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Nested identities at the 1929 Seville and Barcelona International Expositions: local, regional, national and (post-) imperial

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ABSTRACT

The Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville and Barcelona's International Exposition, both of which opened their doors in 1929, were local initiatives that originated in the years before the First World War. City councils in Seville and Barcelona hoped to boost civic pride by drawing the attention of the world. Both aimed to improve infrastructure, beautify the city and stimulate economic opportunities. However, this was done in different ways. Barcelona profiled both the city and Catalonia as the most dynamic and modern area of the country, thus the initial plan was to organize an international exhibition of electric industries, while Seville hoped to attract foreign tourists and strengthen bonds with Spanish America. Consequently, Barcelona primarily targeted a European audience in focusing on modernity, while Seville looked to the Americas while emphasizing tradition and the city's Al-Andalus roots. Both projects suffered considerable delays. Substantial progress was only made after 1925, when the Primo de Rivera dictatorship took over the reins of both projects. Interestingly, the two exhibitions did not project a unified national image to the outside world. Moreover, they explicitly addressed local, regional and national identities, while also appealing to a common European and Ibero-American identity. This article explores the nested territorial identities at these two exhibitions and how the various organizers took into account the expectations of an international audience. In the end, both international exhibitions had a crucial role in turning Seville and Barcelona into popular tourist destinations.

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Introduction

World fairs were one of the most important mass media during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900, for instance, received over 50 million visitors. Even more people – as armchair travellers – experienced the marvels of the exhibition through extensive reports in newspapers

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and illustrated magazines. These mega events were not just showcases of the latest scientific and technological innovations; they were also global platforms of exchange where countries learned how to mould their national identities in front of an international audience.[1] The host city, moreover, could use the opportunity to refashion its image to the outside world. Thus, Seville's Ibero-American Exhibition and Barcelona's International Exhibition, both of which opened their doors in the spring of 1929, were combined with ambitious urban renewal programmes. The exhibitions originated as local initiatives during the first decade of the twentieth century, but were postponed because of the First World War. Both suffered further delays as a consequence of the post-war economic slump and were only taken up with renewed vigour by the dictatorial regime of General Miguel Primo de Rivera, who decided that they should be held simultaneously. These expositions serve as a perfect lens through which to examine the impact of foreign views on the national self-image as both local and national authorities of various ideological hues were involved. Moreover, in the case of Barcelona, the tense relationship between Catalan and Spanish nationalists offers the possibility to explore how the dynamic between collective self-perceptions and foreign views played out in a so-called stateless nation.

The early decades of the twentieth century are a particularly intriguing period to study the transnational construction of national identities. With the First World War and the rise of Fascism, this was undoubtably an age of extreme nationalism. Paradoxically, however, during this era the nation or the nation-state was not taken for granted anymore as the basic territorial unit into which humanity was divided. Empires, for instance, continued to haunt the imagination. At the same time, there was a great interest in pan-movements, such as Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism or Pan-Celticism; a Pan American Union had already been established in 1890, while activists created a Pan-European Union in 1923. Scientists, moreover, explored the impact of race, geopolitics and climate, which mostly induced them to study large meso-regions, such as Halford Mackinder's Eurasian 'pivot area'. However, there was not just a growing fascination for larger units; sub-state regions also experienced a heyday. Ethnographers and historians mapped popular traditions and vernacular art, while architects and artists integrated them into their own artistic creations. A rapidly growing number of local and regional museums similarly began to preserve their specific collective heritage. This process of territorial identity formation, emphasizing differences rather than similarities, was further encouraged by the rapidly growing tourist demand for attractive destinations.[2]

Territorial identities were a prominent issue in Spain. As a result of the 1898 defeat in the Spanish-American War, the country lost – at the height of the era of modern imperialism – the last vestiges of a once enormous empire. As a result of this 'disaster', Spain was forced to reposition itself internationally. At the same time, nationalist movements developed in the Basque Country and Catalonia, fundamentally questioning the existing framework of a centralized Spanish nation-state.[3] Sub-state regionalism, peripheral nationalism and larger territorial identities played a crucial role at the expositions in Seville and Barcelona. The question now is how these varied territorial identities, ranging from the local to the imperial, interfered with the dialectic between foreign views and national self-perceptions at these two 1929 international exhibitions. As we will see, in most cases these territorial identities were not opposed to each other but can be seen as nested, as different territorial layers that complement each other.

Both international exhibitions have been studied in depth, even though the one in Seville has been examined more extensively than its Barcelonese equivalent. Catalan scholars have largely ignored the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona; they see the end result as having been imposed by the Spanish state. Strikingly, Mies van der Rohe's groundbreaking modernist pavilion representing the Weimar Republic has been investigated more thoroughly.[4] Nonetheless, in the 1980s two books, based on extensive archival research, provided an overview of the International Exposition. Carmen Grandas primarily focuses on the urbanistic developments related to the exhibition, while Ignasi de Solà-Morales extensively discusses the architectural particularities of the pavilions.[5] Some foreign authors have examined the Pueblo Español, a spectacular ethnographic village that has become a permanent attraction within the city of Barcelona[6] while, more recently, young scholars, such as Juan Antonio Simón, Lucila Mallart and Ana Rodríguez Granell, have published a number of local case studies focusing on specific aspects of the exhibition, such as urban reform, heritage and art.[7] The focus of most investigations has been centred on the activities of Catalan nationalists and their complicated relations with Madrid, while the contribution of other political currents and the perceptions from abroad have barely been taken into account.

The Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville has been much more popular, particularly among local academics. Thus, around 1980, Alberto Villar Movellán published an exhaustive study of the architecture of the exposition, setting it in the context of the rise of a local Neo-Vernacular style, while Manuel Trillo de Leyva examines the role of the exhibition in the urbanistic transformation of Seville. Shortly afterwards, Eduardo Rodríguez Bernal published a detailed analysis of the organizational aspects of the exhibition.[8] Recently, the participation of the various Latin American countries in the exhibition has received more attention,[9] while the number of case studies related to the exhibition is rapidly growing. Since 2018, various conferences have been organized on this topic and the voluminous proceedings are being published by the local university press.[10] In general, however, most cases studies analyse a specific pavilion or a (local) theme. As a consequence, the different territorial layers, from local to post-imperial, tend to be studied separately, while foreign views are largely ignored.

