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International exhibitions as global test fields: heritage and regionalism at the Panama-California exposition in San Diego and the Ibero-American exhibition in Seville, 1915-1929

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International Exhibitions as Global Test Fields Heritage and Regionalism at the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego and the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville, 1915-1929

Eric STORM

INTRODUCTION: INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS AS A GLOBAL TEST FIELD

■ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, everywhere in the Western world architects began to reject the strict rules of academic architecture and the mechanic imitation of past styles in favour of a new style that reflected both the 'spirit' of the times and of the people (*Zeitgeist* and *Volksgeist*). In this endeavour, they were strongly influenced by the lively debates that were held over collective identities by historians, archaeologists, ethnographers, anthropologists, and other intellectuals. But how was one to construct an attractive building that convinced clients and that could be identified as belonging to a certain geographical area? Architects thus tried to develop a new, contemporary style that integrated existing artisanal traditions, took into account the specific geographical conditions, and used naturally available building materials. Since every nation and region should develop its own style, the emphasis was put on those elements from a territory's heritage that distinguished it from others and would result in a picturesque but characteristic building.

Nonetheless, the ideals, design principles, and strong emphasis on a territory's supposedly unique heritage were strikingly similar. This was clearly visible at world fairs and other international exhibitions, where from about 1900 'Regionalism' was applied to a large number of national and regional pavilions. The aim of this chapter is to show that international exhibitions—and their myriad national

and regional offshoots—played a crucial role in the development of the various Regionalist styles, because at these occasions pavilions had to catch the eye and be recognisable as representing a specific area. The question now is: what options were available in order to represent the heritage of a specific territory in a Regionalist pavilion?

Regionalist architecture has been largely ignored in overviews of architectural history; first of all, because it did not produce resounding manifestos, nor present itself as a coherent movement, but also because it was simply seen as a reactionary or backward-looking movement by scholars who understood architectural history as a succession of innovative trends. During the past few decades there has been a growing interest in architectural Regionalism (an overview is provided in the Introduction to the present conference proceedings), although almost all recent investigations are case studies that focus on one architect or developments within one region or one state.

While the focal point may be different, these studies generally take one state or nation as their frame of reference and as such they implicitly present the history of architectural Regionalism as a collection of (separate) national histories. There are only very few comparative investigations (Lane, 2000; Loyer & Toulhier, 2001; Storm, 2010), but maybe more problematic is the implicit methodological nationalism of most studies. Outside influences and external actors are downplayed or ignored, while circumstances that particularly concern the examined country or nation are used as explanatory factors. Moreover, these studies are generally embedded within a specific national historiographical tradition, using conceptions that are only current in one particular national context (Storm, 2014). This is also reflected in the large amount of labels that has been invented. They could refer to a town (Zakopane Style in Poland, or *estilo sevillano* in Spain), region (Neo-Normand or Neo-Basque in France), landscape (Prairie School in the United States), ethnic group (Pueblo Revival in New Mexico, or neo-Maya in Mexico) or a particular building (English cottage, Mission Revival). More generic names were also invented, such as Neo-Vernacular, Folkloric Regionalism (Pavrides, 1991), Regionalism (Loyer & Toulhier, 2001), *Heimatschutz*, National Romanticism (Lane, 2000) or Neo-Colonial, but agreement seems to be lacking here as well.

One of the aims of this edited volume is to study architectural Regionalism as a global process, and world fairs constitute an ideal platform to do so. Another aim is to focus on centre-periphery constellations. It is clear that, after the introduction of national pavilions at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867, Scandinavian and East-Central European countries were the first to give vernacular elements a prominent role. Many of their national pavilions were even built in a (neo-)vernacular style (Wörner, 1999). This was also the case with most colonial pavilions, and with those of (semi-)independent Asian powers, such as Japan, China and Thailand. Nevertheless, vernacular and Regionalist pavilions were not a prerogative of the periphery. Contemporary rural culture—mostly in a folkloric guise—also represented the motherland in most of the British, American and

French international expositions of the time; likewise, many German exhibitions contained an ethnographic village that represented the ‘authentic’ traditions of the surrounding countryside (Storm, 2017). Moreover, at the Paris International Exposition of 1937 the main representation of France was the Centre Régional, a picturesque ensemble of 17 regional pavilions in an updated Regionalist Style (Storm, 2010, p. 219–247; see also chapter by Michael Falser in this volume).

If we zoom out, and explore the broader territorial identity construction process in which Regionalist architects participated, it is clear that in this field of research the somewhat schematic centre-periphery approach has been abandoned in favour of more flexible constructivist and spatial approaches, while the emphasis on discourse and power has been substituted with practices, negotiation, and transfer (Storm, 2019). As a consequence, territorial identities are now understood in a more dynamic way, as being in continual flux, and reproduced and transformed on a daily basis (Edensor, 2002; Brubaker, 2002). Nevertheless, in order to overcome the methodological nationalism of the case study approach, I will focus on more structural factors, which can be detected by investigating global trends and patterns, such as the use of heritage in Regionalist pavilions during the early decades of the twentieth century.

This volume also proposes to examine the concrete interaction between individual actors, institutions, knowledge configurations, border-crossings and platforms of knowledge exchange. I would argue, however, that the definition of specific Regionalist styles, expressions and traditions did not just depend on the production side, but also on its consumption. This is particularly clear at international expositions (Gilbert, 2009), where national and regional pavilions were considered a success if they received the approbation of the art and architectural critics, of the press and, most importantly, of visitors. If a pavilion was not attractive, could not clearly be distinguished from its neighbours, and was not really recognisable as referring to a specific territory, then it was mostly seen as a failure. As a consequence, international exhibitions functioned as global test fields for the development of architectural Regionalism.

In this chapter, I will conduct a comparative analysis of the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego (1915) and the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville (1929), two somewhat lesser known exhibitions where Regionalism was the dominant architectural style. I will focus on some of the most important pavilions at each of these expositions in order to classify the different options that were available to use a territory’s heritage as a source of inspiration.

THE PANAMA-CALIFORNIA EXPOSITION IN SAN DIEGO: WHAT HERITAGE WILL MAKE US UNIQUE?

