The transnational construction of national identities: A classification of national pavilions at world fairs

Storm, H.J.; Leerssen, J.

The Transnational Construction of National Identities
A Classification of National Pavilions at World Fairs

Eric Storm

Chapter 2 of:

Joep Leerssen and Eric Storm eds., *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities:*
International Exhibitions as Cultural Platforms, 1851-1958
(Leiden: Brill, 2021) 53-83.

Abstract

This chapter proposes a typology of the architecture of national pavilions. The current architectural classification is not very suitable because it highlights the supposedly unique, national character of most pavilions. For a comparative analysis of the way in which the nation was represented two factors are crucial. Was the pavilion inspired by buildings pertaining to high culture – such as temples and palaces – or does it refer to "low" culture – such as vernacular buildings or commercial structures? Another axis is the opposition between a universalist language (timeless classicism or a future-oriented functionalist style) and national particularism (which could be expressed by focusing on characteristic features). By thus defining four different options for national pavilions a number of global trends can be mapped. Around 1900, the emphasis on high culture – expressed in a dominant role for classicist and historicist pavilions – was replaced by a growing influence of popular culture – both in the form of festive, commercial structures and neo-vernacular buildings. Another clear shift is the rapid advance of architectural modernism in the late 1920s. Moreover, the typology shows that transnational influences are crucial to understand the decision-making process concerning the construction of national pavilions. First, global architectural trends heavily influenced how each participating country aimed to position itself. Second, the definition of each country's national heritage was largely determined by a transnational public. World fairs induced a quest for the extraordinary; quaint and striking buildings became a central aspect of the nation's heritage everywhere.

Link to definitive version: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004500327_004

The Transnational Construction of National Identities
A Classification of National Pavilions at World Fairs

Eric Storm

The transnational construction of national identities

Currently, the position of the nation-state seems insecure. Almost everywhere parts of the population feel that the identity of their nation is threatened by outside influences, such as mass migration and globalization. This chapter, however, aims to show that national identities themselves are to a large extent the product of globalization. During the second half of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth century, world fairs functioned as a highly influential platform in which countries learned how to successfully represent their national identities to an international audience.

The rise of nationalism since the late eighteenth century and the success of the nation-state model, which only became hegemonic after 1945, have generally been explained by interpretations that focus on more structural factors. Benedict Anderson, for instance, focuses on the impact of secularization processes and the rise of print capitalism, creating horizontal "imagined communities", Ernest Gellner emphasizes the role of modernization and industrialization, which required mass education in a standard language, while other scholars point at the long-term impact of state-building processes, strengthening the bonds between the state and its inhabitants.[1] Ethno-symbolists such as Anthony Smith interpret it as a very slow process in which intellectuals and cultural factors – such as the persistence of collective myths, symbols and narratives – played a crucial role.[2]

The construction of national identities, on the other hand, is in the focus of a large number of empirical studies that generally deal with one specific (national) case. Inspired by Eugen Weber's classical study *Peasants into Frenchmen* and Eric Hobsbawm's concept of invented traditions, they concentrate on the agency of domestic political and intellectual elites.[3] Most of these case studies implicitly adhere to a form of methodological nationalism by taking one state or national movement as their object of analysis, each with its own actors, peculiarities

[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume II - the Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Sinisa Malesevic, *Nation-States and Nationalisms: Organization, Ideology and Solidarity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013); Andreas Wimmer, *Nation Building: Why Some Countries Come Together While Others Fall Apart* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).
[2] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Anthony D Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007); Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[3] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Miguel Cabo and Fernando Molina, "The Long and Winding Road of Nationalization: Eugen Weber's Peasants into Frenchmen in Modern European History (1976—2006)", *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (January 4, 2009): 264–86.

and turning points.[4] Because historians tend to focus on differences, this has resulted in a collection of isolated and "unique" national trajectories.[5] This is reinforced by the fact that these studies are usually embedded within a specific national historiographical tradition and use concepts that are only current in one national context, such as *Heimat*, *Risorgimento*, "frontier" or *swadeshi*. The "internalist bias" is even more pronounced in studies on the Western world, which routinely reduce the analytical focus to the boundaries of existing nation-states and tend to ignore outside influences and external actors.[6]

Paradoxically, in the non-Western world nationalism has often been interpreted as a foreign import or a "derivative discourse". Moreover, influenced by Said's argument that the Orient had been "othered" and "essentialized" by European intellectuals and colonial officials, collective identities were interpreted as imposed by the West, while natives were largely denied agency.[7] The implicit message was that the construction of their national identities would only thrive if the inhabitants would liberate themselves from this colonial legacy.

Both one-sided views have been nuanced. Recent studies award more agency to Africans and Asians – even in colonial times – by presenting territorial identity construction as the result of a process of negotiation between the imperial centre and nationalist activists[8] and the same is true for scholars dealing with the European periphery in the Balkans and Latin America.[9] Studies dealing with the West tend to pay more attention to transfer and the role of international networks.[10] However, by focusing on agency even the "negotiation" and the "transfer" approaches are primarily concerned with the production side.[11] Thus, what matters most in the existing studies is the power – or lack thereof – of the various decision-makers to construct a national identity.

---

[4] Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and beyond: Nation–State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences", *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–34; Daniel Chernilo, "The Critique of Methodological Nationalism Theory and History", *Thesis Eleven* 106, no. 1 (August 1, 2011): 98–117.

[5] Stefan Berger with Christoph Conrad, *The Past as History: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[6] John Breuilly, "Nationalism as Global History", in *Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting or Complementary?*, ed. Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou (London: Routledge, 2011), 65–84; Eric Storm, "Overcoming Methodological Nationalism in Nationalism Studies: The Impact of Tourism on the Construction and Diffusion of National and Regional Identities", *History Compass* 12, no. 4 (2014): 361–73.

[7] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London; Totowa: Zed Books, 1986); Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1989): 217–36.

[8] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); C. A Bayly, *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India.* (New Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Abigail McGowan, *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[9] Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*, The New Historicism ; 35 040943178 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). See also the chapters by Minea and Schuster.

[10] Joep Leerssen, "Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture", *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 4 (2006): 559–578; Joep Leerssen, ed., *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018); Berger and Conrad, *The Past as History*.

[11] Jon E. Fox, "The Edges of the Nation: A Research Agenda for Uncovering the Taken-for-granted Foundations of Everyday Nationhood", *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 1 (2017): 26–47.

The structural similarity of the various national identities has already been signalled by various scholars and clearly contradicts the supposed autonomy of the domestic (or colonial) elites and the focus on "unique" outcomes by the negotiation or transfer approach. Löfgren, for instance, speaks of the existence of an "international cultural grammar of nationhood", whereas Thiesse asserts that there is "nothing more international than the construction of national identities".[12] Although some of these similarities have been outlined in a broad historical overview,[13] empirically-based comparative studies are almost completely non-existent.

As an alternative approach, I aim to study the structural mechanisms of the process of national identity construction throughout the globe. Countries learned to effectively produce and reproduce a credible national identity by profiling themselves against each other while taking into account outside views. This global learning process can be studied in a condensed form by homing in on world fairs. They arose at a time when nationalism began to broaden its reach and were exponents of a new mass culture. At the first Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in 1851 all participating countries had their own section in London's Crystal Palace to show their contribution to human progress. However, it was difficult to be distinctive with machines, inventions and fine arts, which look quite similar everywhere. Therefore, at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1867 each participating country was invited to also erect a pavilion in a characteristic national style to exhibit its own "authentic" culture. These national pavilions became an integral part of almost all subsequent international exhibitions.

