Allied Commander-in-Chief or of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, 15th Army Group in each individual case.

b. Commanders concerned are authorized, and a further 561 measure of security, to close and put out of bounds for troops any of the buildings listed in AAG "Zone Hand-Book" that they deem necessary. Notices to that effect will be affixed to the buildings, and guards provided to enforce them if necessary.

c. Allied Military Government officers are prepared to furnish commanders with a list of historical buildings other than those listed in the AAG "Zone Hand-Book". These buildings are of secondary importance and may be used for military purposes when deemed necessary. Commanders are reminded that buildings containing art collections, scientific objects, or those which when used would offend the religious susceptibilities of the people, should not be occupied when alternative accommodations are available.

2. Looting, Wanton Damage and Spoils.

The prevention of looting, wanton damage and sacrilege of buildings is a command responsibility. The seriousness of such an offense will be explained to all Allied personnel. (AG 000.4-1 GCF-12)

By Command of General MISHKINOFF:

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS1. Buildings.

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2. Looting, Wanton Damage and Sacrilege.

The prevention of looting, wanton damage and sacrilege of buildings is a command responsibility. The seriousness of such an offense will be explained to all Allied personnel. (AG 000.4.4-1 GCF-1.21)

By command of General EICHENHORN:

/s/ W. B. SMITH  
Major General, GSC, Chief of Staff

Appendix "C-3" to  
Report 20925/0/MFA

Extract from Report, dated 21 Jan 45, by the Allied Commission of Enquiry Appointed to Investigate Damage Alleged to Have Been Caused to Real and Personal Property of Historical and National Importance in Italy, sitting at Naples under the Presidency of Major-General A.L. Collier:

77. General recommendations for the prevention of the recurrence of loss and damage in the future.

- (a) Letter to be issued over the personal signature of the General Officer, Commanding-in-Chief, 15 Army Group, down to lieutenant-colonels' commands.
- (b) Letter to be issued to army, district, P.B.S. and equivalent commanders.
- (c) Adequate instructions to be issued when any new large scale offensive operation is being planned.
- (d) Liaison between commanders and A.M.C. to be improved. Advisors with archaeological and antiquarian knowledge to be consulted when plans are being made for reserve formations and administrative troops to take over what has lately been the battlefield, and to accompany the reconnaissance party. Initial closing of historical buildings, museums etc.
- (e) A wide distribution to be made of classified lists of buildings and of maps showing their locations.
- (f) Partial occupations of buildings to be avoided. Where this is inevitable, special precautions to be taken including the issue of passes, blocking of other entrances and communicating doors where possible, and posting of notices.
- (g) Mixed billeting to be avoided. Where it cannot be avoided, an officer to be appointed having authority over all troops in the building.
- (h) Town majors and real estate officers to be trained in their duties and to be furnished with full instructions, and with classified lists and maps of historical buildings, etc, in

77. General recommendations for the prevention of the recurrence of loss and damage in the future.

- (a) Letter to be issued over the personal signature of the General Officer, Commanding-in-Chief, 1st Army Group, down to lieutenant-colonels' commands.
- (b) Letter to be issued to army, district, P.B.S. and equivalent commanders.
- (c) Adequate instructions to be issued when any new large scale offensive operation is being planned.
- (d) Liaison between commanders and A.M.G. to be improved. Advisers with archaeological and antiquarian knowledge to be consulted when plans are being made for reserve formations and administrative troops to take over what has lately been the battlefield, and to accompany the reconnaissance party. Initial closing of historical buildings, museums etc.
- (e) A wide distribution to be made of classified lists of buildings and of maps showing their locations.
- (f) Partial occupations of buildings to be avoided. Where this is inevitable, special precautions to be taken including the issue of passes, blocking of other entrances and communicating doors where possible, and posting of notices.
- (g) Mixed billeting to be avoided. Where it cannot be avoided, an officer to be appointed having authority over all troops in the building.
- (h) Town majors and real estate officers to be trained in their duties and to be furnished with full instructions, and with classified lists and maps of historical buildings, etc, in their area.

- (3) Suitable notice to be posted at the earliest possible moment after the attack has ceased.
- (4) An A.C.C.A. pamphlet to be produced.
- (5) Appropriate passages to be inserted in the booklet "The Soldier's Guide to Italy" when it is re-printed.
- (6) All orders, instructions and propaganda to be made applicable to, and to reach, the Allied gun and air forces as well as the land forces.