Foreign perceptions of Spain have already been studied extensively in a separate research tradition. Various scholars have investigated the views of foreign travellers, writers and painters, who from the Romantic era began to visit Spain in growing numbers. Europeans and North Americans increasingly saw Spain as an exotic country; they were fascinated particularly by the monumental remains of Al-Andalus and the picturesque folklore of flamenco dancers, bandits and bullfights.[11] Recently, several scholars have explored the interaction between foreign views and self-image. Thus, Xavier Andreu Miralles shows how during the nineteenth century Spanish intellectuals had to come to terms with foreign stereotypes, while several authors, among whom is Ana Moreno Garrido, explore the impact of foreign views on Spain's tourist promotion efforts, which took off in the early decades of the twentieth century.[12]

In this article, I will examine the impact of foreign views not just on the realm of ideas or practices, but also on the transformation of the physical environment. The aim is to study the influence of these foreign views on the entangled construction of local, regional, national and (post-) imperial identities at the major international expositions in both

Barcelona and Seville. This will be done by studying the genesis of both exhibitions, their urbanistic plans and several of the main pavilions and exhibits. In addition, I have made use of some hardly known texts of the main organizers, in which they explain their ideals and plans, as well as several newspaper articles, which in the case of Barcelona even shed new light on the origins of the International Exposition.

I will now first discuss Seville's Ibero-American Exhibition and then the International Exposition in Barcelona. After a short analysis of the foreign perceptions of each city, I will explore the origins of the exhibition plans and then discuss how the city, the region, the country and the (post-) imperial dimensions were represented at the exhibition.

The Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville

For foreigners, Andalucia, and more in particular the city of Seville, embodied Spain's romantic stereotypes. This became clear at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900, where two French businessmen mounted a large-scale 'Andalusia at the Times of the Moors' exhibit, which played on all existing stereotypes. It included a copy of Seville's Patio de las Doncellas – the work of Moorish artisans – and the Giralda tower, which was originally the tower of the city's Great Mosque. Visitors could mount a donkey, visit flamenco shows or witness battles between Christians and Moors.[13] Foreign travel guides for Seville mostly focused on the Alcazar, the Giralda and the Cathedral, while depicting the city as exotic or even Moorish. In addition, travellers were highly interested in flamenco performances, bullfights and other picturesque aspects of the local folklore.[14] As we will see, the organizers of Seville's Ibero-American Exhibition were determined to provide a picturesque, but well-ordered, image of the city. They did so by incorporating various aspects of the city's Moorish heritage in a new, clearly recognizable architectural style. On the other hand, folkloric performances – and particularly its more rude and clichéd aspects – were almost entirely absent from the exposition grounds.[15]

In Seville, the Liberal and Conservative parties dominated municipal politics. These parties also alternated in power at a national level and, as a consequence, relations with Madrid were close. Even though local rivalries were strong, both liberals and conservatives supported the exhibition project. The idea for a major exhibition originated with a private citizen: Luis Rodríguez de Caso, a retired military officer and entrepreneur. In 1908 he had organized a magnificent folkloric festival in the local bullring to celebrate the centenary of the national uprising against Napoleon. Folkloric groups from all provinces had been invited to this 'Spain in Seville' commemoration. The flags of all Spanish provinces were raised, but also those of the former colonies. The celebration was a great success and together with a group of local notables Rodríguez began to make plans for something more audacious: a Hispano-American exhibition. The goals were to unite the country, re-establish contacts with Spanish America, improve the city's economic situation – which had traditionally been the main port for colonial trade – provide work, attract tourists and initiate urban reform. In 1910 the City Council, King Alfonso XIII and the liberal government endorsed the project. Although the date was set for 1914, it ended up being postponed various times.[16]

Even though the organizing committee gave no guidelines for the style of the pavilions, it was clear that they were not in favour of the cosmopolitan Beaux-Arts architecture that had been the dominant building style for world fairs throughout the world.

The organizers thought that the exhibition pavilions should be in harmony with the character and climate of the city. In 1911 Aníbal González Álvarez, a promising local architect, won the contest with a project that focused on Seville's Golden Age in the late medieval and early-modern era, thus not succumbing entirely to the foreign craze for the remains of Al-Andalus. The buildings, according to his report, represented 'a regional traditionalism, since all the elements and materials are typical, and most of them genuinely local'. Shortly afterwards he worked out the plans for what would become the Plaza de América with a Neo-Mudéjar Pavilion for Industry and Decorative Arts (Figure 1), a Neo-Gothic Royal Pavilion and a Spanish Renaissance Pavilion of Fine Arts. In 1914 he also drafted the first designs for the monumental Plaza de España, which was executed almost exclusively in local materials, such as brick, tiles and glazed ceramics.[17] In an interview in the spring of 1929, the architect asserted that he had been inspired by the city's medieval heritage and the rich decorations of its Renaissance and Baroque monuments.[18]

The exhibition project fitted in perfectly with a broadly shared wish to make the city more attractive through an urban reform programme. Thus, already in 1910, the