World fairs were held on all continents, visited by millions of people, received extensive coverage in the international press and had myriad national and regional offshoots.[14] Accordingly, they became – among many other things – the main global stage to represent national identities. This situation continued until the mid-twentieth century, after which their functions were largely replaced by trade fairs, theme parks, and new visual media.

World fairs were not a neutral and passive medium. Various authors have already made clear that world fairs were part of a larger "exhibitionary complex",[15] where networks of professionals codified "a standard repertoire".[16] This was also the case with the representation of national identities. Countries that wanted to be taken seriously on the

[12] Orvar Löfgren, "The Nationalization of Culture", *Ethnologia Europaea* 47, no. 1 (2017): 21; Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 11.
[13] Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*; Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); John Breuilly, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[14] Pieter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001); Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions, from London to Shanghai 1851-2010* (Winterbourne: Papadakis, 2011); Alexander C. T Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Marta Filipová, ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Farnham; Ashgate, 2015). See also the Introduction by Storm and Leerssen.
[15] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", *New Formations* 4 (1998): 73–102; Bjarne Stocklund, "The Role of International Exhibitions in the Construction of National Cultures in the 19th Century", *Ethnologia Europaea* 24 (n.d.): 35–44.
[16] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 12–15.

international stage – even if they were dynastic states, heterogeneous empires, or colonies – were compelled to present their pavilions according to the nation-state model, which in fact meant that they either had to show their contribution to the progress of humankind or emphasise their own unique identity. Public demand was crucial.[17] Since national pavilions stood side-by-side on the exhibition grounds, they had to compete to attract attention. If a representation of a country was considered unattractive or pretentious it was largely ignored by visitors and the next time a different formula would be tried. This did not lead to a bewildering variety of different possibilities, but to a limited number of successful templates, which were adopted by almost all participating countries and colonies.

This chapter will focus on the architecture of the national pavilions. The existing architectural classification is not entirely suitable for my purposes. Instead of using formal criteria, what matters is whether the pavilion relates to the nation's own traditions and territory or has a more cosmopolitan outlook. Therefore, based on extensive research on the major world fairs in Europe and the United States, I now propose a different typology of the four options available to design a national pavilion. First of all a country had to decide whether it would emphasise its unique national culture, or present itself as a dignified member of the "civilized world" by adopting a more universal format. Secondly, it had to decide whether it would focus on high or low culture, which in many cases also implied targeting a more elite or a more popular audience. As a consequence, four options can be discerned. This can be depicted in a schematic form in the following table.

TABLE 1. National Pavilions

	Universal	National
High culture	Fashionable	Historical
Low culture	Commercial	Vernacular

Each of the four options can be further subdivided into three variants. First, universal fashions came in three different forms: Classicism, avant-garde movements or Modernism. Second, the universal commercial option could be translated into a functional, a festive or an iconic building. Third, the national historical option could take the form of a replica, a Historicist pavilion or a building in a national style. Finally, national vernacular buildings could also be a replica, a reinterpretation or a more synthetic national style. As we will see, certain patterns can be discerned; some options and variants had more success at world fairs than others and as a consequence were chosen more frequently. In addition there are also considerable fluctuations in the popularity of each option over time.

Universal fashions

A first major option was to build a national pavilion in an up-to-date and prestigious artistic style. Since the first world fair, the Great Exhibition of 1851, one of the main objectives of

[17] James Burkhart Gilbert, *Whose Fair?: Experience, Memory, and the History of the Great St. Louis Exposition* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

these peaceful international contests was to show the progress of humanity in the sphere of industry, science and fine arts. As a consequence, participating countries often presented themselves as a dignified member of international society, while focusing on their contributions to the advance of human civilization. This could be done by modelling the participation of a country in one of the latest artistic fashions. Although during the period between 1851 and 1958 almost all new artistic trends originated in the West, they clearly had universal pretensions. At the world fairs, three major, largely successive universal fashions can be detected: Classicism, short-lived avant-garde movements and Functionalism of which the first and last were the most successful.

The first universal fashion was Classicism. Although Classicism could also be interpreted as a Historicist style, it in general did not point to a specific national past, but to the origins of human (i.e. Western) civilization. Since this patrimony had been revived various times throughout history it had acquired a certain universal and timeless quality. Exposition buildings and national pavilions in a Classical style could be found at most nineteenth and early twentieth century international exhibitions and in a more austere version, it would even make a come-back in the 1930s. Classicism, for instance, was the dominant style of the official buildings at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The main buildings around the enormous Court of Honour, supervised by Daniel Burnham, were all constructed in a Neo-Classical style forming a splendid White City.[18] This recipe was repeated at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 and at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, although in San Francisco the whitewashed walls were replaced with more colourful variants.[19] The Petit and Grand Palais at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900, both designed by Charles Girault, were done in a slightly more exuberant Beaux-Art style.[20] Classicist exhibition halls could also be found at many smaller world fairs, such as the seven international exhibitions organized in Belgium between 1885 and 1913.[21]

National pavilions in a Classicist style were particularly popular among new countries, such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, while many of the 48 states of the United States also built a Classicist pavilion at the major American world fairs. In his book on world fairs, Paul Greenhalgh argues that the American preference for Classicism can be explained because it was associated with democracy and republicanism: "Classicism had the perfect historical pedigree: it had been handed down by the original democratic and republican peoples, the Greeks and Romans, and it was used by the French Revolutionaries as an appropriate form". On the other hand, he continues, it also conveyed a general impression of "power, solidity

[18] Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*, Reprint edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
[19] Timothy J. Fox and Duanen R. Snedekker, *From the Palaces to the Pike: Visions of the 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997); Laura A. Ackley, *San Francisco's Jewel City: The Panama–Pacific International Exposition of 1915*, 1st edition (Berkeley: Heyday, 2016).
[20] Jean-Christophe Mabire, ed., *L'Exposition universelle de 1900* (Paris, France: Editions L'Harmattan, 2000).
[21] Marta Filipova ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

and permanence"[22]. Its monumental dignity, however, also perfectly suited the purposes of empires and dictatorial or totalitarian regimes, which for instance became clear in Albert Speer's pavilion for Nazi Germany at the 1937 Universal Exposition in Paris.[23]

Only a relatively minor number of pavilions were built in one of the many, short-lived avantgarde styles, such as Art Nouveau, Futurism, Expressionism and Art Deco. Although these artistic tendencies were prominent at various international exhibitions, this was primarily the case in the fields of fine and decorative arts. Thus, Art Nouveau objects could be found in many exhibition halls of the Universal Exposition of 1900, but there were only a few commercial pavilions in the *Stile Floreale*, such as the elegant Le Pavillon Bleu restaurant designed by Gustave Serrurier-Bovy. Art Nouveau, in fact, was the official style of the First International Exposition of Modern Decorative Arts in Turin in 1902, where Raimondo d'Oronco, the Italian palace architect of the Ottoman Sultan, designed all the main exhibition halls. At this occasion, however, there were only a few national pavilions.[24] Expressionism and Futurism were even less frequent at international exhibitions. Perhaps the Dutch pavilion in Paris in 1925 by Jan Frederik Staal could be classified as brick Expressionism, while the 1933 pavilion of Fascist Italy, designed by Adalberto Libera and Mario De Renzi for the Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago, can be linked to Futurism.[25]