096

Appendix "C-4" to  
Report 20345/C/P.2

HEADQUARTERS,

A.C.M.F.

17th Feb. 44

SUBJECT: Property of Historical and Educational  
Importance in Italy - Preservation of.

TO : Commanders of all Formations and Units.

Concern has been caused at home by reports of damage  
done to property of historical and educational importance in  
Italy.

When I received these reports I ordered a commission  
to be set up to ascertain the truth in this matter. The re-  
sults of the commission's investigations show that these re-  
ports of damage have been exaggerated, but at the same time  
establishes that a certain amount of damage has been done by  
thoughtlessness or carelessness, and even by a few wilfully  
destructive individuals.

I wish to impress on all officers how vitally neces-  
sary it is that the troops under their command behave in a  
manner which safeguards the good name of our services and brings  
credit to their race.

As we advance further north we shall enter a part  
of the country where art treasures and monuments are more nu-  
merous. I therefore direct that every officer brings continual-  
ly to the notice of those serving under him his responsibility  
and obligation to preserve and protect these objects to the  
greatest extent that is possible under operational conditions.

/s/ E. S. ALEXANDER,  
GENERAL,  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,

Importance in Italy - Preservation of.

TO : Commanders of all Fortifications and Units.

Concern has been caused at home by reports of damage done to property of historical and cultural importance in Italy.

When I received these reports I ordered a commission to be set up to ascertain the truth in this matter. The results of the commission's investigations show that those reports of damage have been exaggerated, but at the same time establishes that a certain amount of damage has been done by thoughtlessness or carelessness, and even by a few wilfully destructive individuals.

I wish to impress on all officers how vitally necessary it is that the troops under their command behave in a manner which safeguards the good name of our armies and brings credit to their race.

As we advance further north we shall enter a part of the country where art treasures and monuments are more numerous. I therefore direct that every officer brings continually to the notice of those serving under him our responsibility and obligation to preserve and protect those objects to the greatest extent that is possible under operational conditions.

/s/ E. R. ALEXANDER  
GENERAL,  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,

Appendix "C-5" to  
Report 20345/0/13724

Text of Preface to an Atlas of Annotated Air Photographs en-  
titled "The Ancient Monuments of Italy"; preface dated 23 Feb  
44 and signed by Brigadier General Lauris Norstad, Director  
of Operations, HQ USAF, whose letter of 19 Mar 44 ordered the  
distribution of the Atlas and its preface to all operational  
formations under HQ USAF, down to USAAF Groups and RAF Wings.

These special maps showing the principal monuments of  
historical, cultural, and religious importance will be used  
in briefing crews and should be readily available to them at  
all times.

The towns listed in these two volumes can be divided into  
three categories and are as follows:-

Category 'A'. Rome, Florence, Venice, (and) Anzio. 359  
These towns are in no circumstances to be  
bombed without authority from this Head-  
quarters.

Category 'B'. Ravenna, Asolo, San Ciriaco, P. Via,  
Ugento, Montepulciano, P. A. A., Ostia, Tivoli,  
Ugento, Gubbio, Volterra, Spello, Borgo San  
Sepolcro, Ascoli Piceno, Loro, Poggio, ...  
Celle, and the Dalmatian Coast towns of  
Zadar and Rijeka. The bombing of these  
towns which have at present no particular  
military importance should be avoided if  
possible. If however it is for operational  
reasons, considered essential that objectives  
in any of them should be bombed, there should  
be no hesitation in doing so, and full  
responsibility will be accepted by this Head-  
quarters.

Category 'C'. Pistoia, Modena, Mantua, Cremona, Lodi, Parma,  
Pisa, Pavia, Vigevano, Bologna, Ancona, Orvieto,  
Ferrara, Vicenza, Padua, Verona, Cortona,  
Prato, Lucca, Rimini, Forlì, Macerata,  
Perugia, ... These are important military  
objectives in or near these towns which are to

of Operations, HQ HMF, whose letter of 19 Mar 44 ordered the distribution of the atlas and its proceeds to all operational formations under HMF, came to USARF Groups and AF Wings.

These special maps showing the principal landmarks of historical, cultural, and religious importance will be used in briefing crews and should be readily available to them at all times.