■ In 1909, business elites in the Southern Californian city of San Diego took the initiative to celebrate the upcoming opening of the Panama Canal with a large-scale international exhibition. The main goals were to put San Diego and its harbour on the map, stimulate the local economy, create a new park that would make the city more inviting and, implicitly, placate social unrest by providing

work and stimulating local patriotism. Already in 1911 a historical pageant—four days of parades at the future exhibition grounds of Balboa Park—tried to boost local pride, while conveying an image of social harmony, both in the past and the present (Bokovoy, 2005, p. 17–43). Unfortunately, San Francisco and New Orleans had plans for a similar exposition on a grand scale and in 1911 Congress decided to support San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exhibition. Nevertheless, San Diego decided to proceed with its own, slightly more modest Panama-California Exposition (pl. 46 and fig. 1), which opened its doors in January 1915, a few months before its San Franciscan rival (Rydell, 1984, p. 208–219).

The director general of the exhibition, real estate developer David Charles Collier, had tried to convince Congress that San Diego would best “portray the romance, history, and beauty and the native arts of the Great Southwest and of Latin America” (Bokovoy, 2005, p. 26). Thus, from the outset it was clear that the Spanish colonial heritage, which distinguished California from the East Coast and its north-western European patrimony, should take centre stage. As their main architect, the organisers selected Bertram Goodhue who, early in his career, had assisted Sylvester Baxter, a journalist and writer with a special interest in architecture and urban planning, to produce a ten-volume inventory of Spanish colonial architecture in Mexico (Oliver, 1983, p. 25, 109–111).

In the introduction to a picture book of the architecture and gardens of the exhibition, Goodhue criticised the Beaux-Arts classicism that had characterised former world fairs in the United States, explaining that “all local, ethnic, and fitting character has been lost, and the architectural scheme and style [...] has taken on a rather colourless, classic character with rows of columns, triumphal arches, courts of honour, and the like” (Goodhue, 1916, p. 3). The Panama-California Exposition, on the contrary, should be in harmony with the local landscape, the exuberant nature, and the Californian climate. According to Goodhue's close collaborator, the young architect Clarence Stein, the original plan was to adopt the style of the mission buildings for the exposition. In the preceding decades, these eighteenth-century buildings had already become a popular source of inspiration for all kinds of new constructions in California (Stein, 1916, p. 12; see also Fu, 2009). Goodhue, however, preferred the “Spanish-Colonial style of Mexico”, because it was well-suited to the local climate and would add the gaiety and colour that were essential for a successful exhibition. Moreover, he argued, the Franciscan priests who had built the Californian missions had been inspired by the beautifully decorated churches of the main Mexican cities, but owing to a lack of resources and skilled artisans they had to content themselves with simplified versions. Thus, the Californian missions were, in fact, but a minor part of a much larger Spanish colonial architectural heritage which, according to Stein, was truly American, meaning in fact Pan-American.

Obviously, the groundwork for the Spanish Colonial Style had been laid in Spain, whose architecture, thanks to the influence of the “Moors”, differed markedly from that in Italy and France. But after the conquest of Mexico, Spanish

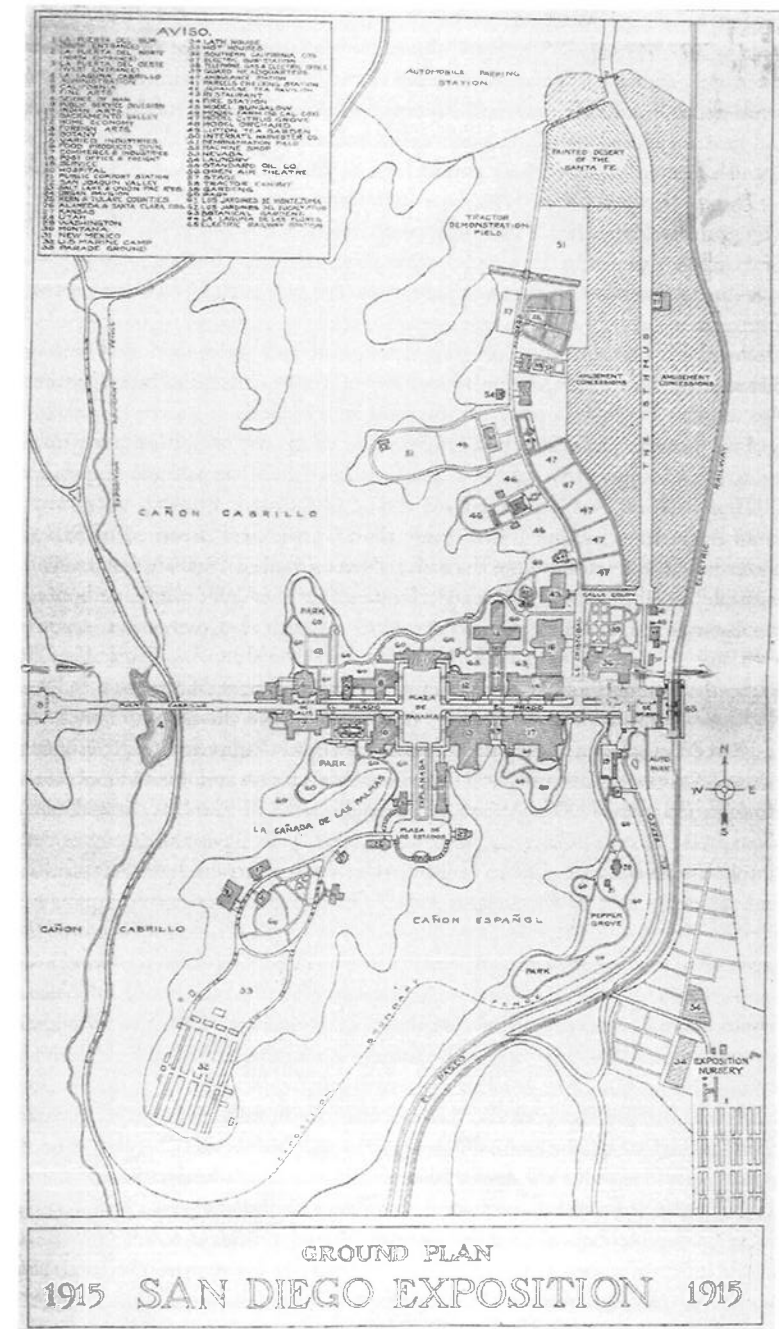


Fig. 1. Official plan of the Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1915 (Source: Official Guide Book 1915, map).

architecture was enriched with artisanal traditions of the indigenous population, creating a homogenous Spanish Colonial Style. "During three centuries these Aztec and Mextizo [sic] artisans developed a style of artistic workmanship that combined not only the crowded—almost Oriental—splendor of Aztec carving and love of rich coloring, but much of the best of the artistic inheritance of the Spanish masters" (Stein, 1916, p. 13).