[22] Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions, from London to Shanghai 1851-2010* (Winterbourne: Papadakis, 2011), 170–73; See also: Astrid Böger, *Envisioning the Nation: The Early American World's Fairs and the Formation of Culture*, 2 edition (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2011), 120–24.
[23] James D. Herbert, *Paris 1937: Worlds on Exhibition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 13–47.
[24] Thomas Schriefers, *Für den Abriss gebaut?: Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Weltausstellungen* (Hagen: ardenkuverlag, 1999), 33–38; Vittorio Pica, *L'Arte decorativa all'esposizione di Torino del 1902* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1903), http://archive.org/details/gri_33125012571903 Sometimes these pavilions had a clear national flavour. Thus, Austria built a national pavilion in the local Sezession style in Turin and at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, both designed by Ludwig Baumann.
[25] Marie-Thérèse van Thoor, *Het gebouw van Nederland: Nederlandse paviljoens op de wereldtentoonstellingen, 1910-1958* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1998), 65–79; Richard A. Etlin, "Italian Rationalism", *Progressive Architecture*, July 1983, 86–94.

Fig. 1: Victor Horta, Belgian Pavilion, International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts, Paris, 1925 (source: Wikimedia Commons)

The International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris in 1925 constituted the main exception. Imitations of historical styles were explicitly prohibited by the organizers and as a result most exhibition halls and commercial pavilions were in the new Art Deco style, which derived its name from the exhibition. Of the foreign pavilions, especially those of Belgium, designed by Victor Horta (see illustration 1), Poland by Józef Czajkowski and Great-Britain by Howard Robertson and John Murray Easton showed many of the Art Deco characteristics.[26] In the following years, buildings in this style could also be found at other expositions. For instance, many of the provincial pavilions of both Korea and Japan at the relatively modest Chosun Exhibition, held in Korea in 1929, were built in an Art Deco style.[27] Nonetheless, pavilions in an international avant-garde style remained rare. Probably the main reason was that the planning of a national pavilion generally took several years, while the state authorities who took the main decisions usually had conservative tastes. In addition, these styles seemed to be transient fashions and therefore were not very suitable to represent the nation's permanence. Only in exceptional cases, such as the Parisian exhibition of 1925, many countries dared to abandon well-established patterns.

Fig. 2: Mies van der Rohe, German pavilion (this is the reconstructed version dating from 1986), International Exhibition, Barcelona 1929 (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

[26] Patricia Bayer, *Art Deco Architecture: Design, Decoration, and Detail from the Twenties and Thirties*, Revised ed. edition (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999).
[27] Hong Kal, "Modeling the West, Returning to Asia: Shifting Politics of Representation in Japanese Colonial Expositions in Korea", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no. 3 (2005): 518–19.

Modernism, also known as International Style, Functionalism or Modern Architecture, can be seen as another avantgarde movement that arose during the first decades of the twentieth century. However, it remained in vogue for decades and even became hegemonic after the Second World War. Moreover, like Classicism it had a certain timeless quality, although it did not so much refer back to the origins of human civilization, but to its future. Modernism would make its debut at world fairs in the 1920s. Thus, at the 1925 International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris, Konstantin Melnikov built a revolutionary pavilion to represent the Soviet-Union, while Le Corbusier's Pavilion de l'Esprit Nouveau also caused a stir.[28] Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's free plan pavilion – consisting of straight walls, a flat roof, enormous glass windows and slender steel columns – for the Weimar Republic at the International Exposition of Barcelona in 1929 is still seen as one of the most ground-breaking modernist buildings (see illustration 2). Obviously the 1933 Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago was largely built in the new Modernist style.[29] From the early 1930s onwards, this would become the dominant style for exhibition halls, commercial buildings and national pavilions at almost all major international exhibitions.

Evidently, new progressive regimes, such as the Soviet-Union and the Weimar Republic, were more inclined to present themselves as ultramodern. The same, however, was true of new states, such as Ireland and Poland (see also the chapter by Dziewanowski-Stefańczyk). In general, the modernist glass, steel and concrete pavilions did not explicitly refer to a particular territory, but exceptions were possible. Thus, Michael Scott's Irish pavilion at the New York world fair of 1939 was built in the shape of a shamrock, the Irish national symbol, while the Dutch pavilion, designed by Rietveld, Van den Broek and Bakema, at the Universal Exposition of Brussels in 1955 expressed the nation's struggle against water.[30] Nevertheless, even these buildings primarily underlined that both countries participated in the latest modern trends.

Universal commerce

Not all buildings had artistic pretensions, most were mere commercial constructions. The category of universal commerce can be further subdivided into functional, festive or iconic buildings. National pavilions rarely fell into this category since they had to keep up their country's international prestige. This was different for buildings constructed by the host country and it did not matter very much whether the organization of the exhibition was in the hands of the government as happened in France and many other Latin countries, or in private hands as was generally the case in the Anglo-Saxon world. National self-profiling,

[28] Schriefers, *Für den Abriss gebaut?*, 49–56.

[29] Paul Sigel, *Exponiert. Deutsche Pavillons auf Weltausstellungen* (Verl. Bauwesen, 2000), 102–27; Lisa D. Schrenk, *Building a Century of Progress: The Architecture of Chicago's 1933–34 World's Fair* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

[30] Caroline R. Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland : Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939" (PhD diss., University of Ann Arbor; 2013), 235–87; Thoor, *Het gebouw van Nederland*, 155–83. For the Polish pavilions see the chapter by Dziewanowski-Stefańczyk.

however, was also crucial for the host country[31] and this could largely be done through the main buildings of the world fair. Many of the early international exhibitions primarily used classicist buildings to provide a dignified and cosmopolitan image. However, other options were available as well to accommodate and attract the largest possible number of visitors. This could either be done by being utterly efficient and build as much exhibition space possible for the budget available, or to focus on buildings that would help reach a larger audience.

Many of the exhibition pavilions were ephemeral constructions, which had to be economical. Even more permanent buildings, such as the Palais de l'Exposition of 1867 or the Galerie des Machines of 1889, both in Paris, were barely decorated glass and steel buildings. Many buildings at world fairs, thus, were functional constructions designed by engineers. Especially after the First World War, plain industrial buildings became common for most of the general exhibition halls.

Fig. 3: Eugène Hénard, Palais d'Electricité (with the impressive Château d'Eau by Edmond Paulin), Universal Exposition, Paris 1900 (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

The cheerful atmosphere of the world fairs also invited architects and engineers to use their imagination and design more festive buildings, which moreover should appeal to a more popular audience. An early example of this trend was the magnificent entrance gate by René Binet and the Palais d'Electricité by Eugène Hénard (see illustration 3) at the Universal Exposition of 1900. Sometimes even national pavilions were built in a festive style. Thus, for

[31] Wolfram Kaiser, "Vive La France! Vive La République? The Cultural Construction of French Identity at the World Exhibitions in Paris 1855–1900", *National Identities* 1, no. 3 (1999): 227–244.

the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco Willem Kromhout designed a very cheerful Dutch pavilion, with a domed tower flanked by turrets, which were decorated with a large number of colourful flags and banners.[32]

Probably, the most obvious option within this category is the iconic building, or what Alexander Geppert has defined as a *clou*. According to him, each world fair needed a "star attraction", a spectacular construction that structured the exhibition ground. The most obvious of these iconic buildings was the Eiffel Tower, which was built for the Universal Exhibition of 1889, and which also provided an observation post from which to get a panoramic overview.[33] Other examples are London's Chrystal Palace of 1851 and the Atomium, which was built for the Brussels Expo of 1958. Sometimes, however, these iconic buildings referred explicitly to an exotic country. This was the case with the 38 meter high Egyptian pyramid – complete with electric elevator – that was built at the enormous Great Industrial Exposition of Berlin in 1896.[34] As the world fairs began to target a broader audience, which thanks to rising income levels and cheaper mass transport could increasingly afford a visit to such an event, iconic and festive buildings, built mostly by the host country or a private company, seemed to have become more important over time.

