

GENEALOGICA & HERALDICA XXXV

REFORMATION REVOLUTION RESTORATION



CAMBRIDGE

2022

© The Heraldry Society and the authors for their individual articles, 2023

ISBN 978-0-904858-07-5

The responsibility for the accuracy or completeness of the information published herein, including the source and legitimacy of the illustrations lies exclusively with the respective authors, and the Heraldry Society denies any liability in relation thereto

Congress logo by Tania Crossingham

Photographs on the rear cover: Congress banners in Clare College Scholars' Garden by Jack Sain, plaque created for the Congress baton by Paul A. Fox

Printed in Great Britain by 4word Ltd, Bath

Correspondence to coatofarms@theheraldrysociety.com

www.theheraldrysociety.com

LEGISLATING *DAMNATIO MEMORIAE* IN SPAIN'S TWENTIETH-CENTURY PEERAGE

MATTHEW HOVIOUS

Sometimes it seems as if titles of nobility are no longer discussed outside of gossip columns, and their legal foundations, outside of arcane specialist texts. Their reform is currently being undertaken by the Spanish government. It is probably the most sweeping reform of any European realm's honours system in a generation, and it might have a significant impact if seized as precedent by other monarchies where such titles are still in use. In the Spanish-speaking world *nobiliaria*, which may be roughly translated as 'nobiliary studies', is usually mentioned in the same breath as genealogy and heraldry.

The primary targets of the reform are the titles of nobility created by Francisco Franco.¹ In May 1948² Franco's legislature reversed the Republic's suppression of titles, while at the same time it was enacted that the Spanish head of state could revoke the titles of those whose public or private behaviour was felt to render them unworthy of holding them.

Despite what might be assumed from the superficial discussion of the 1948 law which is taking place in today's press, this was not a piece of legislation empowering Francisco Franco (by name) to create titles. It rather restored to the headship of the Spanish state a prerogative long inherent to that position, and it did so in a way for which there is precedent, as we shall see. It also restored the legality of titles which had been suppressed altogether by the Republic in 1931, and this in turn led to that of the crown's heralds.³ It was a savvy political move on Franco's part to bring on board traditional monarchists who might otherwise have felt tempted to withhold support for his regime in the hope that the exiled Prince of Asturias (who would have reigned as King Juan III), would soon return and assume the headship of the Spanish state. Franco's intent was also to reward a significant number of Carlist families; the Carlists were supporters of the claim of the male line of the Spanish Bourbons to the country's throne. They also held a variety of beliefs generally more conservative than those of the Spanish mainstream. Since the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, three successive males in that line, beginning with the dead king's brother Don Carlos, had tried and failed to seize the Spanish throne. All of them granted titles of nobility to their supporters, yet those titles had never been recognized as valid by any government in Madrid. In recognizing the titles that had been granted to their grandparents and great-grandparents by the exiled pretenders, Francisco Franco was bringing this group on board too.

The titles created by Franco (**Figure 1**) were mostly granted in the early years of his regime. They are thirty-six in number, and a surprisingly high proportion were posthumous. It is unclear whether that is because Franco felt that a title should only be the reward for an entire lifetime of service, or whether he was taking care not to empower anyone who might subsequently turn on him.

Before the final list of titles to be suppressed was made public I attempted my own classification of them by ostensible rationale for the grant, from which process four groups were created. In diminishing order of size (**Figure 2**) these were firstly, the insurgent military – the officers who actually made it possible for Franco to take power.

DAMNATIO MEMORIAE IN SPAIN

<p>1948: Duke of Primo de Rivera Duke of Calvo Sotelo Duke of Mola Count of the Alcázar of Toledo</p> <p>1949: Marquis of Dávila Count of Labajos Count of Pradera</p> <p>1950: Count of Jarama Marquis of Alborán Marquis of Queipo de Llano Marquis of Saliquet Count of Arruga Count of Arteche</p> <p>1951: Marquis of Somosierra Marquis of Varela de San Fernando Marquis of Ramón y Cajal Marquis of San Leonardo de Yagüe Count of Benjumea</p>	<p>1954: Marquis of Santa María de la Almudena Count of La Cierva</p> <p>1955: Marquis of Vigón Count of Fenosa</p> <p>1958: Count of Echeverría de Legazpia</p> <p>1960: Countess of Castillo de la Mota Marquis of Suanzes</p> <p>1961: Marquis of Bilbao Eguía Marquis of Casa Cervera Marquis of Kindelán Count of Martín Moreno Count of Pallasar Marquis of Torroja</p> <p>1965: Baroness of Camporredondo</p> <p>1969: Count of El Abra</p> <p>1973: Count of Bau Duke of Carrero Blanco</p> <p>1974: Count of Maeztu</p>
---	--

Figure 1: chronological list of titles created by Francisco Franco.