The towns listed in these two volumes can be divided into three categories and are as follows:-

Category 'A'. **ROME, FIRENCE, VENICE, (and) TORINO. 559**  
These towns are in no circumstances to be bombed without authority from this Headquarters.

Category 'B'.  
RAVENNA, BOLOGNA, SAN CIPRIANO, PAVIA, URBINO, MONTAFALCINO, PALLA, OSTIA, TIVOLI, UDINE, GORIZIO, VOLTERRA, SPOLTO, BOLOGNA, SERRAVALLE, LEGGI PIEMONTE, COLO, PELLANO, GALLA, and the Dalmatian Coast towns of SPALTO and RAGUSA. The bombing of these towns which have at present no particular military importance should be avoided if possible. If however it is for operational reasons, considered essential that objectives in any of them should be bombed, there should be no hesitation in doing so, and full responsibility will be accepted by this Headquarters.

Category 'C'.  
PISTOIA, MODENA, REGGIO, CREMONA, LUGO, BERGAMO, PAVIA, VARESE, BOLOGNA, ANCONA, CIVITANOVA, FERRARA, VICENZA, PADOVA, VENEZIA, CORTONA, PLACENZA, LUGO, REGGIO, FERRARA, BERGAMO, PERUGIA, ANCONA. There are important military objectives in or near these towns which are to be bombed, and any consequential damage is accepted.

When it is necessary to attack objectives in or in the immediate vicinity of any of the towns listed in Categories B and C above, the following instructions will be observed:-

(i) If a town is in the actual zone of military operations on the ground, and is occupied by the enemy, no restrictions whatever are to be applied. The sole determining factor will be the requirements of the military situation. The following instructions apply only to towns not in the actual zone of military operations on the ground.

(ii) These objectives will not be bombed if they are obscured by cloud by day or night. If temporarily obscured by less than 10/10 cloud it will be at the discretion of the formation leader whether he waits till the target is clear or not, and his decision will not be questioned.

(iii) At night, these objectives will not be attacked unless the actual target can be identified and markers placed with reasonable certainty. This is left to the discretion of crews and their decision will not be questioned, but it must be understood that in the towns listed there should be no question of releasing bombs "in the target area" when the actual target cannot be located.

(iv) Other things being equal, the attack on targets near these monuments should be planned in a way to minimize risk of damage to them. However, it should be made quite clear to air-crews that the responsibility for such damage is accepted by this Headquarters and that its avoidance is not to be undertaken at the cost of increased risk to themselves. Unnecessary damage is of no advantage and should be avoided if that is possible without increased cost.

In addition it must be remembered that it is forbidden to fly either by day or night over the Vatican City, which will be accorded the rights of a neutral and independent state.

A large number of churches and other religious buildings in Rome, outside the Holy City are the property of the Holy See, and as such should, as far as operations permit, be given full diplomatic immunity. Although every care must be taken to avoid damaging these properties when a target is ordered to be attacked in Rome, they will not be allowed to interfere in any way with the attack of military objectives. Also in the city are fourteen Irish and religious houses to which the same orders will apply.

Other property of the Vatican State, such as the Papal Domain of Castel Gandolfo, should be accorded the same diplomatic immunity as the Vatican City itself unless occupied by the enemy. When separate instructions will be issued by this Headquarters.

(iii) These objectives will not be attacked if they are obscured by clouds by day or night. If temporarily obscured by less than 10/10 cloud it will be at the discretion of the command leader whether he waits till the target is clear or not, and his decision will not be questioned.

(iii) At night, these objectives will not be attacked unless the actual target can be identified and markers placed with reasonable certainty. This is left to the discretion of crews and their location will not be questioned, but it must be understood that in the towns listed there should be no question of releasing bombs "in the target area" when the actual target cannot be located.

(iv) Other things being equal, the attack on targets near these landmarks should be planned in a way to minimize risk of damage to them. However, it should be made quite clear to air-crews that the responsibility for such damage is accepted by this Headquarters and that its avoidance is not to be undertaken at the cost of increased risk to themselves. Unnecessary damage is of no advantage and should be avoided if that is possible without increased cost.

In addition it must be remembered that it is forbidden to fly either by day or night over the Vatican City, which will be accorded the rights of a neutral and independent state.