National historical

Since national pavilions usually stood side by side at the exhibition ground, using universal forms was not a very good way to stand out, especially when this style was quite popular at the time. Thus, from the very start there was a clear tendency to adopt an idiosyncratic style that supposedly was characteristic for one's own nation, which moreover should be recognisable and attractive. The most logical option was to search the nation's architectural patrimony for a suitable historical style. A good alternative was to use a unique vernacular style. Or to paraphrase Joep Leerssen, one had to choose between past or peasant.[35]

The most current option, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, was the historical pavilion, which generally referred to a specific part of the national architectural patrimony. As a consequence, it was intimately connected with wider debates on the national past and on heritage protection. In general, those styles and buildings that could not be found anywhere else had the best chance to be selected as characteristic. The historical pavilion could be a replica of an existing building, mostly a famous monument, a building in a Historicist style, or an updated version, mostly defined as a new national style.

Replicas of famous monument abounded at the early world fairs. This was a recipe that initially was mostly applied by peripheral countries, while most of these buildings were connected with the ruling dynasty, such as the somewhat orientalised copy of the Bey of Tunis' Bardo Palace at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1867. The palace, constructed on

[32] Thoor, *Het gebouw van Nederland*, 42–58.
[33] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 95–97; See also: Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition."
[34] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 49–51.
[35] Joep Leerssen, "Introduction", in *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, ed. Joep Leerssen, vol. I (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 37–38.

the basis of prints by the French architect Alfred Chapon, was such a success that it was rebuilt at the Parc Montsouris in Paris, where it survived until 1991.[36] The Ottoman Empire followed suit by building an exact copy of the Sultan Ahmed Fountain, a richly decorated square building with five small domes, at the Vienna World Fair of 1873. The same building also inspired the Ottoman pavilion at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, which was designed by the Chicago architect J.A. Thain, although this time it was slightly bigger and not a slavish copy.[37] A somewhat free interpretation of a royal castle was the Hungarian pavilion at the Parisian Universal Exhibition of 1900, which took its inspiration in the Vajdahunyad Castle in Transylvania, where Hungary's most famous king Matthias Corvinus was born. Already at the 1896 Millennial Exhibition in Budapest, where 1,000 years of Hungarian statehood were commemorated, an imitation of this late medieval castle had been a huge success;[38] it even was rebuilt in stone and brick and today houses the Museum of Hungarian Agriculture.

Fig. 4: German Pavilion, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis 1903 (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

[36] Myriam Bacha, "Le Palais Du Bardo", in *Les Expositions Universelles à Paris de 1855 à 1937*, ed. Myriam Bacha and Béatrice de Andia (Paris: Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 2005), 87–91.
[37] Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 106–9.
[38] Terri Switzer, "Hungarian Self-Representation in an International Context: The Magyar Exhibited at International Expositions and World's Fairs", in *Art, Culture, and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, ed. Michelle Facos and Sharon L. Hirsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 172–74.

At the enormous Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904 there were no less than four royal replicas. Germany copied the central part of the Baroque Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin to show the 'new splendour of the old Prussian kingdom' (see illustration 4), France built a reproduction of Petit Trianon from Versailles, while Great Britain erected an imitation of the Orangery of the Royal Palace at Kensington and of the famous Moghul mausoleum of Itmad-ul-Dowlah at Agra to represent the East-Indies.[39] All these exuberant buildings originally dated from the seventeenth and eighteenth century and thus referred to the time of the Louisiana Purchase of 1804 that was commemorated at this event. They probably were part of a new transnational interest in Baroque art and architecture, while they were also well suited to attract American visitors, who lacked both a monarchy and an impressive historical patrimony.

Alongside impressive palaces, striking exotic temples, usually from a much earlier period, were regularly copied at world fairs. At the 1889 Universal Exhibition in Paris both Mexico and French Indochina were represented by somewhat eclectic buildings: an Aztec temple, designed by Antonio Peñafiel, and a partial reproduction of the twelfth-century Angkor Wat temple from Cambodia. Eleven years later Paris housed a full-scale copy of an eighth-century Buddhist temple from Central Java, representing the Dutch Indies, while in 1915 Japan built a copy of the fourteenth-century Buddhist Kinkaku-ji temple in Kyoto at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. The clue of the International Colonial Exposition in 1931 would be an enormous, full-scale copy of the Angkor Wat temple.[40] Strikingly, monumental replicas of church buildings were largely absent, so only non-Western religions were represented this way. Sometimes, even impressive civic buildings were rebuilt. Thus, at the World's Columbian Exposition, Spain reproduced the late Gothic silk exchange from Valencia.[41]

Before the First World War, Historicism – a recreation of a historical style, also known as Revival architecture – was probably the most popular style for national pavilions. Thus, at the world fairs of Paris in 1878 and St. Louis in 1904, the Netherlands used the Dutch Renaissance style, which was associated with the country's Golden Age.[42] The Russian revival pavilions – as analysed in the chapter by Swift – which referred back to the period before the Westernization policies of Peter the Great also form a good example of this trend. Sometimes various countries drank from the same well. Thus, Balkan countries such as

[39] Sigel, *Exponiert. Deutsche Pavillons auf Weltausstellungen*, 58–60; Fox and Snedekker, *From the Palaces to the Pike*, 172–74; Louisiana Purchase Exposition. *The Greatest of Expositions Completely Illustrated. Official Publication;* (St. Louis, Official photographic company, 1904).
[40] Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, 64–80; Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands And the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006), 164–220; Michael Falser, *Angkor Wat: A Transcultural History of Heritage* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).
[41] Manuel Viera de Miguel, "El imaginario visual de la nación española a través de las grandes exposiciones universales del siglo XIX: 'postales', fotografías, reconstrucciones" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2016), 296.
[42] Thoor, *Het gebouw van Nederland*, 21–24. The Dutch pavilion in St. Louis is not mentioned by Van Thoor.

Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria claimed the Byzantine heritage at the world fair of Paris in 1900, although each country gave it a different flavour.[43]

Spain had more difficulties deciding on its most characteristic style. At the Universal Exhibition in Vienna in 1873 and in Paris in 1878, it presented itself with an exotic pavilion that was clearly inspired by the dazzling remains of Al Andalus, such as the Alhambra in Granada. Although in general this was a great success among visitors, this also associated Spain with the Arab world, which was not pleasing to all Spanish opinion-makers. Thus, the alternative that was preferred at the Paris Universal Exhibition of both 1867 and 1900 was a building in a Spanish Renaissance style. This had the advantage of associating Spain with both European civilization and the early stages of its own Golden Age.[44] An exceptional case is constituted by a number of Latin American countries, who sometimes built European pavilions that did not have a clear link with their own territory. Thus, at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Brazil constructed a French Renaissance pavilion, while Colombia was represented by an Italian Renaissance building.[45] This choice seems more inspired by a universalist outlook. However, most probably both countries aimed to show that since 1492 – the "discovery" of America was commemorated in Chicago – they had become an integral part of Western civilization, thus appropriating the Renaissance as part of their own national heritage.[46]

There were also some attempts to combine various historical styles into a new synthesis, which could serve as a more truly national style. Some fascinating examples could be found at the Ibero-American Exposition, which was held in Seville in 1929. Thus, the pavilion of Peru was designed in a national, "mestizo" style by combining the Spanish colonial heritage with indigenous influences. The architect, Manuel Piqueras Cotolí, adopted the structure of Baroque colonial palaces with decorative elements taken from the recently excavated pre-Inca temple complexes at Tiwanaku and Chavín de Huantar. The two-storey arcaded courtyard displayed the typical Baroque contrasts between light and shadow, but the stepped zigzag frames and the richly ornamented columns were taken from indigenous sources. The architect also added decorative statues of condors, lamas and other animals typical for the Peruan Andes.[47]

---

[43] Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Competing Byzantinisms: The Architectural Imaginations of the Balkan Nations at the Paris World Exhibition in 1900", in *Ephemeral Architecture in Central-Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Miklós Székely (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2015), 107–22.

[44] María José Bueno, "Arquitectura y Nacionalismo. La Imagen de España a Través de Las Exposiciones Universales", *Fragmentos* 15–16 (1989): 58–70; Ana Belén Lasheras Peña, "España en París. La imagen nacional en las Exposiciones Universales, 1855-1900" (PhD diss., Universidad de Cantabria, 2010), 404–74; Viera de Miguel, "El imaginario visual de la nación española a través de las grandes exposiciones universales del siglo XIX", 288–300.

[45] James W Shepp and Daniel B Shepp, *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed.* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Alfred M. Slocum Co., 1893), 446–47, 455. See also chapter by Schuster.

[46] Gérard Bouchard, *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World: An Essay in Comparative History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008) 148-182.

[47] Amparo Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla de 1929* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2010), 210–29; Fernando Villegas, "El Pabellón Peruano en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla (1929)", *Anales del Museo de América*, no. 23 (2015): 143–83.

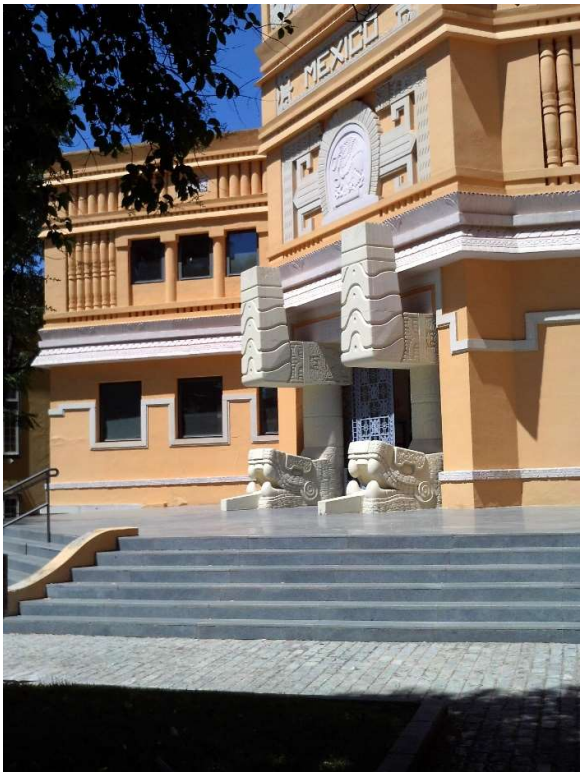

Fig. 5. Manuel Amábilis Domínguez, Main entrance of the Mexican pavilion, Ibero-American Exhibition, Seville, 1929 (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

Manuel Amábilis Domínguez, the architect of the Mexican pavilion in Seville, argued that he wanted to revitalize the art of "our most distant grandfathers" by inspiring himself in the palace and temple ruins of the classical indigenous civilization of the Toltec Empire that had recently been discovered in Uxmal and Chichen Itzá in his native province of Yucatán. He explicitly aimed to update "our national archaic art" by using reinforced concrete – since most buildings in Seville were meant to be permanent, this was also used in many other pavilions – and by adapting them to modern needs and standards. So in this case both the octagonal structure and the lavish decoration of the Mexican pavilion (see illustration 5) were inspired by pre-Colombian archaeological remains.[48] Another quite curious example was the pavilion of Chile. The impressive building was inspired by Spanish colonial architecture, although it also featured some Art Deco touches and pre-Hispanic decorative details. However, its shape and colour represented the snowy peaks of the nation's gigantic Andes Mountains.[49] As a result, even the natural patrimony of a nation could be combined with its architectural heritage.

[48] Manuel Amábilis Domínguez, *El pabellón de México en la Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1929), 16–25; Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla de 1929*, 142–68; Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñales, "Arquitectura Historicista de Raíces Prehispánicas", *Goya*, no. 289–290 (2002): 267–86. See also the chapter by Oesterreich.
[49] Sylvia Dümmer Scheel, *Sin tropicalismos ni exageraciones: la construcción de la imagen de Chile para la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla en 1929* (Santiago de Chile: RIL, 2012), 172 and 243–49.

National vernacular

Instead of looking for inspiration in formal architecture, national pavilions could also use vernacular examples: traditional buildings made by peasants and artisans instead of fashionable constructions designed by professional architects. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the interest in simple rural and small town constructions that were constructed without the help of an architect was rapidly growing, particularly because these buildings were seen as direct emanations of the nation's *Volksgeist*. These pavilions could come as replicas, in the form of a revival of vernacular styles, or as a new national style.

It seems that peripheral countries, and more specifically North and East-European countries, were more inclined to present copies of vernacular buildings. Thus, at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1867 Sweden reconstructed the peasant house where national hero Gustav Vasa had found refuge in the 1520s before leading the Swedish forces to victory in the War of Liberation against the Denmark. At the same exposition, Austria and Russia were represented by a village with rural buildings from various parts of the empire. Both countries repeated the formula at the Vienna world fair of 1873.[50] And at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition Norway – which at the time still formed a dynastic union with Sweden – built a copy of a medieval stave church.

Anonymous buildings from old towns and cities were also copied, particularly as representations of the host country. Thus, at the International Health Exhibition in South Kensington in 1884 the public could visit 25 ancient building of an Old London section, which proved to be extremely popular.[51] The formula was repeated in Old Edinburgh (1886), Alt Wien (1892), Oud Antwerpen (1895), Alt Berlin (1896), Ős-Budavára (1896), Vieux Bruxelles (1897), Gamla Stockholm (1897), Vieux Paris (1900) and Vieux Liège (1905). Other venues represented a region or an entire country, as was the case with Oud Holland in Amsterdam (1895), Vielle Flandre in Ghent (1913) and the Pueblo Español in Barcelona (1929).