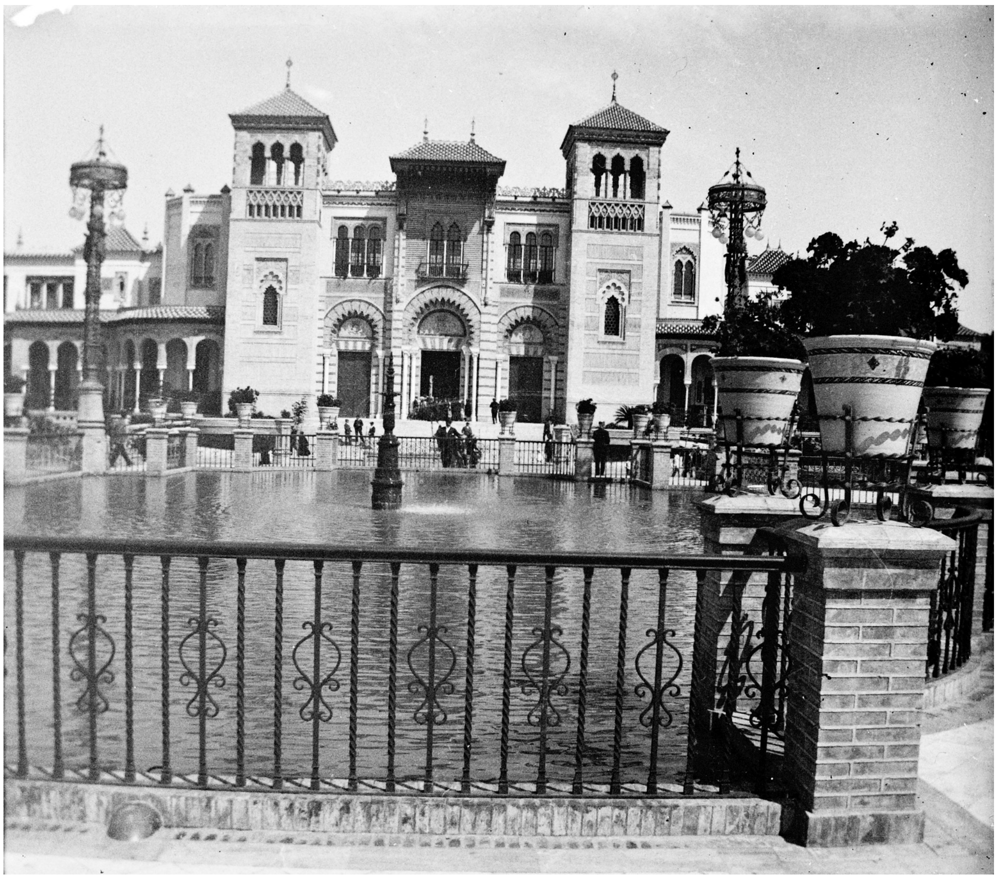

Figure 1. Anibal González Álvarez, Pavilion for Industry and Decorative Arts, Plaza de América, Seville 1911–14. Source: Photo, Carles Battle Ensesa, 1917; Ajuntament de Girona.

City Council had adopted a motion promoting traditional building styles, not just for large monuments, but also for the façades of ordinary houses and apartment buildings. The author of the proposal, the conservative Councillor Francisco Javier de Lepe, explained that the aim was to reinforce the Sevillian character of the city which, together with the upcoming exhibition, would 'incite the admiration of foreign visitors'.[19] In a few articles, published in the local *El Liberal* newspaper in 1913, Aníbal González explained his artistic credo. The architect openly rejected the nineteenth-century preference for straight and symmetric streets as 'monotonous' and 'unartistic'. Although he admitted that urban reform had to take into account the needs of modern traffic and public hygiene, he preferred to preserve Seville's variegated street plan and picturesque houses, which were perfectly adapted to the local climatic conditions and customs. He applauded Lepe's initiative and argued that architects should look for inspiration in the city's rich architectural heritage, while using local materials and decorative traditions. He also subscribed to the resolutions presented at the French-Spanish-Portuguese Tourism Conference, which had been held in Madrid, and which argued in favour of 'the preservation of the typical character of artistic cities, or to increase it, if that is what is deemed convenient'. Another resolution he endorsed was that 'the buildings that are used for tourism or that contribute to attract foreign visitors should not be marked by an essentially modern style, but should be inspired by a country's traditional styles'. Thus, the new regionalist style that he propagated would not only reinforce the idiosyncratic personality of the city, but also make it more appealing for foreign tourists.[20]

In the next few years, the famous French garden designer Jean-Claude Nicholas Forestier redesigned the Maria Luisa Park – the main location of the exhibition – taking his inspiration primarily from local garden traditions. Meanwhile, Marqués de Vega Inclán, the new Royal Commissioner for Tourism, saw the potential of revamping the decayed Barrio de Santa Cruz. He employed the regionalist architect Juan Talavera for a graceful restoration, thus creating a picturesque medieval neighbourhood, making it more typical than it had ever been (Figure 2).[21]

Unlike the city, Andalusia was not addressed very explicitly at the exhibition. All Spanish regions were invited to build their own pavilion in a characteristic style. This was also true for the Andalusian provinces. However, these pavilions were located in a somewhat remote part of the exhibition grounds. In addition, as Villar Movellán has shown, some of the thematic pavilions were done in a typical Andalusian style, which was the case with the whitewashed Agricultural building, designed by Talavera.[22]

Nevertheless, the Andalusian ambiance of the exhibition was unmistakable, due largely to a strong, but somewhat implicit, emphasis on the legacy of Al-Andalus. According to Luis Moliní, a member of the organizing committee, one of the main effects of the exhibition would be a 'significant increase in the tourist interest in the Arab-Andalusian heritage, with Seville as its main focus'. The link with tourism and the patrimony of Al-Andalus was visible at the exhibition itself, the main sections of which were dedicated to history and art, but also in more practical ways. Thus, the designs of Forestier were inspired primarily by the gardens of the Alhambra and Seville's Alcázar, while the tourism pavilion showed various touristic routes, among which was an 'Arab itinerary'.[23] Moreover, the medieval heritage that had inspired Aníbal González consisted to a large extent of Moorish and Mudéjar art and architecture. Nevertheless, he did not

Figure 2. Juan Talavera, Restoration Barrio de Santa Cruz. Source: Photo, Servicio Oficial de Fotografía del Ministerio de Información y Turismo, *Plaza de Doña Elvira, Sevilla, Andalucía*, 1961. Colección del Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Turismo de España, tourspain.es.

want to build an exotic dream city and slavishly imitate the highlights of Al-Andalus, but he incorporated a variety of Moorish traditions, such as many decorations and the profuse use of brick and ceramics, in his own distinctive regionalist style.[24]

As it became clear that the exhibition in Seville would coincide with the International Exhibition in Barcelona, there were some debates about whether the representation of industry should be left to the Catalans. Rodríguez de Caso was particularly sceptical about Seville's possibilities in the domain of modern industry; he believed it would be better to focus on culture, natural resources and artisanal products. However, in the end it was decided that the third section of the exhibition would be devoted to 'industry, commerce, agriculture and cattle breeding'. In the first months of 1923, Rodríguez de Caso also explicitly argued in favour of inviting all Spanish regions. In light of the growing separatist tendencies in Catalonia, he claimed that it was more necessary than ever to celebrate the brotherhood of all Spaniards.[25]

Spain, thus, was prominently present, particularly in González's masterpiece: the Plaza de España (Figure 3). This building could be seen as the expression of his architectural ideals, which he had explained in a keynote address to the 1915 National Conference of Architects. In the lecture, given together with Leonardo Rucabado, another famous regionalist architect, they first referred back to the recommendations of the International Tourism Conference in Madrid in favour of safeguarding the architectural

Figure 3. Aníbal González Álvarez, Plaza de España, Seville, 1914–29. Source: Photo, Luis Lladó Fabregas, 1930s, Ciconia, Junta de Extremadura.

heritage. The authors also complained that foreign (art) historians generally held subpar opinions concerning the originality of Spanish culture, and that this negative view had also entered 'the Baedeker guide of Spain that so many foreign visitors use when they visit our country'. Moreover, unlike other great countries, Spain did not have a national style, rooted in its autochthonous traditions. González and Rucabado therefore urged their colleagues to develop a new national style by building upon the country's architectural heritage, while keeping in mind specific local climatic and geographic conditions. This implied that Spanish architecture had to distinguish itself from foreign examples, while at the same time reflecting the geographical diversity of the country.[26] The Plaza de España, in fact, constituted a splendid attempt to create a national style, adapted to local conditions. One of its aims certainly was to convince foreign visitors of the idiosyncratic beauty of Spain's architectural heritage.