A large number of churches and other religious buildings in Rome, outside the Holy City are the property of the Holy See, and as such should, as far as operations permit, be given full diplomatic immunity. Although every care must be taken to avoid damaging these properties when a target is ordered to be attacked in Rome, they will not be allowed to interfere in any way with the attack of military objectives. Also in the city are fourteen Irish and religious houses to which the same orders will apply.

Other property of the Vatican State, such as the Papal Domain of Castel Gandolfo, should be accorded the same diplomatic immunity as the Vatican City itself unless occupied by the enemy when separate instructions will be issued by this Headquarters.

Owing to the lack of photographic coverage, plans of a few of the towns listed do not yet appear in the folder, but these will be added when available.

Text of HQ AMI (Adm Echelon) Adm Instruction No 10, dated 30 Mar 44

PRESERVATION OF PROPERTY OF HISTORICAL OR EDUCATIONAL  
IMPORTANCE IN ITALY.

1. Attention is directed to the personal letter to all Commanders issued by the GOC-in-C dated 17 Feb 44, on the above subject. The following instructions are issued as a guide to Commanders and in amplification of the letter above referred to.
2. Tactical considerations must obviously influence the occupation of historical buildings etc. during actual fighting, but a rigid control over such occupation will be imposed by Commanders as soon as fighting has ceased.
3. It is not proposed to forbid the occupation by troops of any specific buildings except that churches will NOT be used for normal troop accommodation. In cases of extreme necessity churches may be used temporarily to shelter wounded personnel awaiting evacuation. This authority is not to be interpreted that they may be used as Casualty Clearing Stations or Hospitals. The responsibilities for decision as to whether an historical building is to be occupied or not is delegated to Commanders, not below the rank of Divisional Commander or officer of equivalent status, except that during actual fighting, in cases of extreme operational urgency, lower Commanders may have to act.
4. To assist Commanders in their decisions ACC/AMG have prepared lists of the principal historical monuments, deposits of important documents (archives), and artistic treasures of Italy, with the degree of their importance indicated by stars. These lists will be known as lists of Protected Monuments and will supersede the lists printed in the Zone Handbook of Italy, and AMG General Order N. 68 of 29 Dec 43 insofar as it refers to the Zone Handbook. For easy reference these lists are printed in sections on a regional basis, and will be issued by ACC/AMG on demand as follows:-

- (a) HQ Armies, independent formations, Districts and Base sections will obtain sufficient copies now to make a complete set at their HQ and to issue to the units concerned those sections which affect their areas of occupation or administrative control:-

1. Attention is directed to the personnel letter to all Commanders issued by the GOC-in-C dated 17 Feb 44 on the above subject. The following instructions are issued as a guide to Commanders and in amplification of the letter above referred to.
2. Tactical considerations must obviously influence the occupation of historical buildings etc. during actual fighting, but a rigid control over such occupation will be imposed by Commanders as soon as fighting has ceased.
3. It is not proposed to forbid the occupation by troops of any specific buildings except that churches will NOT be used for normal troop accommodation. In cases of extreme necessity churches may be used temporarily to shelter wounded personnel awaiting evacuation. This authority is not to be interpreted that they may be used as Casualty Clearing Stations or Hospitals. The responsibility for decision as to whether an historical building is to be occupied or not is delegated to Commanders, not below the rank of Divisional Commander or officer of equivalent status, except that during actual fighting, in cases of extreme operational urgency, lower Commanders may have to act.
4. To assist Commanders in their decisions JCC/AMU have prepared lists of the principal historical monuments, deposits of important documents (archives), and artistic treasures of Italy, with the degree of their importance indicated by stars. These lists will be known as "Lists of Protected Monuments" and will supersede the lists printed in the Zone Handbook of Italy, an AMU General Order N. 68 of 29 Dec 43 insofar as it refers to the Zone Handbook. For easy reference these lists are printed in sections on a regional basis, and will be issued by JCC/AMU on command as follows:-

- (a) HQ Armies, independent formations, Districts and Base sections will obtain sufficient copies now to hold a complete set at their HQ and to issue to the uncommitted those sections which affect their areas of occupation or administrative control:-

|              |                       |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| HQ Corps     | HQ Sub Areas          |
| HQ Divisions | Town Majors           |
| HQ Areas     | Real Estate Officers. |

(b) It will be the responsibility of Army, independent formations, District or Base section commanders when planning the capture or eventual occupation of territory to assign and distribute the relative positions of all battalions or equivalent units.