Next come people who displayed civic or professional merits; followed by a handful of people executed by Republican forces, mostly traditionalist Catholic monarchists; and finally, there are two Falangist politicians killed in 1936, the *Falange* being the proto-fascist political party which Franco allowed to exist during his regime.

<p>1948: Duke of Primo de Rivera Duke of Calvo Sotelo Duke of Mola Count of the Alcázar of Toledo</p> <p>1949: Marquis of Dávila Count of Labajos Count of Pradera</p> <p>1950: Count of Jarama Marquis of Alborán Marquis of Queipo de Llano Marquis of Saliquet Count of Arruga Count of Arteche</p> <p>1951: Marquis of Somosierra Marquis of Ramón y Cajal Marquis of San Leonardo de Yagüe Marquis of Varela de San Fernando Count of Benjumea</p>	<p>1954: Marquis of Santa María de la Almudena Count of La Cierva</p> <p>1955: Marquis of Vigón Count of Fenosa</p> <p>1958: Count of Echeverría de Legazpia</p> <p>1960: Countess of Castillo de la Mota Marquis of Suanzes</p> <p>1961: Marquis of Bilbao Eguía Marquis of Casa Cervera Marquis of Kindelán Count of Martín Moreno Count of Pallasar Marquis of Torroja</p> <p>1965: Baroness of Camporredondo</p> <p>1969: Count of El Abra</p> <p>1973: Count of Bau Duke of Carrero Blanco</p> <p>1974: Count of Maeztu</p>
---	--

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Insurgent Military ■ Civic/Career Merits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Victims of the Republic ■ Martyred Falangists
---	--

Figure 2: rationale for titles created by Francisco Franco.

I was keen to see what impact Franco's regime and these titles had on heraldry in Spain, and was surprised to find that, for such a traditionally-minded regime, its traces in this field seem to have been very limited. The arms resulting from these grants of titles can be arranged into three groups, of which representative examples are provided in **Figure 3**. On the left is a coat of arms representing the first group, with an allusion to the grantee's service in support of Franco's cause. It was adopted by the original grantee of

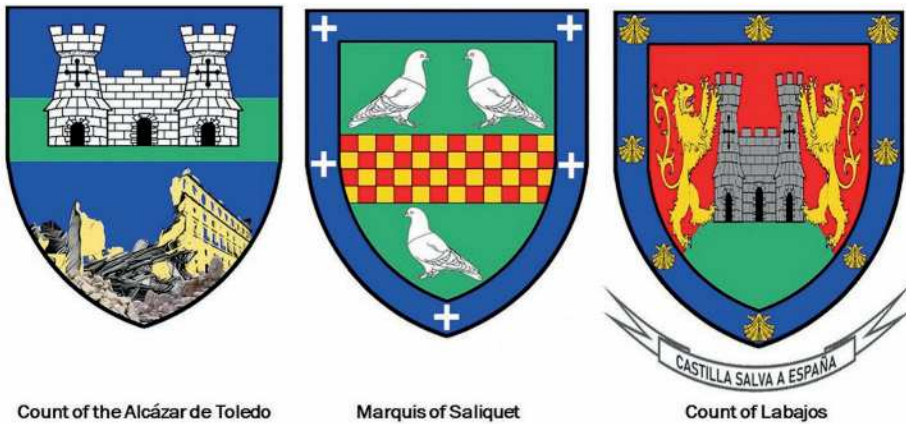


Figure 3: heraldry of some titles granted by Francisco Franco.

the title Count of the Alcázar of Toledo, General Moscardó, whose claim to fame was his resistance to the siege of that castle. This is a valuable example of arms selected during the title-holder's lifetime; so many of Franco's titles being posthumous, in many cases we cannot assume the resulting arms necessarily represent what the grantee would have chosen upon assuming arms.