The huge semi-elliptical building was a kind of synthesis, combining aspects of various famous buildings from different parts of the country, primarily from Renaissance and Baroque styles. But the building was adapted to the city's hot climate and building traditions. A small canal provided natural cooling and a shaded colonnade protected visitors from the heat, while most construction materials were local. The building also contained explicit references to the nation.

Figure 4. Aníbal González Álvarez, U-shaped bench of the province of Ávila, Plaza de España, Seville. Source: Photo by the author, 2011.

For example, the canal's four bridges were named after the historical kingdoms of Spain. Moreover, all 48 provinces were represented under the colonnade with their coats of arms and tableaux presenting some of their best-known monuments and significant historical events. Each province also sported a U-shaped bench with ceramic shelves, containing guides, maps and leaflets for each province, while the floor was decorated with a large map (Figure 4). Thus, the building was not just a magnificent synthesis of Spain, but also enabled the visitors to get to know the tourist highlights of all parts of the country.[27]

Spanish culture was also honoured with a monument to its greatest writer, Miguel de Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*. Shortly after the humiliating defeat in the Spanish-American War, the famous novelist Benito Pérez Galdós had argued that after the loss of the colonies, the legacy of the Spanish Golden Age – and in particular its literary masterpiece – was the last remaining source of national pride. Consequently, the tercentenary of the first publication of *Don Quixote* was commemorated on a large scale in 1905.[28] This new nationalist glorification of the novel also inspired Aníbal González. In the first plan for the exhibition, he had already included a monument to the Spanish language, symbolized by Cervantes. A few years later, he located the monument on the side of the Plaza de América that was still open. However, Lorenzo Coullaut's

magnificent design was too expensive and in the end the monument would be built at Madrid's Plaza de España. The exhibition would only get a modest gazebo with benches decorated with some of Don Quixote's adventures.[29]

The Spanish language also connected Spain with its former colonies in the Americas. The imperial dimension of the exhibition was crucial from the very start. Even before announcing the project, Rodríguez de Caso had tried to find support for the exhibition in Spanish America in order to renew the fraternal bonds between both sides of the Atlantic. The goal, as the organizing committee explained, was not just to strengthen the commercial relations between the metropole and the former colonies, but also the 'bonds of Spanish-American solidarity' based on their shared history. In addition, the plan was to include Spanish colonial possessions from Africa.[30] Initially, the idea was to construct the foreign pavilions on a central square around a monument to the Spanish-American union. Quickly, the plan morphed into creating an avenue with American countries, which was later baptized as Avenida de la Raza, referring to the celebration of the discovery of America on 12 October 1492. From 1917 onwards, this day became a national holiday – the Día de la Raza[31] – in both Spain and many Latin American countries. For practical reasons, however, several American pavilions ended up in other parts of the exhibition grounds. This change was related to the decision that most of the buildings would not be demolished after the exhibition.[32]

In the end, the imperial dimension – not just in the past, but also in the present – was very prominent at the exhibition. The pavilions of the Spanish regions were constructed around a square dedicated to the conquistadores, with statues of Columbus, Queen Isabel, Hernán Cortés and others, thus presenting the colonization of America as a magnificent enterprise that had united all of Spain. One side of the square was decorated with a 'Raza' fountain, with a Hispania statue surrounded by allegories of an American river and the local Guadalquivir, symbolizing the intimate bond between Seville, Spain and Spanish America.[33]

Although the Spanish American countries had already been invited in 1911, Portugal and 12 American countries' participation – including Brazil and the United States – was only confirmed after the Primo de Rivera regime had taken over the reins of the organization. The dictatorship, moreover, would market both exhibitions as the General Spanish Exposition, thus presenting both mega-events primarily as a national endeavour, while also centralizing the tourism promotion efforts abroad (see Alejandro Quiroga's article in this special issue for more details). The regime, moreover, coordinated the foreign allocation for Seville and Barcelona. European pavilions went to Barcelona, while Seville also hosted pavilions for the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco and Spanish Guinea. The city thus became the gate to both Africa and the Americas, which was in line with Seville's close relationship with both continents.[34]

The loss of the last American colonies in a time of modern imperialism, the tense international situation during the First World War – in which Spain remained neutral – and the growing emphasis on cultural and racial affinities encouraged Spain to collaborate more closely with its former colonies. Thus, the Hispano-American or Ibero-American cooperation – a kind of pan-movement – was the main theme of the exposition. Strengthening the bonds with Spanish America would supposedly increase Spain's international prestige. David Marcilhacy, who has studied the role of the Hispano-American ideology at the exhibition, concludes that Spain explicitly claimed an

international leadership role by presenting itself as 'the mother and educator of the great Ibero-American family'.[35] Most former colonies were willing to collaborate more closely with Spain, as the country no longer constituted a threat. At the same time, many recent immigrants still had ties to Spain, their home country. Moreover, this affiliation could function as a kind of counterweight to the United States, which was the driving force of the rival Pan-American movement. The positive attitude towards the former motherland was also visible at the exhibition. Almost all American pavilions were executed in an updated Spanish colonial style. Even the United States used the Spanish Mission Revival style that had had become popular in California.[36] The organizers hoped that the renewed bonds, exemplified in the Ibero-American Exhibition, would attract affluent American tourists. However, the number of visitors ended up being very disappointing and, as a result, the exhibition closed with a huge financial deficit.[37]

The International Exposition of Barcelona

Around 1900 Barcelona was not yet a very touristy city. Foreign visitors generally went to see the Roman remains and the Gothic cathedral in the inner city, but equally admired more modern parts, such as the harbour and the spacious new avenues of the Eixample. Barcelona also had its rowdy neighbourhoods, with popular cafés and bars, and foreigners were especially attracted by the many flamenco shows that could be visited there. Local authorities and the cultural elites, however, were wary of associating their city with working-class culture and Andalusian clichés and preferred to present Barcelona as the 'Pearl of the Mediterranean'. The new Society for the Attraction of Foreigners tried to brand the city as a thriving place of art, architecture and commerce.[38]