The centrepiece of the exhibition would be Goodhue's California Quadrangle (compare *pls 46 and 47*), which was located at the most spectacular entrance of the exhibition grounds. Three sides of the plaza were built in an austere Mission Style, in adobe. The California Building (*pl. 47*), with its two-storey entrance, impressive dome and tall tower, was the focal point and was done in more spectacular Spanish Colonial Baroque, thus emphasising the colonial heritage shared with California's southern neighbours. Most of the other buildings were also done in a similar, exuberant Spanish Colonial Style.

In a short brochure that was published in 1914, the exhibition was praised as "an Aladdin like city of palaces"; it would be "the most different exposition you ever saw". It was "a transplanted bit of Old Castile nestling in the heart of an American city, but more lovely than Castile ever dreamed of being". Nevertheless, the exhibition in the lush gardens of Balboa Park was not an exotic fairy tale; it was presented as the logical outcome of the Californian past because, the anonymous author argued, it was in San Diego that the earliest seeds of 'civilisation' had been planted in American soil. Already in the first half of the sixteenth century, this part of the United States had been 'discovered' by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, who had arrived much earlier than the Dutch, French and English. Moreover, in the eighteenth century "it was Father Junipero Serra who built up Southern California and introduced civilization and the name of Christ among the Indians". The exposition thus reflected "the glory of these devoted sons of Old Castile". Consequently, inspiration for the pavilions came from the simple "tile and adobe mission buildings the gentle friars erected in California" and the richly ornamented palaces, cathedrals and monasteries from Spain and Mexico (Panama-California Exposition, 1914). The official guidebook of the exposition, an 80-page illustrated booklet that briefly described all pavilions, even added that it was the city's duty to "revive the glories" of the Spanish-Colonial school of architecture, "because San Diego and Southern California trace their history back to the days of the conquistadores and the padres" (Official Guide Book, 1915, p. 8).

The exposition, however, also paid attention to the cultural heritage of Native Americans. One of the main themes of the exhibition was the evolution of humanity throughout the ages and civilisations; significantly, the California Building was dedicated to the ancient peoples of Central America. According to the official guidebook, the exhibit showed "the memorials of a race that ran its course in America before the continent was seen by Europeans". In particular, Mayan temple cities could rival those of Egypt. Thus, this aspect of the American past was also appropriated by the organisers as part of their cultural heritage. This

was explicitly justified in the official guidebook: "In the absorption of building a great English speaking nation, we have lost sight of the part played by Spain in American history; still further we have lost sight of the great works of the native American race, which we know in its decadence" (Official Guide Book, 1915, p. 20-22). The arts and crafts of current-day Native Americans were also given ample space in a centrally located Indian Arts Building.

Thus, San Diego presented itself—and, implicitly, California and the Southwest—as fundamentally different from New England, which until then had set the tone for the nation's collective identity, by presenting the heritage of the Aztecs and Mayas, the Spanish colonial period, and present-day Native Americans as its own, and at the same time inherently American. It thus could boast of a more impressive and long-lasting cultural tradition than the rest of the United States. In his study of the San Diego world fairs, the American historian Bokovoy even argues that at the exhibition the "culture of the Southwest and Latin America became the nation's antiquity. The Americas possessed heritage equal to Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, thus the wellspring of a pluralistic nationalism far different than the New England tradition" (Bokovoy, 2005, p. 109).

The state of New Mexico also used its Native American and Spanish colonial heritage to attract visitors to its pavilion in San Diego. At the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, New Mexico had presented itself with a somewhat academic Mission Style pavilion. However, the Cliff Dwellers, a Pueblo exhibit populated by Native Americans from New Mexico, attracted much more attention, and this did not go unnoticed (Wilson, 1997, p. 91-92; see also Parezo & Fowler, 2007, p. 246-252). When in 1909 the Museum of New Mexico was founded in Santa Fe, it rapidly became a centre for the revival of both Spanish colonial and Native American arts and crafts. Led by the archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewitt, the museum staff began to promote the local Pueblo style; an exhibition of photographs of local vernacular architecture, with pictures of flat roofs, adobe walls, and projecting beams, was intended to provide inspiration for the redevelopment of Santa Fe (Wilson, 1997, p. 112-126).

Hewitt was also responsible for the New Mexico pavilion at the Panama-California Exhibition (*pl. 48*). According to the official guidebook this was a "replica" of the early seventeenth-century mission in Acoma. The author also made clear that the New Mexico missions were quite different from later ones in California, because "the Spanish settlers utilized Indian ideas and Indian materials" (Official Guide Book, 1915, p. 31). In fact, the building was much more eclectic. The architects Rapp, Rapp and Hendrickson had used the plan of the Acoma mission, but added a balcony and towers from the San Felipe Pueblo mission and incorporated terraced forms from Pueblo villages. Assisted by the staff of the museum, the architects had not designed a heterogeneous pastiche, but a harmonious whole with handmade, historically 'accurate' details. In fact, Anglo-American architects and archaeologists were needed to turn indigenous artisanal traditions into a contemporary piece of art. Anyhow, the design was

a great success and the pavilion would become a hallmark of the new Pueblo Revival style (Wilson, 1997, p. 128-131).

In close cooperation with the Santa Fe Railways—who promoted the picturesque landscapes and handicrafts of the Southwest in order to attract more tourists—the museum staff also organised the Painted Desert exhibit (pl. 49). This was a large ethnographic village, with self-built Pueblo houses where a large group of Native Americans—most of them from New Mexico—could be visited in their ‘natural’ habitat during the exhibition (Wilson, 1997, p. 129). According to the guidebook, this was “the most impressive display of real southwestern Indian life that the world has ever seen”, while constituting an authentic display of their traditions and crafts. “The red men will be seen weaving their rugs and blankets and shaping their pottery, and pounding out their copper and silver ornaments exactly as the southwestern Indians have done for centuries. They will be seen building new adobe houses; they will be shown in their ancient ceremonials...” (Official Guide Book, 1915, p. 14). In fact, most Native Americans at the exhibition earned their money as showmen, while skilled Pueblo artisans like María Martínez collaborated closely with Hewett and other museum employees to produce pottery that strongly resembled old indigenous earthenware excavated around Santa Fe (Bokovoy, 2005, p. 114-138)—a clearly ‘invented tradition’.