There were also more contemporary recreations of vernacular buildings and traditions. Thus, at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878 one could visit a Street of Cairo and a Quartier Marocain. The 1883 International Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam contained a Javanese village with real inhabitants from the Dutch Indies.[52] Ethnographic villages became institutionalized at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The amusement sector at Chicago's Midway Plaisance contained no less than ten villages, among which a large German village, two Irish villages and settlements representing Lapland, China, Japan and Turkey. These picturesque recreations were inhabited by natives dressed in traditional costumes, who staged all kinds of vernacular traditions. Most of these villages were commercial undertakings (see also the chapter by Rydell), although ethnologists were eager to help make them as "authentic" as possible. Many of these villages satisfied the curiosity

[50] Martin Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung: Volkskultur auf den Weltausstellungen 1851-1900* (Münster: Waxmann, 1999), 49–57; Matthew Rampley, "Peasants in Vienna: Ethnographic Display and the 1873 World's Fair", *Austrian History Yearbook* 42, no. 42 (2011): 110–132.
[51] Wilson Smith, "Old London, Old Edinburgh: Constructing Historic Cities", in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed. Marta Filipová (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 203–29.
[52] Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 228–29 and 252–54; Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles*.

for exotic images of faraway peoples.[53] However, ethnographic villages also became very popular at many national exhibitions, where they primarily represented the home country's regional diversity and rich vernacular heritage. Impressive villages could thus be found at the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition, held in Prague in 1895, at the Swiss National Exposition of 1896 in Geneva, the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest that same year, the 1906 Jubilee Exhibition in Bucharest and the 1911 International Exhibition in Rome.[54]

Vernacular building styles were also revived. Mostly urban houses, churches and townhalls formed the main source of inspiration. Thus, the 1910 Universal Exhibition in Brussels hosted a large Dutch pavilion designed by Willem Kromhout, which recalled the vernacular town buildings from Holland's Golden Age. It was done in brick – as was customary for these ephemeral constructions the brickwork was not real, but painted on a wood panel façade – and had typical crow-stepped gables.[55] The German Empire also referred to vernacular buildings from the sixteenth and seventeenth century in some of its national pavilions. The German Pavilion at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago by Johannes Radke was clearly inspired by half-timbered urban constructions and colourful Southern German town halls. Although Germany had many impressive medieval castles and Gothic churches it apparently wanted to downplay the central role of the privileged classes, while focusing on the civic tradition of its towns.[56] Great Britain in a similar way preferred the Tudor Revival style for its pavilions at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1878 and the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. The half-timbered gables from the Elizabethan era pointed to the simple and solid qualities of 'Old England'.[57]

New national styles based on vernacular sources of inspiration were rare; they were more common for modest regional pavilions. Probably the best example of such a building was the New Mexico pavilion at the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego in 1915. The architects Rapp, Rapp and Hendrickson adopted the plan and constructive elements from various adobe mission buildings, built by Franciscan friars at a time when the South-West still was an integral part of the Spanish Empire, but also used the terraced forms from Native American Pueblo villages. They did not design a heterogeneous pastiche, but a harmonious whole with handmade, historically "accurate" details. As a result, the pavilion would become

[53] Robert W Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Luis A. Sánchez-Gómez, "Human Zoos or Ethnic Shows? Essence and Contingency in *Living* Ethnological Exhibitons", *Culture & History Digital Journal* 2, no. 2 (2013).
[54] Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung*, 72–82; Marta Filipová, "Peasants on Display: The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895", *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 1 (2011): 15–36; Sharon L. Hirsh, "Swiss Art and National Identity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century", in *Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, ed. Sharon L. Hirsh and Michelle Facos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 250–87; Switzer, "Hungarian Self-Representation in an International Context: The Magyar Exhibited at International Expositions and World's Fairs"; Shona Kallestrup, "Romanian 'National Style' and the 1906 Bucharest Jubilee Exhibition", *Journal of Design History* 15, no. 3 (January 1, 2002): 147–62; Todd Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome: Architecture, Archaeology, and National Identity", *Journal of Historical Geography* 37, no. 4 (2011): 440–59.
[55] Thoor, *Het gebouw van Nederland*, 21–24 and 29–41.
[56] Sigel, *Exponiert. Deutsche Pavillons auf Weltausstellungen*, 32–60.
[57] Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 165–70.

a hallmark of the new Pueblo Revival Style, which would become very popular in Santa Fe and surrounding areas.[58] In Europe, many regional pavilions also adopted vernacular forms. A quite late example can be found at the Parisian Universal Exhibition of 1937. France did not have a national pavilion, but presented itself in the form of a Regional Centre, consisting of 17 regional pavilions, each built in an updated vernacular style. Thus the use of glass and iron was also allowed.[59]

National pavilions generally had a certain monumental quality, thus a new national style exclusively based on vernacular examples was probably difficult to achieve. However, there were quite a number of pavilions that took their inspiration both from the formal architectural heritage of a specific country and from some of its most striking vernacular buildings. The Finnish pavilion at the Universal Exhibition of 1900, designed by Eliel Saarinen, Herman Gesellius and Armas Lindgren, was one of the first buildings to integrate vernacular elements in a major exhibition building. The design had the form of a medieval church, but it also included an iron and glass roof and Art Nouveau elements. The vernacular decorations, which originated from Karelia, the nation's supposed most authentic heartland, were beautifully integrated into the rest of the pavilion.[60] At the International Exposition of Industry and Labour, which was held in Turin in 1911, the Hungarian architects Móric Pogány and Emil Töry needed a bit more fantasy to combine a more monumental construction with vernacular elements. Their magnificent Hungarian pavilion, also known as King Atilla's Tent, was inspired by the fifth-century Huns, who supposedly were the forefathers of the Magyars.[61]

Sometimes, historicist and vernacular buildings were juxtaposed in one ensemble. Thus, at the central California Quadrangle at Panama-California Exposition in San Diego, Bertram Goodhue combined vernacular adobe buildings in the local Mission Style with a more spectacular Spanish Colonial Baroque construction. This California Building had an exuberant Baroque dome and tall tower. Both parts were inspired by the Spanish colonial presence in this part of North America, thus also claiming its heritage for California and by extension the United States as a whole.[62] Another fascinating juxtaposition could be found at the Algerian pavilion at the Paris International Exhibition of Art and Technology in Modern Life. Officially Algeria was not a colony, but an integral part of France. Although the majority of the population consisted of indigenous Muslims, there were about a million European settlers. Nevertheless, Algerian pavilions, which generally could be admired in the colonial sections, emphasized the area's exotic character. Thus, in 1937, the Algerian pavilion, designed by the French-Algerian architect Jacques Guiauchain, combined the courtyard of a

[58] Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 112–31.
[59] Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 219–47.
[60] Barbara Miller Lane, *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and the Scandinavian Countries* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[61] Switzer, "Hungarian Self-Representation in an International Context: The Magyar Exhibited at International Expositions and World's Fairs."
[62] Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

Berber palace and a minaret in a formal style with the more vernacular constructions of an Arab street and a caravanserai.[63]

Fig. 6: Aníbal González Álvarez, Plaza de España, Ibero-American Exposition, Seville 1929 (Source: photo by the author).