The International Exposition in Barcelona has traditionally been presented as closely related to a wider modernization programme by the Catalanist Regionalist League, which in 1901 had won a majority in Barcelona's City Council. Together with its rival Republican Union, the new Regionalist League succeeded in wiping the Liberal and Conservative parties from Barcelona's electoral map. The appeal by Josep Puig i Cadafalch, an ambitious architect and prominent member of the Regionalist League, in the days before the municipal elections in November 1905 to 'vote for the Universal Exhibition' has generally been presented as the origin of the exhibition plans.[39] Recent investigations, however, have made clear that Joan Pich i Pon, the President of the Association of Electric Industries of Catalonia, had already lobbied for a major exhibition.[40]

In fact, Pich i Pon was a candidate in municipal elections as well, not for the Regionalist League, but for the Republican Union. Newspaper reports, moreover, show that Joan Moles i Ormella, another republican, had already asked the municipality to study the possibility of a new exhibition before the 1905 elections.[41] Led by the left-wing populist Alejandro Lerroux, the Republican Union succeeded in mobilizing the city's lower classes with a fiercely anticlerical programme, while accusing the Regionalist League of merely representing the rich, aiming to destroy the Spanish fatherland and of being under the sway of a reactionary Church. The republicans had already conquered the Town Hall in 1903 and would dominate local politics until 1906, and again in the years after 1910.[42]

Thus, the exhibition project was part of a heavily contested election campaign and Puig tried to snatch the initiative from his political opponents by publishing his appeal in the main Catalanist newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya*. In his article, written in Catalan, he argued that emigrants from Andalusia, La Mancha and Galicia – who largely voted republican – did not feel the same 'love for our city, for our Catalonia'. Only Catalans 'feel the necessity to make Barcelona great, the Paris of the South'. Consequently, he urged voters to make the right decision and enable his party to realize the universal exhibition.[43]

The extremely polarized political climate in Barcelona at this moment was not a very fertile breeding ground for collaborative projects. The situation escalated in the summer of 1909, when riots broke out as a reaction to the mobilization of reservists for army units that would have to serve in Spanish Morocco. The rebellion resulted in the burning of over 100 buildings in Barcelona, most of which belonged to the Catholic Church. After this Tragic Week, political tensions slowly began to subside, but only in 1913 did the republicans and the Regionalist League join forces to realize the exhibition project. At this point, an executive board was formed with representatives from all major political parties and the local business community to host an International Exhibition of Electric Industries to be held in 1917.[44]

The original plans of the republicans and the Regionalist League were probably quite different. When the republicans dominated the City Council they continued the existing rationalist urban reform tradition, while shifting the focus to the needs of their lower-class electorate. They built schools, provided cheap housing, improved working-class neighbourhoods and tried to stimulate the economy.[45] Thus, their view on the exhibition project was primarily instrumental: to show the advantages of scientific progress, improve current infrastructure and provide economic opportunities that would benefit the labouring classes. The Regionalist League, on the other hand, was not just interested in boosting the city's economy, but also aimed to attract foreign tourists and to develop plans for urban renewal. They had clear ideas – and this was particularly the case with Puig – about how the exhibition could be used to transform the city. As a consequence they largely succeeded in imposing their stamp on the first plans. The Regionalist League did not just initiate various reforms when they had leverage in the City Council, but from 1914 onwards the party would also dominate the Mancomunitat, the Catalan Commonwealth, a new regional assembly with limited autonomous powers, granted by the Spanish government in response to Catalanist demands for home rule.[46]

Puig i Cadafalch would become the exhibition's main architect and was therefore in a position to realize many of his ideas concerning urban planning. Already at the turn of the century, in a series of articles on the front page of *La Veu de Catalunya*, he had rejected the rational grid of Barcelona's Eixample, which according to him was imposed by the government in Madrid. This essentially created a city 'without head or tail' like in many 'insipid Latin American cities'. He lamented that, unlike London and Paris, Barcelona did not have major monuments and parks. The local authorities had also failed to restore the city's medieval streets, similar to what had happened in cities like Nurnberg, Bruges and Brussels.[47] Two years later, after the Regionalist League won the municipal elections, he enthusiastically endorsed Léon Jaussely's new urban plan, which promised to revive the city through creating new visual axes, monumental buildings and attractive squares and parks.[48]

In 1914, Puig devised a spectacular plan for the exhibition on the slopes of the Montjuïc, which exemplified his fascination for Haussmann's Paris and Chicago's City Beautiful movement. The hill, just south of the city centre, had been dominated by a military fortress and, thanks to the exhibition, this rather disorderly space of informal neighbourhoods and stone quarries could be transformed into a beautiful park in a Mediterranean style, for which the city hired Jean-Claude Nicholas Forestier. Puig subsequently designed the monumental axis of the exhibition that would lead from Plaza de España to a majestic palace on the top of Montjuïc, all executed in an updated classical language, thus giving the city a much more cosmopolitan character.[49]

Jaussely's plan and the transformation of Plaza de España and Montjuïc for the exposition were not the only initiatives to improve the city's urban fabric. In 1906 the City Council, dominated by the Regional League, created a tourist office, which quickly began to promote the city's pleasant climate for the winter season, thus presenting itself as a competitor to Nice and Marseille. Those responsible were aware that foreign tourists would not be very eager to visit a modest provincial town. Thus, in order to create a 'great Mediterranean metropolis', the construction of the Via Laietana commenced, a modern thoroughfare in the cramped inner city. This project also provided the opportunity to expose parts of the Roman wall and clear the Gothic Cathedral from surrounding buildings, just like Haussmann had done with Notre Dame. In order to make the city centre more attractive, municipal authorities decided to put more emphasis on its 'Gothic' character. Recent studies by Augustín Cócola Gant and Saida Palou i Rubio have made clear that measures were taken to preserve historic buildings, that adjustments were made to make them look more medieval and that new Gothic elements were added, such as the famous bridge over the Carrer del Bisbe. Joan Rubió, another active member of the Regionalist League, designed the bridge, which was finished just in time for the exposition (Figure 5). By demolishing derelict buildings, the newly invented Gothic Quarter was uplifted, creating an ordered historical environment and an attractive space for well-to-do visitors.[50]

Whereas the urban renewal project profoundly affected the identity of the city, the Catalan character of the exhibition did not receive much attention. This was true despite the fact that, from 1913 onwards, Francesc Cambó and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, two leaders of the Regionalist League, were the main driving forces of the organization. During the Great War, Cambó was particularly active as a member of parliament trying to revitalize Spain by devolving powers to regional administrations. In March 1916 he published a manifesto with Prat de la Riba, another prominent member of the Regionalist League and the first president of the Catalan Commonwealth, arguing in favour of a federal restructuring of the Spanish state. As a kind of counterbalance to Castile they also hoped to integrate Portugal into a new Iberian Union, which would respect the language, culture and personality of each of the 'peoples' living in the Peninsula. This way, they believed that Spain could become great again, enabling even a new Iberian imperialism. Such a Greater Spain could also help the Latin American countries to liberate themselves from North American cultural, economic and political dominance. In 1917, Puig i Cadafalch succeeded Prat as president of the Catalan Commonwealth and after the end of the Great War, inspired by Woodrow Wilson's proclamation of the right to self-determination, Puig and Cambó put into motion another idea, mobilizing Catalan society to gain full autonomy, to no avail, however.[51]

Figure 5. Joan Rubió, Bridge over Carrer del Bisbe, Barcelona, 1928. Source: Dieglop, Wikimedia Commons, 2022.