Most of these titles fall into the second group represented by the middle coat of arms which have a very traditionally Spanish appearance. They show no heraldic innovations, and carry no charges directly representative of the grantee's service to Franco. The coat of arms on the right, those of the Count of Labajos, were adopted by the daughter of the original posthumous grantee of that title. He was killed in 1936, and the motto is a sort of battle cry that he used as a politician in the 1930s. Within this group some of the grantees adopted mottos alluding to their service in Franco's cause. Some of the said mottos have been retained by subsequent generations; there being no surviving state or crown heraldic office in Spain the situation is something of a free-for-all. Indeed, the first coat of arms shown here on the left may now actually be illegal, for reasons which will become apparent.

These grants of nobility became a subject of debate following the Socialist government's enactment of a statute generally referred to as the Law of Historical Memory in 2007. This legislation limits the public display of any materials glorifying Franco and his regime, and orders their removal from built heritage.⁴ The pace of the removals slowed somewhat after the Socialists lost the election of 2011. Delegates to the 34th International Congress of Heraldic and Genealogical Sciences in Madrid may have seen a building with an inscription now tiled over on its façade; this was done to hide the reference to Franco's involvement in its construction (**Figure 4**).

The issue lay largely dormant until 2017, when a member of parliament submitted a written question specifically asking about these titles to a standing committee. This being something of a niche issue, I feel he probably only intended to embarrass the government in power at the time with a view to reaping electoral benefits from his action at the subsequent general election. Amongst other issues, he enquired whether those with

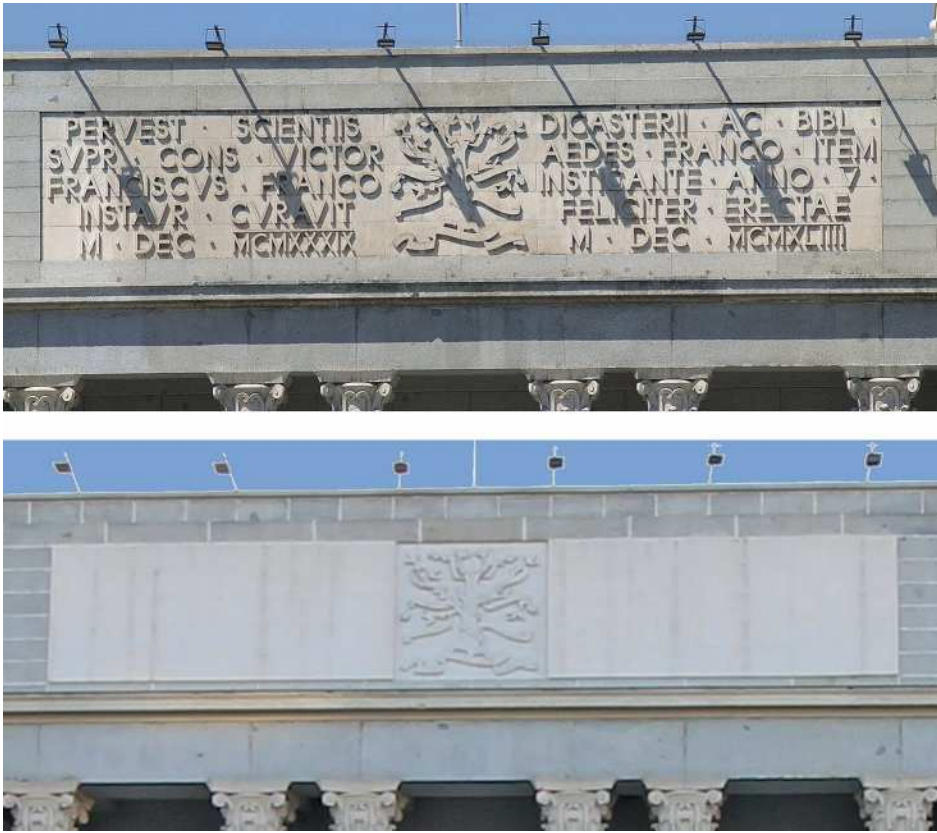


Figure 4: photographs of a dedication in Madrid taken in 2007 (above) and 2016 (below) by Luís Fernández García, Wikimedia Commons.