Probably the most ambitious synthesis of a nation's formal architectural heritage and vernacular elements could be found in Seville's Plaza de España, the marvellous masterpiece of Aníbal González Álvarez, which was the main building of the Ibero-American Exhibition of 1929. The impressive semi-elliptical building in a mixture of Renaissance and Baroque elements with a tall tower at both ends was inspired by several characteristic buildings from all parts of Spain. By using vernacular materials such as brick, slate, forged iron and typical Andalusian azulejos (ceramic tilework), while employing traditional artisanal techniques he gave the building a uniform and harmonious look (see illustration 6).[64]

Conclusion

A few provisional conclusions can now be drawn. First of all, the universal fashionable pavilions were very popular at the beginning and end of the period under review. Classicist pavilions were common during the second half of the nineteenth century and remained so for the central buildings of the host country until the First World War, although often in an

[63] Elise Marie Moentmann, "The Algerian Pavilions at the 1937 International Exposition in Paris: Multiple Reflections of French Colonialism", *Contemporary French Civilization* 29, no. 1 (January 2005): 21–43.
[64] Alberto Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla, 1900-1935* (Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 283–85, 421–27; Ana Souto, "La Exposicion Iberoamericana En Contexto" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2007), 168–82, 241–76.

updated Beaux-Arts version. From the 1930s onwards, Modernist buildings became dominant, both for national pavilions and for the main exhibition halls. Except for Art Deco at the 1925 Universal Exhibition in Paris, avantgarde styles barely had an impact on the architecture of the world fairs.

Universal commercial buildings were present at most world fairs. Functional buildings became in vogue when the number of buildings required for a respectable world fair increased. The main buildings were generally done in an exuberant fashionable of historical style, but minor buildings could be more austere. Festive buildings seemed to be more important during the early decades of the twentieth century, when appealing to popular taste seems to have become more acceptable. Obviously every fair needed an iconic building that literally dwarfed the rest, both to attract more visitors and to function as an orientation point at the mostly enormous exhibition grounds.

National historical buildings were the dominant form for national pavilions until Modernism took over in the 1930s. There is a clear chronological development. At the first international exhibitions after the introduction of the pavilion system in 1867, replicas of famous monuments were quite popular. Generally they were connected to the dynasty or to an exotic religion. Historicist pavilions quickly took over and after the First World War there were some attempts to synthetize various historical influences into one national style.

National vernacular buildings also abounded in world fairs. From about the 1880s there were many old cities and ethnographic villages with up to hundred replicas of vernacular buildings. Sometimes, vernacular buildings were reinterpreted in a more up to date form. National styles exclusively based on different vernacular styles apparently were only applied to more modest regional pavilions. However, during the first three decades of the twentieth century many pavilions provided a national synthesis combining formal with vernacular elements.

Although the number of international expositions and national pavilions examined for this chapter is quite considerable, further research is needed to ascertain the rising and waning popularity of each of the four options and determine which countries were more inclined to adopt them. In the case of the universal pavilions, it would be interesting to inquire whether empires and nation-states had different preferences and whether new states and regimes really were more inclined to adopt a Modernist style. In the case of the national option, more systematic investigations are needed in order to assess what periods and what types of heritage were favoured by specific countries. Was there a clear preference for buildings from a country's supposed golden age or from its remote origins, or were striking buildings preferred that could not be found anywhere else? And to what social groups did these buildings primarily refer: royalty, nobility, bourgeois merchants, urban middle classes or farmers? And when were vernacular sources of inspiration preferred over historical buildings.

But what does this bring? What do national pavilions at world fairs teach us about the construction of national identities? Are these pavilions not just ephemeral and artificial creations? I would argue that these national pavilions were crucial for almost all countries in

the process of defining and redefining their national artistic heritage[65] and collective identity. Firstly, national decision-makers were not completely free in selecting their architectural representation but were compelled to choose one of the options that had proven their appropriateness at earlier fairs. A universal form was an option, but had the disadvantage of not clearly singling out the country from the rest. The national option therefore was a more obvious choice, at least until the end of the 1920s. But even within this option, a country had to decide what elements from its heritage were most appropriate to function as a source of inspiration. In order to distinguish countries from one another they should have unique features that made them stand out among the rest, that were recognizable to visitors from all over the world and that would attract their attention. The global identity contest at world fairs thus induced countries to search for those building blocks that helped them stand out and which, in general, were not those aspects that could be found in almost all parts of the country. Instead, unique and often quaint, exotic and colourful buildings were best suited to catch the eye and as a consequence were selected as being typical and characteristic.

A final striking issue is that although we tend to speak of national pavilions where a process of national identity construction took place, actually almost all pavilions did represent a state and not a nation. As a consequence, world fairs had a clear nation-building function, both in existing nation-states, in nationalizing empires and in overseas colonies. In each case, unique, recognizable and attractive features had to be found in order to create an attractive pavilion that would draw a large number of international visitors. The taste of this international public – in most cases it was primarily Western – thus largely determined whether a specific territory's national image received recognition. If this was not the case – and the pavilion thus was not economically viable, both in terms of immediate and long-term returns – other more attractive building blocks had to be found. This also means that a national identity was not exclusively determined by a country's intellectual or political elite, as is implied in almost all existing case studies. Only a transnational and globally comparative analysis of the process of national identity construction at world fairs can overcome the pitfalls of methodological nationalism.

[65] In the case of non-Western countries, such as Japan, even the terminology had to be invented. See the chapter by Oshikiri.

Bibliography

Ackley, Laura A. *San Francisco's Jewel City: The Panama–Pacific International Exposition of 1915*. Berkeley, California: Heyday, 2016.

Amábilis Domínguez, Manuel. *El pabellón de México en la Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla*. Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1929.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

Bacha, Myriam. "Le Palais Du Bardo." In *Les Expositions Universelles à Paris de 1855 à 1937*, edited by Myriam Bacha and Béatrice de Andia, 87–91. Paris: Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 2005.

Bayer, Patricia. *Art Deco Architecture: Design, Decoration, and Detail from the Twenties and Thirties*. Revised ed. edition. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.

Bayly, C. A. *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India.* New Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Bennett, Tony. "The Exhibitionary Complex." *New Formations* 4 (1998): 73–102.

Berger, Stefan, with Christoph Conrad. *The Past as History: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Bloembergen, Marieke. *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006.

Böger, Astrid. *Envisioning the Nation: The Early American World's Fairs and the Formation of Culture*. 2 edition. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2011.

Bokovoy, Matthew F. *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Bolotin, Norman, and Christine Laing. *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*. Reprint edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Bouchard, Gérard. *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World: An Essay in Comparative History.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.

Breuilly, John. "Nationalism as Global History." In *Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting of Complementary?*, edited by Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou, 65–84. London: Routledge, 2011.

———, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Bueno, María José. "Arquitectura y Nacionalismo. La Imagen de España a Través de Las Exposiciones Universales." *Fragmentos* 15–16 (1989): 58–70.

Cabo, Miguel, and Fernando Molina. “The Long and Winding Road of Nationalization: Eugen Weber’s Peasants into Frenchmen in Modern European History (1976—2006).” *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (January 4, 2009): 264–86.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* London, U.K.; Totowa, N.J.: Zed Books, 1986.

———. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Chernilo, Daniel. “The Critique of Methodological Nationalism Theory and History.” *Thesis Eleven* 106, no. 1 (August 1, 2011): 98–117.

Courtenay, Todd. “The 1911 International Exposition in Rome: Architecture, Archaeology, and National Identity.” *Journal of Historical Geography* 37, no. 4 (2011): 440–59.