In their rebranding efforts Puig and Cambó presented both the city and the region as modern, European and far removed from the typical clichés connected with Al-Andalus and Spanish backwardness. Thus, after the main theme concerning Electric Industries was dropped for the exhibition, it was broadened to all branches of industry, which would give Catalonia as the most industrialized region of Spain a competitive edge.[52] They believed that Barcelona, moreover, should become the Paris of the south. Their preservation efforts promoted the Gothic style, which was closely identified with Catalonia as it was much less prominent in the rest of Spain. Lucila Mallart, moreover, has shown that archaeological excavations in Catalonia focused primarily on the Greek and Roman remains that connected the region with the rest of the Mediterranean world and on the prehistoric remains of the Iberians, which could be found primarily in Catalan-speaking areas.[53] This way, the Catalanists underlined the unique character of the region, its connections to France and other 'civilized' parts of Europe and the differences from the rest of Spain.

In 1919, Puig also constructed four Ionic columns at the end of the main exhibition axis that led up to the Montjuïc from the Plaza de España (Figure 6). As these columns symbolized the bars of the Catalan flag, the new organizers removed them in 1928 to

Figure 6. National Palace with Josep Puig i Cadafalch's four Ionic columns, Barcelona. They have been reconstructed in 2010. Source: Photo, Mario Roberto Durán Ortíz, 2016; Wikimedia Commons.

avoid angering Primo de Rivera. Although his coup in September 1923 had received the backing of the leadership of the Regionalist League, he took various measures against Catalan nationalism, among which was the dissolution of the Catalan Commonwealth in 1925, from which Puig had already resigned.[54]

Spain, on the contrary, was quite prominently present at the exposition. The board quickly decided that an exclusive focus on electric industries would not be very innovative anymore. Moreover, the electricity market in Catalonia had been taken over by two foreign companies.[55] Thus, it was decided that the focus on the electric industry had to be combined with 'an exhibition of Spanish vitality in all of its manifestations'. In a special session of the City Council in April 1914 – which has been overlooked by most scholars – Cambó explained that by 'showing all good things of the country . . . there is no doubt that the fame of Spain will increase in the world'. In order to outdo San Francisco, which would organize the large-scale Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, Barcelona would show Spain's artistic highlights, historical heritage and great artisanal traditions.[56]

In a new version of his plan for the exhibition Puig substituted the Palace of Light with a Palace of Ancient Art, which would house Spain's most important artistic treasures. In the new plan, a transverse axis would accommodate a string of typical buildings, showing the country's rich vernacular and artisanal traditions. Nonetheless, Cambó and Puig had a particular conception of Spain, which was clearly informed by their strong Catalanist views. In order to give a well-founded overview of Spanish art they created an iconographic repertoire, with the goal of exhaustively documenting the regional diversity of

the country's archaeological remains and artistic heritage. This institution should have provided implicit support for their federalist plans. In a letter from 1929 Puig explained that they had aimed for a splendid show of Spanish art, which would show the variety of a state 'consisting of different peoples'.[57] In the end, their ideas on regional diversity could still be detected in the exhibition on 'primitive Iberia', where the Catalan archaeologist Pere Bosch remained in charge. However, this was not the case with the Spanish art section, which was less magnificent than Puig had hoped and where a focus on different geographic traditions had been replaced with a loose chronological order.[58]

Shortly after the military coup, Puig stepped down as the exhibition's architect, but it would take until 1925 before Primo de Rivera's regime took over the organization of both the exhibitions in Seville and Barcelona. The latter's thematic focus finally centred on industry, art and sport. Nonetheless, apart from adding sporting venues – which were in line with the dictator's admiration of Mussolini's muscular nationalism – the regime did not drastically change the set-up and layout of the exhibition. Primo de Rivera hoped to use both exhibitions to gain international prestige and strengthen the weakening support for his regime at home. His objective to put Spain on the map became clear with the construction of a new Olympic Stadium on the exhibition terrain, which after Wembley would be the biggest sports arena in Europe.[59]

Figure 7. Calle Cuna, Andalucian Section of the Pueblo Español, Barcelona. Source: Postcard, 1929, ITH Library Zurich, Image Archive.

In 1926 four Catalan architects and artists started working on the Spanish Village, which substituted Puig's transverse axis. It consisted of replicas of typical buildings representing all parts of the country (Figure 7). One could easily stroll from a street with 20 copied Catalan buildings to an archetypical Andalusian neighbourhood. But visitors could also view dioramas, taste regional fare or buy artisanal products. Spectacular dance performances and bullfights were organized, while each region held its own festivities. Thus, kitschy flamenco shows could now be visited in the safe environment of the Spanish Village's Andalusian section. This folkloric unity in diversity probably cohered more with Primo de Rivera's interpretation of the nation than it did with Puig and Cambó's federalist ideals.[60] Even though Spanish companies and athletes also participated in the sections for industry and sport, within the exhibition Spain was primarily represented through the artistic highlights of the past and a timeless folklore.

Finally, the organizers of the International Exposition constantly referred to Barcelona and Catalonia as being an indissoluble part of a larger Mediterranean or European civilization, led by Paris. The Gothic heritage – which Catalonia shared with France and many other parts of the continent – was put in the limelight, while classicist styles were preferred for the exhibition's main buildings. Paris was regularly invoked as the main source of inspiration for urban renewal, and with Jaussely and Forestier, two prominent representatives of this Parisian modernity were hired to help transform the city.