Thus, again we see that New Mexico officials chose those aspects of their cultural heritage—in this case from the Spanish colonial missions and local Native Americans—that enabled them to distinguish themselves from their neighbours, while providing a striking exhibit that would attract visitors. The contributions from New Mexico to the Panama-California Exposition were seen as a success and in the following years, the new Pueblo Revival Style would be applied to a large number of private and public buildings in the Santa Fe area, resulting in a unique and recognisable appearance (Wilson, 1997, p. 135-145).

THE IBERO-AMERICAN EXHIBITION IN SEVILLE: HOW CAN WE BE DIFFERENT FROM OUR NEIGHBOURS?

■ The Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville (1929) showed many similarities with the Panama-California Exposition. As in San Diego, the initiative to organise a large-scale international exhibition was launched in 1909. The plans of the local business community were as ambitious as those of San Diego, but even though they were quickly approved by the Spanish government, financial means were not sufficient to execute them as scheduled in 1914. Although Spain remained neutral during the First World War, the conflict hampered further progress. It was only in 1925, when the military dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera—which had abolished parliamentary democracy a few years before—took over the organisation of the exposition, that preparations went ahead with renewed vigour (Rodríguez Bernal, 1994, p. 57-81).

The original idea of Luis Rodríguez de Caso, a local businessman, was to stimulate commerce and to obtain governmental support for the extension of the

city and the creation of a new park. The exhibition might also provide a good opportunity to stimulate national feelings amongst wider strata of the population (Rodríguez Bernal, 1994, p. 42-47) and to undermine the growing appeal of the working class movement, which in Andalusia was dominated by anarchists. Seville also had to consider rival plans that had been developed from 1905 onwards in Barcelona. There, the aim was to organise an international exhibition of electric industries, to be held in 1917. This event was also postponed until 1929. Nonetheless, Barcelona would remain focused on international modernity (Storm, 2010, p. 197-205). The Sevillian exhibition, on the contrary, would concentrate on history, art, and trade, particularly with the Americas. After Spain had lost its last major colonies in the Hispano-American War of 1898, it was time to strengthen cultural and economic ties with former colonies. Since Portugal, Brazil, and the United States also showed much interest in the fair, it was redefined as an Ibero-American exhibition (fig. 2). In addition, Spain's small African colonial possessions and the protectorate in Morocco were represented by their own pavilions, as were all Spanish regions and the Andalusian provinces (Trillo de Levy, 1980, p. 34-50).

It was clear that the organisers did not wish to copy the Beaux-Arts recipes that had dominated most world fairs until then. In 1910, the City Council had already decided to reward new house façades that were built in a typical local style (Villar Movellán, 1979, p. 186-187), while in 1912 the decayed Barrio de Santa Cruz was ‘restored’ as an archetypical Andalusian neighbourhood (Menéndez Robles, 2006, p. 178-203). Thus, the French garden architect Forestier promised to abide by the Islamic-Andalusian traditions of Seville in his plans for the María Luisa Park, which was envisaged as the heart of the exhibition grounds, while Aníbal González Álvarez, a local architect who would become one of the main proponents of the Regionalist Style in Spain, designed the general plan. In his

Fig. 2.
Plan of the
Ibero-American
Exhibition,
Sevilla, 1929
(Source:
Wikimedia
Commons: 197
Ibero-American
Exposition).



submission for the 1911 contest, he explained that all major buildings would be designed according to “a regional traditionalism, since all the elements and materials are typical, and most of them genuinely local” (Villar Movellán, 1979, p. 229-238, quote 234; Rodríguez Bernal, 1994, p. 158-160).

In a keynote lecture at the National Conference for Architects, which González Álvarez gave together with Leonardo Rucabado, the main representative of the Regionalist Style in Cantabria and the Basque Country, he implicitly alluded to the choices he had made for his designs, while intervening in a heated debate on the need for a new national architectural style. The two architects argued that a new up-to-date national style would only come into being by experimenting with traditional forms and techniques while taking into account the specific climatic and geographical circumstances of each particular city or region (Rucabado and González, 1915; Storm, 2010, p. 154-163 and 209-210). In an interview given just before the opening of the exhibition, published in the lavishly illustrated 800-page *Libro de Oro* of the exhibition, González Álvarez explained that the Moorish architecture and crafts of Al-Andalus—which had been kept up by Mudéjar artisans after the *Reconquista*—had been one of the main wellsprings for his own designs. Other traditions that he had tried to incorporate were the early sixteenth-century, highly decorative Plateresque style and the local Baroque. He had also adapted his buildings to the Andalusian climate and the intense Mediterranean light, while applying traditional building materials and techniques (Vázquez, 1930).

At the Plaza de América, González Álvarez designed three buildings that referred back to the late medieval and early modern period, when Seville was a major commercial and artistic hub: a Pavilion for Industry and Decorative Arts in a Neo-Mudéjar style (fig. 3), a Neo-Gothic Royal Pavilion and a Pavilion of Fine Arts in a Spanish Renaissance style. Although other local architects, such as Juan Talavera, would also find inspiration in the vernacular architecture of the Andalusian countryside, González Álvarez preferred more urban sources. His masterpiece, the Plaza de España (fig. 4), was probably meant as a sort of synthesis of Spanish architecture. 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 various parts of the country. By using local materials such as brick, slate, forged iron, and typical Andalusian *azulejos* (ceramic tilework), while employing traditional artisanal techniques—many of which had their roots in *Al-Andalus*—he gave the building a uniform and harmonious look (Villar Movellán, 1979, p. 283-285, 421-427; Souto, 2007, p. 168-182, 241-276). Although Spain's national identity had been largely shaped by cherishing the memory of the *Reconquista* against the “Moors”, González Álvarez integrated many Moorish elements into his designs for the exhibition, since they helped to give his buildings a colourful and exotic twist while making them alluring and recognisable.