titles granted during the Franco regime were still deserving of the tribute and honourable remembrance that such aristocratic distinction entails.⁵

A few months later following a no-confidence vote the Socialist Party retook power; and to most people's surprise (as it appears to me) they immediately announced that one of their priorities was to make these titles go away. They created a new department of the Ministry for Justice, the General Directorate of Historical Memory, and tasked it with developing legislation that would allow titles to be suspended. They then replied in writing to the member of Parliament who had tabled the initial written question, saying that these steps were necessary because current legislation did not address the possibility of revoking titles of nobility.⁶

This is somewhat contradicted by King Felipe himself engineering the revocation of a title shortly after acceding to the throne, in 2015. The title in question was not exactly analogous to the ones presently under discussion in that it was a title granted to his sister, the Duchess of Palma de Majorca, purely for reasons of protocol – that is, to give her husband the rank of a Duke at state dinners and royal functions. It became expedient to get rid of that title in view of the corruption scandals which had enveloped the Duke, and

MATTHEW HOVIOUS

which ultimately led to his imprisonment. The decree revoking the title⁷ mentions a few pieces of legislation as precedents. It appears however that none of the legislation cited in that decree actually allows Spain's head of state to cancel a title. In fact, the only thing I can find that explicitly does that is the 1948 legislation which also allowed the head of state, then Francisco Franco, to create titles. One wonders if that is why the current government feels the need to seize control of the process and of the royal prerogative in this regard. Or, was King Felipe simply resistant to the idea of removing dozens of titles at once? Of course, we don't know.

Last year, the government released the draft text of its proposed *Law of Democratic Memory*.⁸ Sixty-six pages long, its chief purpose is to officially enshrine tribute to the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War by today's Spanish state, and the titles are only one aspect thereof. This draft law marked the first time that Spain's government described its intent to proceed with the eventual suppression of all titles granted between 1948 and 1978 that 'glorify war and dictatorship'. Nothing then happened for eight months because – surprisingly perhaps, for a law that restricts freedom of association and freedom of speech, and provides for the confiscation of some private property, among other provisions – it did not go far enough for the minority parties in the Spanish government. There would be no trials of octogenarian Francoist functionaries, and no investigations of supposed misdeeds by Francoists during the transition period that began with the death of the dictator in 1975.

During July 2022, in a bid to get the stalled legislation through parliament, the government accepted investigations of alleged crimes of the state up to the year 1983, and for that they received support from the political party that is the successor to the political wing of the Basque terrorist group ETA, which is a bit like a British government passing legislation at Westminster with support from Sinn Fein. The fact that the government was willing to go this far betokens a generational shift in Spanish politics. In the 80s and 90s politicians then active, and – I believe – not only politicians but most Spaniards in general, were proud of their country's bloodless transition from 40 years of dictatorship to a functioning democracy. Now that same transition is deemed inadequate.

The above deal resulted in a definitive version of the law being passed by parliament⁹, in which the titles are no longer mentioned as the object of a hypothetical list for eventual removal. This version of the law actually states that the titles are to be suppressed with immediate effect as soon as the law comes into force (**Figure 5**). Listed for removal are twenty-six of the thirty-six titles granted by Franco and, unsurprisingly, that includes all of the titles granted to military officers in recognition of their support for his cause. That having been said, at least half of these titles' original grantees are utterly unknown to Spaniards today, with the exception of historians specialising in the period and activists focusing on this issue. Ten of the titles granted by Franco are to remain valid, which is a rather higher number than initially expected by pundits; there was much press discussion in the months leading up to the law's passage as to which titles would be suppressed, and the newspapers generally felt thirty-three of the thirty-six would go. The grantees of the ten remaining titles include three people executed by Republican forces for their beliefs, a papal nuncio, a distinguished surgeon, a distinguished scientist, a philanthropic businessman, a ground-breaking civil engineer, and a prominent industrialist. I feel that the survival of the last two titles in the list was probably helped by the fact that the