Attached as Appendix A to this Instruction, as a guide for command, is an index showing the subdivision of the lists by areas.

All buildings listed in the "List of Protected Moments" will be termed "historical buildings" and will not be occupied when alternative accommodation is available or without the express authority in writing of the appropriate commander as indicated in paragraph 3 above.

As by far the greater part of the damage is likely to occur between the time the battle moves forward and the time reserve formations and administrative units assume full control, it will be the responsibility of commanders to place guards on all historical buildings during this phase, in-so-far as their resources allow, so that their eventual occupation will be planned and orderly.

Whenever it is found essential for operational reasons to occupy any such buildings, the commander of the occupying troops will be responsible for seeing that ACC/AMG are informed at the earliest opportunity and that every reasonable precaution is taken to prevent carelessness or wilful damage and especially souvenir hunting. In the case of museums, galleries, libraries, repositories of documents and other cultural institutions, the contents will be stored separately from the parts occupied, ensuring that doors between the occupied and unoccupied parts of the building will be blocked, as will also all unnecessary entrances from outside whether to the occupied or unoccupied parts. Notice boards will be erected, and all troops billeted in the building will be issued with passes and will be the only troops permitted to enter.

Responsible Italian officials will, if available, be consulted when such measures are being considered.

Partial occupation of a large historical building, i.e. the occupation of only a small corner, or occupation by troops of more than one Allied Nation will be avoided wherever possible. In the past buildings so occupied have suffered a high proportion of loss and damage, not necessarily attributable to the occupying unit(s).

ACC/AMG has a staff of officers with expert knowledge of such matters who should be consulted in all cases of doubt.

6. As by far the greater part of the damage is likely to occur between the time the battle moves forward and the time reserve formations and administrative units assume full control, it will be the responsibility of commanders to place guards on all historical buildings during this phase, in-so-far as their resources allow, so that their eventual occupation will be planned and orderly.

7. Whenever it is found essential for operational reasons to occupy any such buildings, the commander of the occupying troops will be responsible for seeing that ACC/AMG are informed at the earliest opportunity and that every reasonable precaution is taken to prevent eruptions or wilful damage and especially souvenir hunting. In the case of museums, galleries, libraries, repositories of documents and other cultural institutions, the contents will be stored separately from the parts occupied, communicating doors between the occupied and unoccupied parts of the building will be blocked, as will also all unnecessary entrances from outside whether to the occupied or unoccupied parts. Notice boards will be erected, and all troops billeted in the building will be issued with passes and will be the only troops permitted to enter.

Responsible Italian officials will, if available, be consulted when such measures are being considered.

8. Partial occupation of a large historical building, i.e. the occupation of only a small corner, or occupation by troops of more than one Allied Nation will be avoided wherever possible. In the past buildings so occupied have suffered a high proportion of loss and damage, not necessarily attributable to the occupying unit(s).

9. ACC/AMG has a staff of officers with expert knowledge of such matters who should be consulted in all cases of doubt. Where such officers rule that specific items i.e. of furniture should be included in those stored separately, their ruling will be binding subject to the right of appeal of the occupying unit to this HQ through the normal channels.

10. In addition to the monuments etc. mentioned in the lists, there are known to exist repositories to which the more valuable treasures of museums and galleries have been removed for safety. The sites of such repositories are not at present known; when found they are to be regarded as stored monuments, and their location reported.
11. In the case of written papers and books it is to be noted that even those which do not appear to be ancient may be of great importance, not only historically but as containing information necessary for the practical purposes of the war. General destruction or dispersal of such collections, wherever found, will not be permitted.
12. All Operations and Administrative Orders involving the occupation of territory containing historical buildings will contain clear and specific instructions to troops on the lines indicated in this instruction.

Amendment No. 1 to above, issued by HQ A.I Dec 44:

1. Add new para. 13:-

557

There are possibilities of art treasure repositories as yet unknown to the Allied Armies, being discovered in the course of future operations. In order to safeguard such repositories, it is essential that the commanders of units and sub-units in the field should be aware of the procedure detailed below.