The organisers of the Ibero-American Exhibition did not impose any specific design, but the pavilions of eleven major Latin American countries, Portugal,

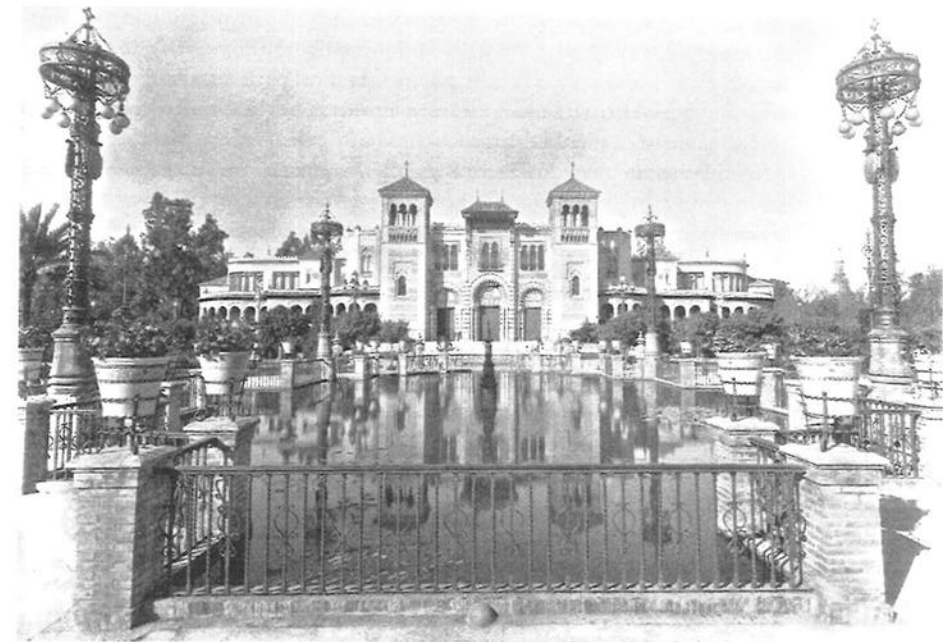


Fig. 3. Pavilion for Industry and Decorative Arts (Source: © ICAS-SAHP; Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).



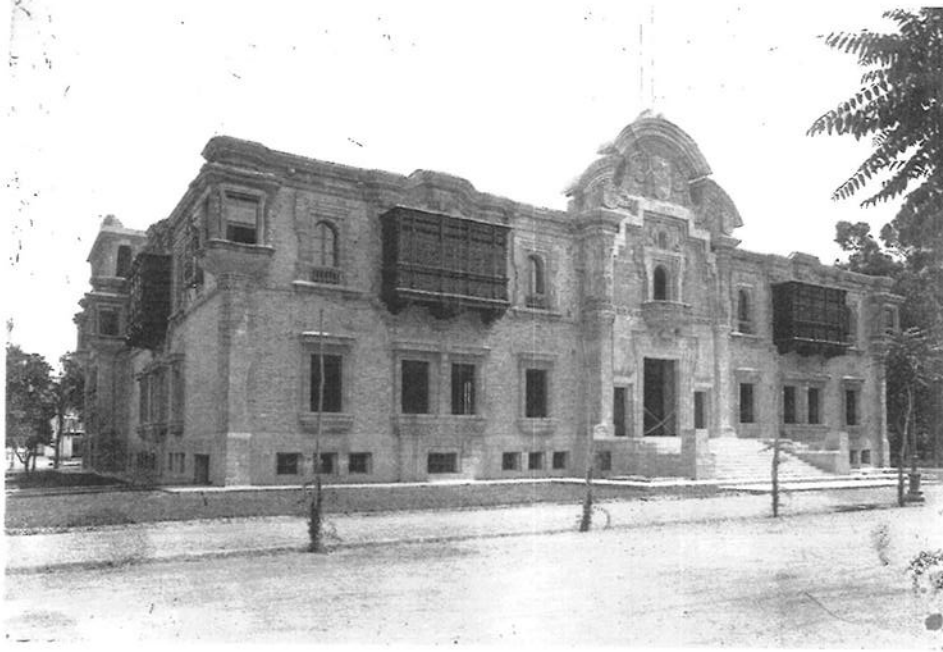
Fig. 4. Plaza de España (Source: © ICAS-SAHP; Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

and the United States were all executed in a characteristic architectural style (Graciani García, 2010, p. 94-101). Various options were available to select and integrate a territory's cultural heritage into a national pavilion, amongst which the Mestizo Style of Peru, the indigenous solution chosen by Mexico, and the focus on the country's natural heritage favoured by Chile were the most remarkable.

The Peruvian government had already announced its participation in the Ibero-American exhibition at an early stage, but only in 1925 were the first concrete steps taken to erect a pavilion in an 'Inca style'. Nevertheless, Manuel Piqueras Cotoñi decided to integrate both indigenous and Spanish colonial elements in his design. Piqueras was a Spanish sculptor and architect who in 1919 had become a professor of sculpture at the new National School for Fine Arts in Lima. He designed a new façade for the School in a mixed, Neo-Peruvian style (Graciani García, 2010, p. 208-211). This apparently appealed to Augusto Leguía's *Patria Nueva* government, which sought to broaden its powerbase amongst the indigenous population by creating a section for Indian Affairs within the Ministry of Development and by showing a relatively new interest in Peru's indigenous culture, both of the past and the present (Earle, 2007, p. 186-194).

The Peruvian pavilion (fig. 5) resembled a Baroque colonial palace, but its decoration was almost exclusively inspired by indigenous remnants, particularly from ancient civilisations that had been present in Peru before the rise of the Inca Empire. Recent excavations at Tiwanaku (just across the border with Bolivia) and Chavín de Huantar provided concrete sources of inspiration, as well as

Fig. 5.
Pavilion of Peru
(Source: © ICAS-
SAHP, Fototeca
Municipal de
Sevilla, Serrano
archive, 1929).



archaeological finds that could be exhibited in Seville (Graciana García, 2010, p. 210-218; Villegas, 2015, p. 163-176). On top of the exuberant portal, for instance, the creator god Viracocha—who also presided over the Sun Gate at Tiwanaku—held up the Peruvian coat of arms. The two-storey arcaded courtyard displayed the typical Baroque contrast between light and shadow, but all decorations, such as stepped zigzag frames, columns, or stylised snakes and pumas, were taken from indigenous sources. The architect even added decorative statues of condors, llamas and other animals typical of the Peruvian Andes (Graciana García, 2010, p. 216-229).

In June 1929, Piqueras told a reporter from the Spanish newspaper *ABC* that he had tried to create a new, synthetic Peruvian architecture. He argued that the Incas had already tried to fuse cultural influences from all previous civilisations. After the conquest, the Spaniards had imposed their alien architectural style. However, like Clarence Stein, he argued that indigenous artisans had transformed the Spanish architectural tradition, creating a new, truly American style: "through the influence of the environment, through the labour force—the indigenous worker unconsciously transforms the Spanish tradition—a mixture [*mestizaje*] is created, and the Spaniards take advantage of the architectural predisposition of the Peruvian Indians". During the colonial period, this had already led to a unique mixture, and after the dominance of pernicious European influences during most of the nineteenth century, he wished to redevelop this Mestizo Style (Sassone, 1929, p. 3). Nevertheless, pasting indigenous decorations onto a Spanish Baroque building seemed more a juxtaposition than a fusion.