Artículo 41. *Supresión de títulos nobiliarios.*

1. En atención al objeto de esta ley quedan suprimidos los siguientes títulos nobiliarios y grandezas de España concedidos entre 1948 y 1978:

1. Duque de Primo de Rivera, con Grandeza de España.
 2. Duque de Calvo Sotelo, con Grandeza de España.
 3. Duque de Mola, con Grandeza de España.
 4. Conde del Alcázar de Toledo, con Grandeza de España.
 5. Conde de Labajos.
 6. Marqués de Dávila y la Grandeza de España que se le une.
 7. Marqués de Saliquet.
 8. Marqués de Queipo de Llano.
 9. Marqués de Alborán.
 10. Conde del Jarama.
 11. Marqués de Varela de San Fernando.
 12. Conde de Benjumea.
 13. Marqués de Somosierra.
 14. Grandeza de España otorgada al conde de Rodezno.
 15. Marqués de San Leonardo de Yagüe.
 16. Conde de la Cierva.
 17. Marqués de Vigón.
 18. Conde de Fenosa.
 19. Conde del Castillo de la Mota.
 20. Marqués de Suanzes.
 21. Marqués de Kindelán.
 22. Conde de Pallasar.
 23. Marqués de Casa Cervera.
 24. Conde de Martín Moreno.
 25. Marqués de Bilbao Eguía.
 26. Grandeza de España a don Fernando Suárez de Tangil y de Angulo.
 27. Conde de Bau.
 28. Duque de Carrero Blanco, con Grandeza de España.
 29. Señorío de Meirás, con Grandeza de España.
 30. Duque de Franco, con Grandeza de España.
 31. Marqués de Arias Navarro, con Grandeza de España.
 32. Conde de Rodríguez de Valcárcel.
 33. Conde de Iturmendi.
2. Queda suprimida la Orden Imperial del Yugo y las Flechas.

Figure 5: Official list of suppressed titles 20 October 2022.

current holders are a much-loved pop star of the 1980s, and a member of a banking and press dynasty still powerful today.

The most significant ramification of this version of the law is that it also suppresses five titles granted by King Juan Carlos between his accession in 1975, and the approval of the Spanish Constitution in 1978. Two of those titles are now held by descendants of Francisco Franco, and three were granted by the king to the last Prime Ministers or presidents of the parliament during Franco's regime. So, despite screaming media headlines to the effect that 'Franco's grants of titles are cancelled', that's not actually what is happening. The titles being cancelled are in fact being cancelled not because of which head of state granted them, but because of the original grantees' actions, choices, careers and beliefs.

In time this legislation may come to be remembered as the point at which legislators began pulling at a loose string and eventually the whole garment unravelled. Let me explain why. If titles that 'glorify war and dictatorship' are unacceptable, not only when

granted by Franco, but by a legitimate Spanish monarch who, however, was ruling without a constitution, what about the titles of Count of Playa de Ixdain, Count of Jordana and Count of Xauén, all granted by Alfonso XIII during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in the 1920s to generals engaged in military adventurism in Morocco, one of whom was indicted posthumously for crimes against humanity?

What about titles granted by Alfonso XII in 1875 and 1876? This particular process mirrors 1948 so closely that I wonder if it may not have been used as a model by whoever wrote the 1948 enabling legislation for Francisco Franco. In the 1870s Alfonso XII was the heir presumptive then in exile with his mother, Queen Isabel II, who had fled Spain six years earlier. He was proclaimed King following a military coup, and before he could even reach Madrid, the provisional government that took power restored the honours laws that had been abolished by parliament during the first Spanish Republic, restoring to Alfonso all the prerogatives and powers enjoyed in this field by previous Spanish heads of state.¹⁰ He then created several titles over an 18-month period with no constitution, and some of the titles he created were to reward the coup plotters who put him on the throne.

What about the titles Count of Real Aprecio and Marquess of Heredia granted by King Ferdinand VII? He actually went so far as to ask a foreign power to invade his country and restore him as absolute monarch, so he could get rid of the constitution. He then ordered purges of constitution-supporting officials and professionals, and even of knights whose knighthoods he had granted under the constitutional government. Some of the titles he then granted during what Spaniards know as the 'Ominous Decade' (in which he resumed absolute rule) were to high-ranking members of the government that carried out purges at his behest.