Although there were only a few explicit allusions to foreign perceptions, it was clear that the international image of the city and exhibition was crucial and, to a large extent, determined the shape that the event finally took. In 1914 electricity was not at the international forefront anymore, so the theme was dropped. The competition with the San Francisco World Fair contributed to the decision to put art and heritage in the limelight, as the organizers were aware that they could not compete with a rising industrial giant such as the United States. This also implied that the entire country had to be implicated, since the main artistic treasures of the Golden Age and most attractive vernacular traditions originated from other parts of Spain. Moreover, in order to attract tourists and demarcate themselves from the rest of Spain the organizers underlined the modernity of Barcelona, while at the same time presenting the city and the region as rooted in a European Mediterranean past.

Conclusion

Around 1900 Seville and Barcelona had been provincial cities, with a handful of interesting monuments, but the Ibero-American Exhibition and the International Exposition would transform them into attractive tourist destinations, especially in the long run. Whereas most existing studies focus on the local context and relations with the national authorities in Madrid, my investigations have made clear that foreign perceptions had a fundamental role in shaping the exhibitions and in distancing both cities from Madrid, with its classicist palaces and austere Castilian buildings. The local authorities in Seville were strongly influenced by the stereotypes of Al-Andalus that were extremely popular among foreigners, while the leaders of the Regionalist League rejected these clichéd images for Barcelona. Both, however, were not very eager to play into the foreign craze for flamenco, popular entertainment and bullfights (which in the end would only

appear in the closed environment of Barcelona's Spanish Village). An important goal for the organizers in both cities was to make the city more attractive to affluent foreign visitors and this was done by emphasizing – and to a large extent 'inventing' – a respectable, but idiosyncratic identity. This was primarily done by refashioning the Barrio de Santa Cruz and the Gothic Quarter as medieval fantasies. This implied that the Gothic character of Barcelona's city centre was strongly reinforced, connecting it to Europe and differentiating it from the rest of Spain, while in Seville the Andalusian aspect of the city was underlined. Conspicuous new monumental buildings had a similar function, such as the classicist National Palace at the top of Montjuïc, or the spectacular Plaza de España in Seville. Both were also landmarks in a dignified parklike setting that were simultaneously attractive to inhabitants and tourists. Moreover, many buildings and museums would stay open after the exhibition, ensuring the potential for a constant flow of (foreign) visitors.

The regional level was not very prominent at the exhibitions themselves. In the Pueblo Español there were some typical buildings from the Catalan provinces, while in Seville all Andalusian provinces had their own pavilions. Nonetheless, both Catalonia and Andalusia figured eminently in the overall make-over of the city. Thus, the Gothic architecture that had become associated with Catalonia became the dominant style for the restoration of the city centre, while the Barrio de Santa Cruz was turned into a quintessential Andalusian neighbourhood. The Sevillian style that was promoted for existing and new buildings was also unmistakably Andalusian, and this was also true for the redesigned Maria Luisa Park and many exhibition pavilions. City promotion and region branding, thus, went hand in hand. In Barcelona there was a strong emphasis on modernity. As the most prosperous and industrialized region in Spain the organizers of the exhibition hoped to dissociate Catalonia from the stereotypes about Spanish backwardness that circulated widely in the rest of Europe.

In Barcelona, Spain only received a prominent role when the exclusive focus on electric industries was considered obsolete and when the competition with San Francisco forced the organizers to rethink their project. By including Spain's rich historical and artistic legacy, their exhibition would be able to match their foreign rival. Thus, the main exposition building, the National Palace, housed the country's artistic treasures, whereas the Pueblo Español showcased typical vernacular buildings and artisanal traditions. Nonetheless, Puig and others in the orbit of the Regional League put much emphasis on the regional diversity of the country, a focus that was largely sidelined under Primo de Rivera. In Seville, from the very start the goal was to strengthen national unity. Thus, all regions of Spain had their own pavilions in a typical architectural style, while the main building of the exhibition, Plaza de España, was a magnificent synthesis of the country's rich architectural heritage, which had not yet received sufficient recognition abroad. The building even explicitly represented the four historic kingdoms and all provinces. The message was clear. Even though each province, region and historic kingdom had its own identity, together they formed an indissoluble whole with a unique collective personality.

In Barcelona the references to larger territorial layers were quite diffuse. In general, the city was presented both as an indispensable part of European modernity, centred in Paris and as part of a larger Mediterranean civilization. Prominent French designers were employed, while the architectural styles that were preferred, Gothic and Classicism,

connected the city with Europe. Seville, on the other hand, emphasized its historical connection with the Americas. The aim was to tighten the bonds with the former colonies in an effort to reposition Spain as the head of a larger Spanish-speaking family, while also showcasing the shared, but diverse, Ibero-American cultural patrimony at the exhibition. Through the construction of permanent pavilions, the hope was to strengthen bonds and contacts that would continue to flourish in the future, enabling a steady stream of American visitors.

Primo de Rivera's regime took over both exhibitions at a very late stage and ignored – or even actively combatted – the most outspoken Catalanist aspects of the project in Barcelona, while adding sporting venues. The dictator saw the exhibitions as a good way to boost his popularity and raise the country's international status. This was also done by actively encouraging Pan-Hispanism as a contrast to the Pan-American movement dominated by the United States.

But how did the different nested identities relate to each other? It is clear that the national level was dominant, but in the case of Barcelona, the nation primarily referred to Catalonia, whereas in Seville this was undoubtedly Spain. In Seville the regeneration of the country was the goal of the exhibition form the very start. The city gathered all parts of Spain and all former colonies in a magnificent celebration, while re-establishing the bond with Spanish America. This did not mean that territorial differences were ignored – Seville and Andalusia had a unique character that was strongly emphasized – but as seen in Plaza de España, they formed one unified whole. In Barcelona, on the other hand, the city ought to be seen as a dignified capital of Catalonia by presenting itself as modern, while at the same time underlining the region's architectural legacy that connected it with the rest of the Mediterranean and Europe. Spain was invoked when the exposition had to compete with San Francisco. However, the country was represented primarily as a collection of different peoples, each with its own cultural traditions and heritage. The emphasis on regional diversity also underpinned Cambó's attempts to restructure the Spanish state along federal lines. Even though domestic considerations were highly relevant, in the end it has become clear that foreign perceptions were probably more important, encouraging local authorities to develop an attractive, but unique identity, while profoundly transforming both of the cities built environment.

Notes

1. Filipova, *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840–1940*; and Leerssen and Storm, *World Fairs*.
2. Storm, *Nationalism*, 153–224; and Richard, "A Global Perspective on European Cooperation and Integration since 1918."
3. Balfour, *End of Empire*.
4. A recent example is Neumann, *An Accidental Masterpiece*.
5. Grandas, *L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929*; and Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*.
6. Mendelson, "Architectural Illusions"; and Storm, *Culture of Regionalism*, 197–205.
7. Simón, "Utilización propagandística"; Mallart, "From Electricity to Photo Archive"; and Rodríguez Granell, "La cultura urbana como espectáculo."
8. Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 412–90; Trillo de Leyva, *La Exposición Iberoamericana*; and Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*.

9. Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonia*; Dümmer Scheel, *Sin tropicalismos ni exageraciones*; and Villegas, "El pabellón peruano en la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla (1929)."
10. Graciani García and Langa Nuño, *La Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla*. Three further volumes have already been published.
11. See, for instance: Núñez Florencio, *Sol y sangre*; and Tinterow and Lacambre, *Manet/Velázquez*.
12. Andreu Miralles, *El descubrimiento de España*; and Moreno Garrido, *De forasteros a turistas*.
13. Méndez Rodríguez, *La imagen de Andalucía*, 114–22.
14. Galant, "Séville dans les guides de voyages," 333–488; and Méndez Rodríguez, Plaza Orellana, and Zoido, *Viaje a un Oriente europeo*.
15. Graciani García and Barrientos Bueno, *Imagen, escenografía y espectáculo*.
16. Ciaurriz, *Origen*; Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*, 42–7; and Trillo de Leyva, *La Exposición Iberoamericana*, 33–8.
17. González quoted in: Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 234.
18. Vázquez, "Aníbal González."
19. Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 186–7; and "Sesión municipal."
20. González, "La casa sevillana." See also: González, "Estética urbana."
21. Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*, 158–60; Moreno Garrido, "Turismo y nación," 221–9; and Saavedra Trigueros, "Las imágenes de las ciudades históricas," 120–50.
22. Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 429–52.
23. Moliní was interviewed by a local newspaper in March 1912, see: Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*, 86–93, 158–60, 382 (quote page 88).
24. Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 167–81, 191–229, 250–4 and 418–27.
25. Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*, 86–94 and 115–24.
26. Rucabado and González, "Arquitectura Nacional," 381–4; and Aramburu-Zabala Higuera, *Leonardo Rucabado*, 332–50.
27. Rodríguez Bernal, *Historia de la Exposición Ibero-Americana*, 161–6; Trillo de Leyva, *La Exposición Iberoamericana*, 77–90; and Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 283–5 and 421–7.
28. Pérez Galdós, "Cervantes"; Storm, "Centenario del Don Quijote"; and Moreno Luzón, "El genio de la raza."
29. Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla*, 232 and 274–6.
30. Ciaurriz, *Origen*, 17, 22–5; and Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial*, 23–7, 39.
31. The Dia de la Raza (Day of the Race) became Spain's national holiday and commemorated the 'discovery' of America by Columbus on 12 October 1492. The celebration was also meant to celebrate the fraternal bonds with the former colonies in the Americas.
32. Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial*, 47–77.
33. Marcilhacy, "L'Exposition Ibéro-Américaine," 145–7; and Campos Pérez, "Imperial, católica y moderna."
34. Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial*, 25–36; Sánchez Gómez, "África en Sevilla"; and Ponce Alberca, "La Exposición Iberoamericana, objeto político del primorriverismo."
35. Marcilhacy, "Du Finis Hispaniae," 13; and Marcilhacy, "L'Exposition Ibéro-Américaine," 142–7.
36. Marcilhacy, "Du Finis Hispaniae"; and Graciani García, *La participación internacional y colonial*, 89–403.
37. Marcilhacy, "L'Exposition Ibéro-Américaine," 137, 142 and 150.
38. Cócola Gant and Palou Rubio, "Tourism promotion and Urban Space in Barcelona," 465–73; Palou Rubio, *Barcelona, destinació turística*, 41–131; and Holguín, "Verguënza y ludibrio," 444–62.

39. Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*, 7–31 and 53–4; Grandas, *L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929*, 21–56; and Mendelson, *Documenting Spain*, 5–9.
40. Mallart, "From Electricity to Photo Archive," 210–11 The author, however, does not reject Puig's initiating role.
41. "Ayuntamiento: Exposición Universal."
42. Culla i Clara, "Republicanisme lerrouxista"; and Alvarez Junco, *El emperador del paralelo*.
43. Mallart, "From Electricity to Photo Archive," 210–11; "Ayuntamiento: Exposición Universal"; and Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."
44. Culla i Clara, "Republicanisme lerrouxista"; Alvarez Junco, *El emperador del paralelo*; and Mallart, "From Electricity to Photo Archive."
45. Unfortunately, the few existing studies on the local republicans do not provide any information on their plans for the exhibition: Culla i Clara, "Republicanisme lerrouxista," 168–9 and 362–4.
46. Pabón, *Cambó*.
47. Puig i Cadafalch, "Barcelona d'anys á venir." He briefly repeated his views in: Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."
48. Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*, 9–19.
49. Grandas Sagarra, "Arquitectura para una exposición"; Simón, "Utilización propagandística," 2–5; and Villarruel, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch y el Palacio de la Luz."
50. Palou i Rubio, *Barcelona, destinació turística*, 51–91, 129–31 and 149–92; Cócola Gant, "El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona"; and Cócola Gant and Palou Rubio, "Tourism Promotion and Urban Space in Barcelona."
51. Prat de la Riba, *Obra completa*, III: 812–19; Ehrlich, "Per Catalunya"; Núñez Seixas, "Catalonia and the War of Nations"; and Balcells, *Projecte d'autonomia*.
52. Cócola Gant and Palou Rubio, "Tourism Promotion and Urban Space in Barcelona," 472–3.
53. Hernando, *Arquitectura en España 1770–1990*, 199–204; and Mallart, "Archaeology, Archival Practices," 594–602.
54. Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*, 63–72; and Quiroga, *Miguel Primo de Rivera*, 68–9, 76–9, 114–7 and 227–9.
55. Mallart, "From Electricity to Photo Archive," 210–6.
56. "Sesión del Ayuntamiento"; Pabón, *Cambó*, I: 423–4.
57. Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*, 54–61; Villarruel, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch y el Palacio de la Luz"; and Mallart, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch*, 76–80.
58. Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*, 54–61; Villarruel, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch y el Palacio de la Luz"; Mallart, "Archaeology, Archival Practices"; Bosch-Gimpera, *Sección España primitiva*; and Gómez Moreno, *El arte en España*.
59. Solà-Morales, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona*, 67–72 and 141–4; Quiroga, *Miguel Primo de Rivera*, 108 and 248–53; and Simón, "Utilización propagandística."
60. Storm, *Culture of Regionalism*, 198–205; Mendelson, "Architectural Illusions"; and Holguin, "Verguënza y ludibrio," 462–4.

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