In Mexico, high-profile intellectuals, such as the anthropologist Manuel Gamio and the writer and philosopher José Vasconcelos, also advocated the fusion of indigenous and colonial influences in order to create a new national culture, thus integrating the formerly disregarded Native Americans into Mexican society. This would also entail a revitalisation of indigenous arts and crafts. During the Mexican Revolution, they would occupy official positions in which they could implement many of their innovative views. Thus, in 1911 Gamio was involved in the foundation of the International School of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Americas in Mexico City and, in 1913, he became general inspector of archaeological monuments. During the presidency of Álvaro Obregón (early 1920s), Vasconcelos became Minister of Public Education. One of his main priorities was to expand and improve the education system in the countryside. He also took various measures to revitalise and spread Mexican culture to all parts of the country. Nevertheless, both Gamio and Vasconcelos thought that colonial heritage and the middle classes of Spanish descent should take the lead (Earle, 2007, p. 184-212; Gutiérrez Viñales, 2002).

Under the next president, Plutarco Elías Calles, it was decided that Mexico's pavilion at the Ibero-American Exhibition should be in a national architectural style (fig. 6). Nevertheless, in a third contest the Neo-Indigenous project of Manuel Amábilis Domínguez was selected (Tenorio-Trillo, 1996, p. 200-241; Graciana García, 2010, p. 131-137). Amábilis had studied at the *École Spéciale*



Fig. 6. Pavilion of Mexico (Source: © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

d'Architecture in Paris and after graduating he returned to Mérida, where he soon became director of Public Works of the state of Yucatán. He was fascinated by the pre-Colombian architecture of the area, and in 1921 he was the main expert who showed Vasconcelos—on an official visit to Yucatán—the largely unexcavated ruins of Uxmal and Chichen Itzá (Novelo-Oppenheim, 2012, p. 182-183). Unsurprisingly, his design for Seville was largely inspired by these ancient buildings.

In an extensively illustrated book (*pls 50a-b*), Amábilis argued that in his pavilion he had returned to the classical indigenous civilisation of the Toltec Empire. Their art had been the logical result of the interaction of the population with their living environment. Although the heritage of “our most distant grandfathers” had been largely ignored during the colonial period and the late nineteenth century, when European fashions had dominated the artistic scene, it was still alive amongst the lower social classes, particularly those of indigenous descent. According to the architect—who essentially used the same argument as Stein and Piqueras, albeit rephrased in racial terms—the “inalienable sediment of our race” was “nested in the heart and fingers of the Indian, who wove the fabrics with the colours and hues of his grandparents and painted enchanting and simple motifs in his pottery, in the temples of his villages, in the walls of his humble dwellings, in the embroidery and needlework of his typical costumes” (Amábilis Domínguez, 1929, p. 21-22). The pavilion, thus, was inspired by “our archaic national art”, but adapted to modern needs and building standards, which meant that—like most of the other pavilions discussed in this chapter—reinforced concrete was used for the main structure (Amábilis Domínguez, 1929, p. 16, 25).

Amábilis also explained his somewhat curious ideas on pre-Hispanic architecture in a manuscript that he submitted for a contest of the Spanish Real Academy of Fine Arts and that won the first prize in 1929. Following the theories of the British theosophist William Scott-Elliot, he argued that the ancestors of the Toltecs originated from the mythical island of Atlantis, and consequently were in a distant way related to the peoples of Southern Europe, such as the ancient Greeks and the Spaniards. Although these ideas were also shared by Vasconcelos and many other Mexican intellectuals, the architect was quite radical in applying them to his own designs. He particularly emphasised the archaic qualities of the architecture of the Toltecs, arguing that all the proportions of their buildings—like those of the Greek—were determined by the Golden Section. Moreover, he argued that the Toltecs used a diametrical symmetry, which he also adopted for the octagonal plan of his pavilion (Amábilis Domínguez, 1929, p. 38-41; Gutiérrez Viñales, 2002, p. 16; Urías Orcasitas, 2008; Carranza, 2010, p. 86-117). Nevertheless, the decoration, which was executed by the sculptor Leopoldo Tommasi López and the painter Victor M. Reyes, was not only inspired by Toltec statues and decorative motifs, but also by the traditional arts and crafts that could still be found amongst the rural population, thus implicitly underlining continuity with indigenous heritage (Graciana García, 2010, p. 142-168).

Thus, like the New Mexicans, he was more radical in his appreciation of indigenous heritage, not only using their decorative motifs, but also their architecture as his primary source of inspiration. The main difference was that in New Mexico the Pueblo Revival Style was largely based on vernacular examples, while Amábilis tried to create a Neo-Toltec Style by applying his knowledge of the ancient palace and temple ruins that had been rediscovered in his native Yucatán. Although the rectangular forms of his pavilion also seemed to be inspired by the new Art Deco trend, it enabled him to create a unique building that was unmistakably Mexican.

But what was one to do if a country did not have a striking cultural heritage that could compete with that of its neighbours? Argentina (*fig. 7*) chose to emulate the Californians by appropriating the Latin American indigenous past—in this case, particularly from Peru and Bolivia—as a collective heritage that had been fused with Spanish colonial influences into a new, unique Pan-American Colonial style. Thus, Eugenio Noel's Neo-Colonial pavilion contained some references to pre-Colombian elements in its decoration and courtyard (Graciani García, 2010, p. 178-206; Gutiérrez, Gutman & Pérez Escolano, 1995). Chile, for its part, found another solution by using its natural heritage.

Although Chile had decided to participate in the Ibero-American Exposition in 1925, the preparations only gained pace after the election of the military strongman Carlos Ibáñez del Campo as president in the spring of 1927. For the architectural contest, no clear stylistic guidelines were provided, although the building “should reflect our environment and Iberian-American origin” (Graciani García, 2010, p. 232-234). The contest was won by the architect Juan Martínez Gutiérrez, who was born in Spain, but had moved to Chile at a young age, where he had studied both architecture and fine arts (Campos Gajardo, 2015, p. 41-42). His design (*fig. 8*) consisted of massive grey and white volumes that ascended towards a strong tower in the centre, representing, as he maintained when interviewed for a Sevillean newspaper in 1928, “the peaceful backwaters of the Chilean coast and the orography of the Andes Mountains” (quoted in Dümmer Scheel, 2012, p. 172).