Titles granted by Francisco Franco are being suppressed because he and his associates overthrew the government and constitution by force. Yet this law does not affect the validity of the Carlist titles that he legitimised as head of state of Spain under the law passed on 4 May 1948, and that had been granted by the pretender 'King' Carlos VII, who attempted to overthrow the government and constitution by force (but before the living memory and the advent of motion pictures). Some internal contradiction is to be expected in a sweeping sixty-six-page legal text, but if it is now enshrined in statute – as it is in Article 1 of this law – that Franco's entire regime was illegal from day one, then how can *any* titles that he granted be maintained as legal?

No rationale for the final list has been made public, but one learns more from examining the borderline cases than looking at those of the obvious military putschists. One case in point is that of Joaquín Benjumea. Although the occasion of Benjumea's grant was 18 July, the biggest national holiday under Franco's regime (it being the anniversary of the day he launched his military insurrection, also known as the national crusade) the grant only mentions Benjumea's loyal and constant service to the State.¹¹ Joaquín Benjumea was then age seventy-three, and his career included lengthy stints as Minister of Finance and Governor of the Bank of Spain. Would he not in most systems have received some sort of honour or public recognition?

It might be argued that he and others should have withheld their talents from the regime. A problem with that viewpoint has been discussed, for example, by historians dealing with the Horthy regime in 1920s and 30s Hungary. In that era some gifted and skilful members of prominent noble families refused participation in government because

they were 'awaiting the return of the King'. If skills are withheld on a scruple from a system with which one may otherwise largely be in agreement, those positions must still be filled, which mitigates against finding people unworthy of honours simply for having served the state after Franco took its helm.

Another cancellation that surprised me was the Dukedom of Calvo Sotelo. José Calvo Sotelo was not a Falangist, but rather the leader of the conservative faction in the Spanish parliament after the final general election held before the outbreak of the Civil War, and even in these iconoclastic times he still has a large monument in Madrid, with several schools and public squares named after him throughout Spain. He was probably cancelled for a 1936 excess of hyperbole during a speech in which he basically said, becoming increasingly exasperated, that if wanting a state where things worked properly made one a fascist, then yes, he was a fascist.¹² Tempers were running high that summer in the Spanish parliament; even before the outbreak of hostilities, Julián Besteiro, a moderate socialist, remarked that 'if the government doesn't recess parliament soon, we ourselves may start the Civil War in here'.¹³ In any case, José Calvo Sotelo can hardly be guilty of glorifying Franco's war and dictatorship, as he was abducted by a left-wing death squad and murdered before the Civil War started.

In contrast, top socialist politician Prime Minister Francisco Largo Caballero repeatedly advocated war, violence and dictatorship over a period of several years.¹⁴ Yet his party, the now-governing Socialist Party, has consistently taken legal action to stop the removal of street names and monuments commemorating him, and he is currently the subject of a popular temporary exhibition at the Document Centre for Historical Memory, formerly known as the General Archive of the Spanish Civil War (**Figure 6**).

As to whether this law is a well-crafted legal text, there are some clouds on the horizon. In the rush to get the law passed while the Basque separatists were still on board, the government apparently overlooked certain technical adjustments – 94 pages of them – suggested by serving jurists, and neglected certain legal steps that were required to be taken for its passage into law.¹⁵ Leaked reports from the appropriate ministry to the press indicate that they are already expecting the constitutionality of this law to be challenged in the highest court of the land.

Does this law represent an impartial consensus on honours reform? To be fair, most people in Spain are at the moment more concerned with inflation, drought, rising food costs and a host of other issues; and of course, one would expect those nostalgic for Franco's era to oppose it. In this instance however there seems to have been no effort to build consensus on any aspect of the law, including the issue of the suppression of titles. Spain's third most widely read newspaper, which is hardly the nation's most conservative one, has been vigorous in its condemnation of this law.¹⁶ Ultimately in a Civil War, everyone loses; but this law, in my opinion, is clearly informed by a certain degree of revanchism on behalf of the side militarily defeated and, under cover of redress, it attempts to settle scores by establishing in statute that everyone on one side was good and everyone on the other side was bad. In its emphasis on the misdeeds of only one side, whilst turning a blind eye to those of the other, and its incongruous indifference to honours of earlier eras that, under this current standard, are equally questionable, it seems to be guided by what I'll call the 'Robert de Niro principle': there's nothing wrong with a little shooting, as long as the right people get shot.¹⁷



Figure 6: commemorative exhibition for Francisco Largo Caballero held at the Document Centre for Historical Memory in 2022.