Dümmer Scheel, Sylvia. *Sin tropicalismos ni exageraciones: la construcción de la imagen de Chile para la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla en 1929*. Santiago de Chile: RIL, 2012.

Etlin, Richard A. “Italian Rationalism.” *Progressive Architecture*, July 1983, 86–94.

Falser, Michael. *Angkor Wat: A Transcultural History of Heritage*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019.

Filipová, Marta, ed. *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*. Farnham: Ashgate 2015.

———. “Peasants on Display: The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895.” *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 1 (2011): 15–36.

Fox, Jon E. “The Edges of the Nation: A Research Agenda for Uncovering the Taken-for-granted Foundations of Everyday Nationhood.” *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 1 (2017): 26–47.

Fox, Timothy J, and Duanen R Snedekker. *From the Palaces to the Pike: Visions of the 1904 World’s Fair*. St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Geppert, Alexander C. T. *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Gilbert, James Burkhart. *Whose Fair?: Experience, Memory, and the History of the Great St. Louis Exposition*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Graciani García, Amparo. *La participación internacional y colonial en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla de 1929*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2010.

Greenhalgh, Paul. *Fair World: A History of World’s Fairs and Expositions, from London to Shanghai 1851-2010*. Winterbourne: Papadakis, 2011.

Gutiérrez Viñales, Rodrigo. “Arquitectura Historicista de Raíces Prehispánicas.” *Goya*, no. 289–290 (2002): 267–86.

Herbert, James D. *Paris 1937: Worlds on Exhibition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Hirschi, Caspar. *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Hirsh, Sharon L. “Swiss Art and National Identity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” In *Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, edited by Sharon L. Hirsh and Michelle Facos, 250–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Ignjatović, Aleksandar. “Competing Byzantinisms: The Architectural Imaginations of the Balkan Nations at the Paris World Exhibition in 1900.” In *Ephemeral Architecture in Central-Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Miklós Székely, 107–22. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2015.

Kaiser, Wolfram. “Vive La France! Vive La République? The Cultural Construction of French Identity at the World Exhibitions in Paris 1855–1900.” *National Identities* 1, no. 3 (1999): 227–244.

Kal, Hong. “Modeling the West, Returning to Asia: Shifting Politics of Representation in Japanese Colonial Expositions in Korea.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no. 3 (2005): 507–31.

Kallestrup, Shona. “Romanian ‘National Style’ and the 1906 Bucharest Jubilee Exhibition.” *Journal of Design History* 15, no. 3 (January 1, 2002): 147–62.

Lane, Barbara Miller. *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and the Scandinavian Countries*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Lasheras Peña, Ana Belén. “España en París. La imagen nacional en las Exposiciones Universales, 1855-1900.” PhD diss., Universidad de Cantabria, 2010.

Leerssen, Joep, ed. *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

———. “Introduction.” In *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, edited by Joep Leerssen, I:18–45. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

———. *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

———. “Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture.” *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 4 (2006): 559–578. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2006.00253.x.

Löfgren, Orvar. “The Nationalization of Culture.” *Ethnologia Europaea* 47, no. 1 (2017): 35–53.

Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1904 : Saint Louis, Mo). *The Greatest of Expositions Completely Illustrated. Official Publication;* St. Louis, Official photographic company, 1904. http://archive.org/details/cu31924096211382.

Mabire, Jean-Christophe, ed. *L’Exposition universelle de 1900*. Paris, France: Editions L’Harmattan, 2000.

Malesevic, Sinisa. *Nation-States and Nationalisms: Organization, Ideology and Solidarity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013.

Malloy, Caroline R. “Exhibiting Ireland : Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939.” PhD diss., University of Ann Arbor, 2013.

Mann, Michael. *The Sources of Social Power: Volume II - the Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

McGowan, Abigail. *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Mitchell, Timothy. “The World as Exhibition.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1989): 217–36.

Moentmann, Elise Marie. “The Algerian Pavilions at the 1937 International Exposition in Paris: Multiple Reflections of French Colonialism.” *Contemporary French Civilization* 29, no. 1 (January 2005): 21–43.

Pica, Vittorio. *L’Arte decorativa all’esposizione di Torino del 1902*. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d’Arti Grafiche, 1903. http://archive.org/details/gri_33125012571903.

Rampley, Matthew. “Peasants in Vienna: Ethnographic Display and the 1873 World’s Fair.” *Austrian History Yearbook* 42, no. 42 (2011): 110–132.

Reid, Donald Malcolm. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Rydell, Robert W. *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Sánchez-Gómez, Luis A. “Human Zoos or Ethnic Shows? Essence and Contingency in *Living* Ethnological Exhibitons.” *Culture & History Digital Journal* 2, no. 2 (2013).

Schrenk, Lisa D. *Building a Century of Progress: The Architecture of Chicago’s 1933–34 World’s Fair*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Schriefers, Thomas. *Für den Abriss gebaut?: Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Weltausstellungen*. Hagen: ardenkuverlag, 1999.

Shepp, James W, and Daniel B Shepp. *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed.* Philadelphia, Pa.: Alfred M. Slocum, 1893.

Sigel, Paul. *Exponiert. Deutsche Pavillons auf Weltausstellungen*. Verlag Bauwesen, 2000.

Smith, Anthony D. *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.

Smith, Anthony D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

Smith, Wilson. "Old London, Old Edinburgh: Constructing Historic Cities." In *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, edited by Marta Filipová, 203–29. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.

Souto, Ana. "La Exposicion Iberoamericana En Contexto." PhD dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007. https://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/10411/.

Stoklund, Bjarne. "The Role of International Exhibitions in the Construction of National Cultures in the 19th Century." *Ethnologia Europaea* 24 (1999): 35–44.

Storm, Eric. "Overcoming Methodological Nationalism in Nationalism Studies: The Impact of Tourism on the Construction and Diffusion of National and Regional Identities." *History Compass* 12, no. 4 (2014): 361–73.

Storm, Eric. *The Culture of Regionalism Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

Switzer, Terri. "Hungarian Self-Representation in an International Context: The Magyar Exhibited at International Expositions and World's Fairs." In *Art, Culture, and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, edited by Michelle Facos and Sharon L. Hirsh, 160–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Tenorio-Trillo, Mauricio. *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*. The New Historicism ; 35 040943178. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, 1996.

Thiesse, Anne-Marie. *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIIIe-XXe siècle*. Paris: Seuil, 1999.

Thoor, Marie-Thérèse van. *Het gebouw van Nederland: Nederlandse paviljoens op de wereldtentoonstellingen, 1910-1958*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1998.

Viera de Miguel, Manuel. "El imaginario visual de la nación española a través de las grandes exposiciones universales del siglo XIX: 'postales', fotografías, reconstrucciones." PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2016.

Villar Movellán, Alberto. *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla, 1900-1935*. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979.

Villegas, Fernando. "El Pabellón Peruano en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla (1929)." *Anales del Museo de América*, no. 23 (2015): 143–83.

Wesemael, Pieter van. *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001.

Wilson, Chris. *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Nation Building: Why Some Countries Come Together While Others Fall Apart*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. "Methodological Nationalism and beyond: Nation–State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences." *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–34.

Wörner, Martin. *Vergnügung und Belehrung: Volkskultur auf den Weltausstellungen 1851-1900*. Münster: Waxmann, 1999.