Though the building also contained modest decorative references to both the pre-Hispanic past and the colonial heritage of the country, the overall structure clearly referred to Chile's most impressive landscapes (Campos Gajardo, 2015, p. 88-126; Dümmer Scheel, 2012, p. 243-249). This coincided perfectly with the intent of the organisers to present Chile as a modern, progressive country. They even did their best to distance themselves from the rest of Latin America, for instance by emphasising the strong European character of the population. The Chilean ambassador to Spain went as far as to advise the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that, with the exhibition, the country should make clear that “instead of negroes and Indians, there is a homogenous race” of “pure” European descent (quoted in Dümmer Scheel, 2012, p. 162, 165-166). Moreover, the ambassador did not want to be associated with the tropical heat of the banana republics; he argued that the country's representation in Seville should emphasise the moderate



Fig. 7. Pavilion of Argentina (Source: © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).



Fig. 8. Pavilion of Chile (Source: © ICAS-SAHP, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla, Serrano archive, 1929).

climate of the country which, as the catalogue also made clear, was very similar to Central and Southern Europe and thus “wonderfully suited to the evolution of the white race” (quoted in Dümmer Scheel, 2012, p. 169).

Thus, the austere building with its references to the snowy peaks of the Andes perfectly fitted this image and made the pavilion stand out from its American neighbours, who mostly had adopted a more exuberant Baroque style. Chile also downplayed references to its pre-Colombian heritage. This also becomes clear when, in his interview, the architect argued that his pavilion “denotes the Iberian provenance of our race” (quoted in Graciani García, 2010, p. 235). Nevertheless, in the end, indigenous motives could be found in the murals, the interior decoration, and in two rooms displaying rural and indigenous arts and crafts (Dümmer Scheel, 2012, p. 170-177, 211-236).

CONCLUSION: A TYPOLOGY OF THE USE OF HERITAGE IN REGIONALIST PAVILIONS

■ We have seen that different options were available in order to create a Regionalist Style that represented a region or nation. In the existing scholarly literature, these choices are often presented as logically resulting from particular circumstances, that is to say, the cultural heritage or ethnic make-up of a particular territory (Souto, 2007, p. 28-33, 189-193). Other authors present them as conscious decisions contributing to a wider nation or region-building process that can be explained by zooming in on contemporary discussions about the redefinition of a country's collective identity (Bokovoy, 2005; Dümmer Scheel, 2012; Tenorio-Trillo, 1996; Villegas, 2015; Wilson, 1997). Nevertheless, the choices of these architects were never obvious. The past is like an enormous ‘grab bag’ that contains something for everyone. Thus, Californian and New Mexican architects used the relatively minor buildings from their Spanish colonial past—which played almost no role in the history of the United States—to create the Mission Style. Using references to the heritage of the Moors or Native Americans was also far from self-evident, because at the time they were not seen as an integral part of the nation; many even saw them as an obstacle to national progress. If the ‘bag’ did not contain enough elements for an attractive style, one could always appropriate elements from outside the national borders. Mexico's colonial architecture, for instance, was the main source of inspiration for the California Building in San Diego, while elements from the indigenous heritage of Peru and Bolivia were used in Argentina's pavilion in Seville.

Nevertheless, there seem to be a limited number of strategies that could be deployed to create a Regionalist Style. Villar Movellán, in his book on Regionalist architecture in Seville, distinguishes three main options for the Latin American pavilions: a Neo-Indigenous style, which was adopted by Mexico; a Neo-Hispanic style, embodied by Argentina; and a Mestizo Style, which was best exemplified by Peru (Villar Movellán, 1979, p. 453-457; see also Souto, 2007, p. 189-193). This seems to imply that these options were available more or less to all American countries. Earle and Gutiérrez Viñuales, who both focus on the Neo-Indigenous

option, explicitly argue that this style was not a Mexican invention, but was part of a broader continental trend, in which Gutiérrez Viñuales even includes the United States (Gutiérrez Viñuales, 2002; Earle, 2007). I would add that the Panama-California Exposition and the main Spanish pavilions in Seville fit into Villar Movellán's categorisation as well. Thus, Spanish Colonial or Hispanic architecture formed the main inspiration for Goodhue's buildings in San Diego, while the way in which González Álvarez included many Moorish elements in his Plaza de España—which was primarily based on well-recognised European architectural traditions—was very similar to Piqueras Coto's integration of indigenous ornaments into his colonial palace. The New Mexico pavilion in San Diego, which combined Spanish Mission Style with Pueblo influences, was another good example of the Mestizo Style, while Santa Fe's Pueblo Revival Style could qualify as Neo-Indigenous.

I now propose to broaden Villar Movellán's categories of how to include cultural heritage into a Regionalist Style in order to produce a classification that may be applied globally. First of all, one could base oneself on the European/Western architectural tradition. Another option would be to adopt the heritage of the indigenous population or of some exotic groups that during past periods had been present on a particular territory. Finally, one might choose to mix traditional European forms with indigenous or exotic elements, which Villar Movellán calls the Mestizo Style. In all cases, inspiration could be found in formal architecture from the past, in vernacular buildings, or in a combination of both. Table 1 presents an overview of the resulting categories.

Table 1. *Categories of Regionalist Architecture*¹

Combination	1.3	2.3	3.3	4.3
Vernacular	1.2	2.2	3.2	4.2
Formal Architecture	1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1
architecture	European/Western	Indigenous/Exotic	Mixture	Natural
heritage	Cultural Heritage			Heritage

The California Building in San Diego and the Argentine pavilion in Seville would fall into the category of Formal-Western (1.1), the Mexican pavilion would be Formal-Indigenous (2.1), the Peruvian pavilion, Plaza de España and New Mexico building—which all combine European architectural forms with indigenous/exotic decorations and/or materials—belong to Combination-Mixture (3.3), while the Pueblo Revival Style would be Vernacular-Indigenous (2.2). If the past was not suitable enough, or did not deliver striking examples that could be used to stand out amongst the rest, one could also use the natural heritage. This solution was adopted by Chile (4.1), while peculiar flora and fauna were used for ornamental details in the Peruvian pavilion. We thus have to add the Natural Heritage category, which can be further subdivided into formal architecture, vernacular or combination.

At first sight, it would seem that centre-periphery constellations were quite important. Indeed, both San Diego and Seville were peripheral cities. Arguably the

choice for Regionalism as the dominant architectural style was influenced by the rivalry with more powerful and modern cities—San Francisco and Barcelona—that both held major international exhibitions at the very same time and opted for a more Classicist Style.