Now some food for thought on the future implications this legislative process has for honours:

- *Will there be legal challenges in the ECHR by people who feel this legislation denies them equal treatment/unfairly discriminates based on belief?* They may be able to claim discrimination on the basis of ideology.
- *Does not this law make all existing Spanish titles de facto life peerages, subject to being revoked at any time as expedient to the politics of successive governments?* What is the point of letters patent saying ‘so that you and your heirs and successors may forever and ever be titled the count of X’ and so on, if electioneering politicians can hijack use of the so-called royal prerogative through a simple parliamentary majority with parties not even in the government?
- *If individuals incorporated to their personal heraldry references to their service in Franco’s cause, is public display of those arms now banned for ‘glorifying war and dictatorship’?* It is now prohibited to display in public any number of Francoist symbols, including the flag bearing what was Spain’s legal national coat of arms until 1982.
- *Will this law influence trends in the few other remaining monarchies where titles exist in law?* As an old Spanish saying goes, ‘if you see your neighbour’s beard on fire, start soaking your own’.
- *Will more Spanish nobles support making inheritance of titles a private matter, outside the state?* As for example in Italy since 1947, or Spain during the Second Republic when, having been cut loose by the state, the nobles organised their own procedures to record successions. The Deputation of Grandees could easily organise such a private framework again, and I am acquainted with people affected who feel that if the crown is now just another government agency, it is time for crown and nobility to part ways.
- *Will there be litigation by those whose titles have been ‘suppressed’, in order to recover the fees paid to the Spanish treasury upon accession?* Good luck with that, but I have seen lawyers online already offering to take such cases and it’s worth reading the fine print to see if in fact there’s anything allowing the Treasury to keep the succession fees if the government unilaterally cancels a title.

DAMNATIO MEMORIAE IN SPAIN

- *Should Spain legally withdraw honours it has bestowed upon other tyrants such as Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qaddafi, and Nicolae Ceausescu?* Spain has given honours to a lot of dodgy people, usually – and this is ironic – the Order of Isabella the Catholic. Before anyone says that posthumous cancellations are pointless, this law also suppresses the Order of the Yoke and Arrows which was mostly granted to Hitler, Mussolini, Ribbentrop and personages of that ilk, so clearly being current is not indispensable to being a matter of interest.
- *Is merit wholly incompatible with nuance?* This is really the big question raised by the borderline cases mentioned above – not the coup-plotting generals but the people whose careers would, under different heads of state, naturally have been rewarded, and where there was even precedent; Luis Carrero Blanco was by all accounts a thoroughly disagreeable man, but he was assassinated while being Prime Minister, and traditionally all assassinated Spanish prime ministers – none of whom had been elected in anything like a perfect democracy – were honoured with posthumous titles.
- *Whose achievements may be considered settled?*

What will follow? A review of evidence for other casual or active racism, misogyny, crimes against the planet, crimes against native peoples, spousal abusers... having opened the Pandora's box of enshrining in statute that if the granting of hereditary honours is dependent upon achievements during one's lifetime, the endurance of those honours is subject to a periodic audit of the first grantee's morality under standards of subsequent eras, which other moral failings will lead to inevitable suppression of honours?

Antonio Lopez, the 1st Marquis of Comillas, was highly praised by his contemporaries. King Alfonso XII at the time of Comillas' death, eulogised him thus: 'Spain has lost one of the men who has rendered it the greatest services'.¹⁸ It has now been established, however, that he continued trading slaves as late as the 1860s¹⁹, when the trade was still legal in Spanish colonies under certain conditions. His statue has already been removed from a square in Barcelona. Can a move to suppress the title now held by his descendant be far behind? It will be hard for the current government to justify not doing so, with the precedent for cancellation of honours having been established not as 'association with Franco', but rather as 'original grantee's values and beliefs'. As a result of the effort to cherry-pick and spare a handful of the titles granted by Franco, the use of a precision instrument has – ironically – more far-reaching impact than would have the use of a blunter one.