Whenever any unit or individual discovers what appears to be a collection of art treasures, privately or publicly stored for safeguarding, this repository will be reported at once through normal staff channels to the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Officer with AMB at HQ Fifth or Eighth Army, whichever is applicable, and treated in accordance with para. 10 above.

2. In all cases of reference to "AGO/AMB" this should be amended to read "AO/AM".
3. This amendment will be brought to the attention of all holders of the AO "Lists of Protected Monuments Italy".

12. All Operations and Administrative Orders involving the occupation of territory containing historical buildings will contain clear and specific instructions to troops on the lines indicated in this instruction.

Amendment No. 1 to above, issued by HQ, A.I. Doc 44:

1. Add new para. 13:-

557  
There are possibilities of art treasures repatriation as yet unknown to the Allied Armies, being discovered in the course of future operations. In order to safeguard such repatriation, it is essential that the commanders of units and sub-units in the field should be aware of the procedure detailed below.

Whenever any unit or individual discovers what appears to be a collection of art treasures, privately or publicly stored for safeguarding, this repository will be reported at once through normal staff channels to the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Officer with AEF at HQ Fifth or Eighth Army, whichever is applicable, and treated in accordance with para. 10 above.

2. In all cases of reference to "ACG/AMM" this should be amended to read "ACG/AMM".

3. This amendment will be brought to the attention of all holders of the AC "Lists of Protected Monuments Italy".

Appendix "C-7" to  
Report 20345/0/MFJ.

Text of JFH Administrative Memorandum No 20, dated 3 Apr 45.

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY OF HISTORICAL  
AND LITERARY IMPORTANCE IN ITALY

JFH Administrative Memorandum Number 54, 1944, and Headquarters, AII (Main. Echelon) Administrative Instruction Number 10, 1944, are reissued and the following substituted therefor:

1. Tactical considerations must obviously influence the occupation of historical monuments, deposits of important documents (archives) and artistic treasures during actual fighting, however, a rigid control over such occupation will be imposed by Commanders as soon as fighting has ceased. In the Army areas, the occupation by troops of any specific buildings is not forbidden except that churches will NOT be used for normal troop accommodation. In cases of extreme necessity churches may be used temporarily to shelter wounded personnel awaiting evacuation. This authority is not to be interpreted to allow their use as casualty clearing stations or hospitals. The responsibilities for decision as to whether an historical building is to be occupied or not within Army areas may be delegated to Commanders not below the rank of Divisional Commander or officer of equivalent status, except that during actual fighting, in cases of extreme operational necessity lower Commanders may act to meet emergencies.

2. Inasmuch as the greatest damage is likely to occur between the time the battle moves forward and the time reserve formations and administrative units assume full control, it will be the responsibility of commanders to place guards on all historical buildings during this phase, insofar as their resources allow, so that their eventual occupation will be planned in priority.

3. In all territory behind rear Army boundaries, historical buildings will not be occupied when alternative accommodation is available, or without the express authority in writing of this Headquarters which will, in such instances, consult the Monuments and Fine Arts Sub-Commission of the Allied Commission on Germany.

4. Headquarters 15th Army Group will insure that Army Headquarters, independent formations and any static Headquarters

JHQ administrative Memorandum Number 56, 1944 and Headquarters, A.I. (Lieut. Eshelton) Administrative Instruction Number 10, 1944, are rescinded and the following substituted therefor:

1. Tactical considerations must obviously influence the occupation of historical monuments, deposits of important documents (archives) and artistic treasures during actual fighting, however, a rigid control over such occupation will be imposed by Commanders as soon as fighting has ceased. In the Army areas, the occupation by troops of any specific buildings is not forbidden except that churches will NOT be used for normal troop accommodation. In cases of extreme necessity churches may be used temporarily to shelter wounded personnel awaiting evacuation. This authority is not to be interpreted to allow their use as casualty clearing stations or hospitals. The responsibilities for decision as to whether an historical building is to be occupied or not within Army areas may be delegated to Commanders not below the rank of Divisional Commander or officer of equivalent status, except that actual fighting, in cases of extreme operational necessity lower Commanders may not to meet emergency.

2. Inasmuch as the greatest damage is likely to occur between the time the battle moves forward and the time reserve formations are administrative units cannot have full control, it will be the responsibility of commanders to place quarters on all historical buildings during this phase, insofar as their resources allow, so that their eventual occupation will be planned in order.