However, there were also very specific reasons why this choice was quite logical and which have nothing to do with a centre-periphery dynamic. First of all, during the early decades of the twentieth century, when the crucial decisions were taken, Regionalism was a new and fashionable architectural trend that was adopted for a broad range of buildings almost everywhere. Moreover, the local authorities and business communities of both cities aimed to create a new picturesque park with enchanting permanent buildings that should host various cultural institutions. The erection of main exhibition pavilions in a Regionalist Style would fit this purpose very well.² This way, it was thought, the cities would become more appealing to tourists, investors, and residents. Regionalism, with its focus on cultural heritage, was also seen as useful because it could strengthen a city's identity and stimulate the social cohesion of the population.

Similar motives were invoked by many of the participating countries or regions in order to justify their preference for a Regionalist pavilion. Many decision-makers explained that one of their main objectives had been to integrate the lower classes, the countryside or indigenous communities into the nation. This could be achieved by including certain conspicuous aspects of their building traditions into the exhibition pavilion and, thus, implicitly into the nation's cultural heritage. The Chilean case is somewhat different, since Martínez Gutiérrez specifically left out the indigenous heritage and instead focused on the natural heritage in order to attract "white" European immigrants.

Finally, the choice of the type of heritage that would be most useful for a specific national or regional pavilion was not primarily determined by a centre-periphery dynamic. Selecting European or non-European cultural heritage, or focusing on vernacular instead of formal examples as the main source for a territory's pavilion, cannot primarily be explained by certain power constellations. It depended much more on what part of the cultural or natural heritage could be presented as different, recognisable and attractive to an international audience. Thus countries with well-known, impressive European or colonial monuments were probably more inclined to use them as a source of inspiration for their national pavilions, while others preferred to use more exotic, indigenous or vernacular aspects of their cultural heritage, especially if this enabled them to better set themselves apart from their neighbours. If needed, one could even appropriate cultural heritage outside of one's borders.

As to the actors, we have seen that architects did not operate on their own. They collaborated and were influenced by historians (Baxter), archaeologists (Hewitt, Gamio), philosophers (Vasconcelos) and even a theosophist (Scott-Elliot). Moreover, they had to deal with the stipulations and wishes of the local, regional or national politicians who commissioned the pavilions. Cultural institutions (for instance, the Museum of New Mexico or the Spanish Royal Academy) and local

societies often also played an active role in the planning process, while various bodies of knowledge (studies of Spanish colonial architecture, or excavations in Tiwanaku, Chavín de Huantar, Uxmal and Chichen Itzá) were used as a source of inspiration or were even actively created (photographs of Pueblo buildings) for this purpose.

Various authors have already made clear that world fairs were part of a larger "exhibitionary complex" (Bennett 1988; Stocklund 1994), where transnational networks of professionals codified "a standard repertoire" (Geppert, 2013, p. 12-15; Leerssen & Storm 2022). This was also the case in San Diego and Seville. Almost all the main actors were cosmopolitan professionals who had travelled extensively and were well aware of cultural and architectural developments elsewhere. Moreover, they had often visited earlier exhibitions and took their lessons seriously.³ So cross-border transfers were omnipresent, but because of the nationalist context they were not always openly acknowledged.

Finally, books, illustrated guidebooks, catalogues, and lectures at academies and cultural associations were used to explain to a wider audience what choices had been made when designing Regionalist pavilions. Moreover, the exhibitions themselves were major platforms of exchange. Generally, they were visited by millions of visitors⁴ and received extensive coverage in the local, national and international press, both in mainstream newspapers and more specialised magazines and journals.

If we only focus on narratives produced by intellectuals and on the roles played by various political and cultural institutions, then Regionalist pavilions will be interpreted as having been primarily determined by ideological concerns, while all decisions supposedly were imposed from above. However, this chapter has made clear that commercial actors were crucial as well. In both San Diego and Seville, businessmen took the initiative to organise international exhibitions. In New Mexico, the Santa Fe Railways company even played a pioneering role in the revival of indigenous arts and crafts. Thus, economic concerns—procuring investments and subsidies for the development of new parks and neighbourhoods, providing work to the labouring classes, and creating new business opportunities by stimulating trade and tourism—were as important as ideological motives.

Moreover, we should not only focus on the production or supply side, for equally important was the consumption or demand side. Architects were very eager to gain recognition for their designs from colleagues, critics, public opinion and the wider public. If a pavilion was unappealing, rather generic or not clearly recognisable as representative of a specific territory, it was often ignored by visitors. This meant that the exhibits inside the pavilions were not seen by the public, which in many cases also had financial consequences. Pavilions often hosted shows for which an extra entrance fee had to be paid, or cafés and restaurants where (typical) refreshments could be bought.

Commercial considerations even interacted with aesthetic issues. Although an in-depth analysis of the reception of the various Regionalist pavilions at these exhibitions remains to be made, there are some clear indications of the

impact of consumer demand. Goodhue, for instance, was well aware that the Mission Style was too austere for the main exhibition buildings. Instead, he opted for the more cheerful Spanish Colonial Revival, a decision that certainly was influenced by the need to attract a sufficient number of visitors to the Panama-California Exposition. Moreover, during these years the Mission Style, Spanish Colonial Style and Pueblo Revival—possibly influenced by the opulent exhibition buildings—became a resounding success and many well-to-do people commissioned a villa or mansion in one of these styles. The same happened in Seville, where the Regionalist villas and apartment buildings of Aníbal González and many of his colleagues were in high demand. Both the Balboa Park and the Parque María Luisa became very popular amongst both the local population and tourists, thus connecting the Regionalist Style of the main exhibition pavilions to the image of the city.

Notes

1. One might reject this categorisation as Eurocentric, but it must be admitted that, at the time, European or Western architecture was dominant across the globe. Even independent countries such as those in Latin America, the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, Japan, and China widely adopted Western architectural trends, including regionalism.
2. In Paris, which could then be considered the centre of the modern world, there were plans to turn the Centre Régional of 1937 into a permanent representation of the regions in the heart of Paris. However, this proved impossible because the land on which it was built did not belong to the State (STORM, 2010, p. 231).
3. Many main actors, like the Native American showmen, even possessed ample experience of other exhibitions.
4. The Panama-California Exposition was visited by approximately 3.5 million people over two years; for Seville, visitor numbers were disappointing, but are not exactly known.

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