The unique challenge presented by hereditary titles is that they are like a statue that must be re-erected every 30 years or so. Such honours may well have their days numbered: the Spanish case is likely just a portent of things to come in other monarchies where any form of hereditary tribute exists. There's nothing new about the wheel of fortune, but in our turbulent era, it does seem to spin faster than ever. Most people who lived in earlier ages would be horrified by our own; but the living judge the dead, not the other way around.²⁰

MATTHEW HOVIOUS

¹ He also granted honourable augmentations. For simplicity's sake, I only discuss the titles here, but the augmentations are also going. These were the elevation to something called the 'Grandeeship of Spain', sort of a *primus inter pares* distinction Spanish heads of state can grant to existing titles.

² The Law of 4 May 1948 re-established the legality in force prior to 14 April 1931 regarding Grandeeships and Titles of the Realm'. Official State Gazette 4 May 1948.

³ Separate legislation three years later (13 April 1951) alludes to the increased demand for their services since the restoration of titles' legality, and the fact that unqualified individuals were performing the functions of pre-war heralds.

⁴ Officially 'Law 52/2007 of 26 December 2007 recognises and extends rights and establishes measures in favour of those who suffered persecution or violence during the civil war and dictatorship.'

⁵ Question submitted to the standing committee of the Spanish parliament by Jaume Moya Matas MP, 27 Mar 2018.

⁶ Reply from the General Secretariat of Relations with Parliament to Jaume Moya Matas MP. 30 Jul 2018.

⁷ Royal Decree 470/2015, of 11 June, revoking the attribution to Her Royal Highness the Infanta Doña Cristina of the power to use the title of Duchess of Palma de Mallorca.

⁸ Draft Law of Democratic Memory. Ministry of the Presidency, Relations with Parliament, and Democratic Memory.

⁹ Final text in *Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Generales – Congreso de los Diputados* on 7 July 2022. Approved by the lower house of Parliament on 14 July 2022. The law came into effect on 20 October 2022 through its publication on that day in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado*.

¹⁰ Decree re-establishing the Royal Prerogative to grant Grandeeships of Spain and titles of the Realm. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 7 Jan 1875, p. 52.

¹¹ *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 18/07/1951, p. 3384.

¹² Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *La Historia de España en sus Documentos: El Siglo XX – La Guerra (1936–39)*, p. 44.

¹³ Juan Simeón Vidarte, *Todos Fuimos Culpables: Testimonio De Un Socialista Español*, vol. I, pp. 188–189.

¹⁴ Some of Largo Caballero's public utterances, which do not in the least glorify war and dictatorship, include "The working class must seize political power, with the conviction that democracy is incompatible with socialism and, since those who have power will not surrender it voluntarily, we must therefore start a revolution," 1936; "If we are not allowed to seize power according to the Constitution, we will have to seize it in another way," 1933; "If the right wing triumphs... we shall have to wage a full-scale civil war. Let it not be said that we say things just for the sake of saying them, we will do it," 1936; "We do not believe in democracy as an absolute value. Nor do we believe in freedom." 1934; "I doubt very much that victory can be achieved within legality. And in that case, comrades, it will have to be achieved by violence." 1933; "If the Socialists are defeated at the ballot box, they will resort to violence, for we prefer anarchy and chaos to fascism.", 1936.

¹⁵ See for example the daily *La Razón*, 24 Jul 2022, which mentions the government ignoring the technical report prepared by the General Council of the Judiciary (CGPJ).

¹⁶ *El Mundo* 29 Jul 2022, editorial and accompanying cartoon.

¹⁷ Robert de Niro as Turk in *Righteous Kill*, (Lionsgate, 2008).

¹⁸ Buenaventura Bassegoda, *Las Estatuas de Barcelona*, p. 141.

¹⁹ See for example *El Español*, 20 Jan 2021.

²⁰ Disclaimer: any opinions and observations expressed herein, unless otherwise noted, are my own and not those of any organization to which I belong.