3. In all territory behind rear Army boundaries, historical buildings will not be occupied when alternative accommodation is available, or without the express authority in writing of this Headquarters which will, in such instances, consult the Monuments and Fine Arts Sub-Commission of the Allied Commission on Germany.

4. Headquarters 15th Army Group will insure that Army Headquarters, independent formations and any static Headquarters which may be under their command, hold a complete set of the lists referred to above and that appropriate sections of these lists are issued to all concerned. Districts, Base Sections and other equivalent territorial commands of AFHQ/ARMOUS.

will insure that complete sets are maintained at their Headquarters and that the undermentioned keep a file of these sections which affect their areas of administrative control:

Headquarters Area  
Headquarters Sub-Area  
Town Majors  
Real Estate Officers

(Attached at Appendix A is an index showing the subdivision of lists by areas.)

6. c. Whenever it is found essential for operational reasons to occupy any such buildings, the commander of the occupying troops will be responsible for notifying the Monuments and Fine Arts Sub-Commission of Allied Commission at the earliest opportunity. Normally this will be done by reference to the IAC/AFG Monuments and Fine Arts officer attached to the Army or lower formation. Every reasonable precaution will be taken to prevent careless or wilful damage and especially souvenir hunting. In the case of museums, galleries, libraries, repositories of documents and other cultural institutions, the contents will be stored separately from the parts occupied; communicating doors between the occupied and unoccupied parts of the building will be blocked, as will also unnecessary entrances from outside whether to the occupied parts or unoccupied parts. Notice boards will be erected, troops billeted in the building will be issued passes and will be the only troops permitted to enter.

556

b. A single officer will, in each instance, be made responsible for the observation of these precautions and arrangements will be made whereby responsible Italian officials may have access for purposes of inspection.

7. Partial occupation of a large historical building, i.e. the occupation of only a small corner, or occupation by troops of more than one Allied Nation will be avoided wherever possible. In the past buildings so occupied have suffered a high proportion of loss and damage, not necessarily attributable to the occupying unit(s).

8. IAC/AFG has a staff of Monuments and Fine Arts officers with or without knowledge of such matters who are attached to armies and in some cases to lower formations and who should be consulted in all cases of doubt. Where such officers rule that specific items of furniture should be included in those stored separately, their ruling will be binding subject to the right of appeal of the occupying unit to this Headquarters through normal channels.

6. Whenever it is found essential for operational reasons to occupy any such buildings, the commander of the occupying troops will be responsible for notifying the Monuments and Fine Arts Sub-Commission of Allied Commission at the earliest opportunity. Normally this will be done by reference to the AC/MFA Monuments and Fine Arts officer attached to the army or lower formation. Every reasonable precaution will be taken to prevent careless or wilful damage and especially souvenir hunting. In the case of museums, galleries, libraries, repositories of documents and other cultural institutions, the contents will be stored separately from the parts occupied; communication across between the occupied and unoccupied parts of the building will be blocked, as will also unnecessary entrances from outside whether to the occupied parts or unoccupied parts. Notices boards will be erected, through which in the building will be issued passes and will be the only troops permitted to enter.

556

b. A signal officer will, in each instance, be made responsible for the observation of these precautions and arrangements will be made whereby responsible Italian officials may have access for purposes of inspection.

7. Partial occupation of a large historical building, i.e., the occupation of only a small corner, or occupation by troops of more than one Allied Nation will be avoided wherever possible. In the past buildings so occupied have suffered a high proportion of loss and damage, not necessarily attributable to the occupying unit(s).

8. AC/MFA has a staff of Monuments and Fine Arts officers with expert knowledge of such matters who are attached to armies and in some cases to lower formations and who should be consulted in all cases of doubt. Where such officers rule that specific items of furniture should be included in those stored separately, their ruling will be binding subject to the right of appeal of the occupying unit to this headquarters through normal channels.

9. In addition to the historical monuments mentioned in the lists, there exist important repositories to which the more valuable treasures of museums and galleries have been removed for safety. The sites of such repositories are, with a few exceptions, included in the lists. There may, however, be other repositories

not included in the lists. It is to be noted that repositories may be situated in the open country and that they may not on first inspection appear to contain art treasures. Except in case of extreme operational necessity it is essential that they not be occupied, and that particular care be exercised to protect the sites and not to disturb or move the contents until examination can be made. Appropriate action for this purpose will be taken by commanders and the sites of repositories will immediately be reported to the appropriate JG/JMC Headquarters and Field Arts officer in order that inspections and examinations of the contents may be made.

10. In the case of organized collections and written papers (archives), and if books, it is to be noted that even those which do not appear to be ancient may be of great importance, not only historically but as containing information necessary for the war effort. Careless handling or disarrangement can be as harmful as destruction. In the event of the occupation of buildings, or parts of buildings, containing such collections, the commander of the occupying troops will be responsible that all reasonable precautions are taken to prevent damage or dispersal.

11. All operational and administrative orders involving the occupation of territory containing historical buildings will contain clear and specific instructions by troops on the lines indicated in this instruction.

(archives), and if books, it is to be noted that even those which do not appear to be ancient may be of great importance, not only historically but as containing information necessary for the war effort. Careless handling or dis-arrangement can be as harmful as destruction. In the event of the occupation of buildings, or parts of buildings, containing such collections, the commander of the occupying troops will be responsible that all reasonable precautions are taken to prevent damage or dispersal.

11. All operational and administrative orders involving the occupation of territory containing historical buildings will contain clear and specific instructions by troops on the lines indicated in this instruction.

Appendix "C-8" to  
Report 20342/9/NE, 24

Summaries from "List of Protected Monuments-Italy" issued  
by ACC/LG, Subcommittee for Monuments, Fine Arts & Archives,  
May-June 44, in conformity with HQ JLI Adm Instruction No. 10:

Castle  
VILPIANO (Fri.) C 1632  
S. Maria and Battuti  
VILV. SONS (Fri.) C 1213  
S. Antonio  
VEDANA (Bel.) B 5333  
\*\*\* Cortesi (Carthusian Convent). Repository of Museum  
Collections  
VILLO BELLICO (Vic.) F 9592  
S. Giorgio  
VENEZIA (Trav.) G 5289  
Villa Gasparini  
VENEZIA (Ven.) G 7050

#### Churches:

NOTE: VENICE is a city of churches, oratories  
and abbeys of which most, beginning with the  
Basilica of San Marco and its Campanile, are  
of great historical and artistic value, not only  
in themselves, but also because of their wealth  
of treasures, sculpture and painting, and manu-  
scripts of importance.

A list of these would be of excessive length;  
it may, therefore, be taken for granted that any  
church in VENICE would be a listed church.

#### Other Religious Buildings:

Scuola degli Albano  
Scuola (former) dei Calceolari  
\*\*\* Scuola di S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni  
\*\*\* Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista  
\*\*\* Scuola di S. Rocco

#### Palaces and Houses:

\*\*\* Ducal Palace

Castello  
 VALERIO (Fri.) G 1632  
 S. Maria del Battuto  
 VALV. SONZ (Fri.) G 1213  
 S. Antonio  
 VIMINI (Bel.) B 5333  
 \*\*\* Cortesi (Cistercian Convent). Re. vestry of Masson  
 Collections  
 VILLO D'ALFICO (Vic.) F 9592  
 A. Giorio  
 VINEGARDI (Tre.) G 5289  
 Villa Giambrini  
 VINEZZA (Ven.) G 7050

Churches:

NOTE: VENICE is a city of churches, oratories and abbeys of which most, beginning with the Basilica of San Marco and its Campanile, are of great historical and artistic value, not only in themselves, but also because of their wealth of treasures, sculpture and painting, and manuscripts of importance.  
 A list of these would be of excessive length; it may, therefore, be taken for granted that any church in VENICE would be a listed church.

Other Religious Buildings:

- Scuola degli Albanesi
- Scuola (former) dei Gesuiti
- \*\* Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni
- \* Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista
- \*\* Scuola di S. Rocco

Palaces and Houses:

\*\*\* Duca di Palisco

Above page is from Regional Section 7, "Le Tre Venezie". Seven Regional Sections were published, as follows (Sections 1 and 2, first issued separately in mimeograph, were later printed in a single pamphlet): 1. Sardinia and Sicily; 2. Apulia, Calabria, Campania, Lucania; 3. Abruzzi and Lazio; 4. Le Marche, Toscana, Umbria; 5. Liguria and Piedmont; 6. Emilia and Lombardia; 7. Le tre Venezie

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