Josep Puig i Cadafalch and the Construction of a Catalan National Imagination (1880-1950)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the making of a cultural and political imagination of Catalonia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in order to re-think the nature of nationalism in modern Europe. Although in some respects the Catalan story follows some well-known patterns of national identity construction, it is distinctive in others. Its spatial dynamics were rather particular, because they traverse traditional divides between regionalism and nationalism. The three main sections of the thesis are devoted to three spatial tiers of identity construction – the city, the state, and Europe – and draw on the projects of Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), famous Catalan politician, man of letters, architect, art historian, and president of the proto-autonomous Catalan government between 1917 and 1923. Puig's personal archive, made available to researchers for the first time in 2006, allows me to cast fresh light on the interplay between culture and politics in this seminal historical moment.

Part 1 examines the influence of the visual culture of the 1880s on Puig's contributions to the remaking of a Barcelona as the capital of a new Catalonia, and the less explored channels for the dissemination of national narratives and imaginaries. Part 2 shows that, in Puig's design for the 1929 International Exposition, Catalan identity was conveyed not through the content of the exhibition – this was devoted to Spain – but through the way in which that knowledge of Spain was organised and displayed. Along a similar line, it also shows that the seemingly 'Castilian' forms of architecture chosen by Puig for the event also entail a 'Catalan' gaze, on the whole of Spain. Part 3 discusses the role of academic research in forming national identities, and more particularly, the way in which 'national' historiographical discourses may be constructed 'transnationally'. All three parts consider Puig's work as an urban planner, exhibition designer, politician, architect, and art historian, and thus engage diverse disciplines and historical debates, from the role of visual culture in shaping urban space to the interplay between Universal Expositions and vernacular architecture, as well as the political use of academic research and the interplay between transnational academic networks and nationalistic history writing.

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INTRODUCTION

Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), famous Catalan architect and politician, man of letters, art historian, exhibition designer and semi-amateur archaeologist, has long been a controversial figure. Even though he was President of the *Mancomunitat* (1917-1923), a federation of Catalan provinces that is often regarded as the seed of the present-day autonomous government, he did not have a statue in the gallery of former presidents at the 'Palau de la Generalitat' – the seat of the Catalan government – until 2015. His predecessor – Enric Prat de la Riba – was commemorated with a bust in 1918, and busts of subsequent presidents of the modern Generalitat – Francesc Macià, Lluís Companys, Josep Tarradellas, and Josep Irla – were added between 1984 and 2000. When Puig's statue was installed on 27 January 2015, the press argued that Puig's connivance with General Primo de Rivera's coup in 1923 made it problematic to celebrate his contribution to the evolution of modern Catalon politics.[1]

The story of Puig's archive is no less peculiar. In 2006, the Catalan media celebrated the 'discovery' of Puig's personal archive and its transfer to the National Archive of Catalonia ('Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya' or ANC). 'On July 14 [2006], the staff of the ANC and Puig i Cadafalch's family, while compiling the architect's archive at his home and office […] discovered the gem. The hiding place was perfect: behind a false wall wooden in the attic'.[2] Newspapers reported that Puig built this wall in his residency at carrer Provença in 1923, after Primo's coup d'état. 'A valuable part of the history of Catalonia, between 1917 and 1923, was hidden behind a fake wooden wall',

[1] Josep Gisbert, "Mas inaugura avui l'escultura de Puig i Cadafalch al pati dels Tarongers", *La Vanguardia*, January 27, 2015.

[2] 'El 14 de juliol, personal de l'ANC i familiars de Puig i Cadafalch que recopilaven l'arxiu de l'arquitecte a casa seva i al seu despatx, al número 231 del carrer de Provença, van descobrir la joia. L'amagatall era perfecte: darrere d'una paret falsa de fusta a les golfes.' "La Generalitat recupera l'arxiu que va ocultar Puig i Cadafalch", *El Periódico*, November 7, 2006. For all quotations, italics and translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

suggested *El Periódico*.[3] This story of the *secret*, *hidden* archive has often come up in conversations during the course of my research. Yet it is not as straightforward as it appears. American art historian Judith Rohrer claims that she accessed the same archive – found 'behind doors deliberately hidden in the wall panelling' in the attic – as early as the 1980s, after gaining the trust of one of Puig's granddaughters, Ma. Lluïsa Cunill i Puig de Riera, who was living in the carrer Provença house at the time. She claims that 'although the existence of the attic rooms and a sense of their contents was a whispered part of the family lore for decades, they were never openly discussed'.[4] In 1989, Rohrer and Ignasi de Solà-Morales co-curated an exhibition and a catalogue on Puig's architecture based on the new materials. The exhibition was held at the cultural centre of La Caixa Foundation, one of the main art venues in Barcelona, which at that time was located in one of Puig's earliest architectural projects in Barcelona, the Casa Macaya. The exhibition and catalogue received widespread attention from the press. The prestigious architecture critic Llàtzer Moix wrote in *La Vanguardia* that 'the archives of the architect Puig i Cadafalch, intact since 1936, come to light in the exhibition that will open on the 4th [November]'. In the same piece, Rohrer recalled the she accessed the documents after Ms Cunill told her: 'This is not everything; the main archive is in the attic, where there is a locked room full of papers'.[5]

The public release of the archive marked a turning point in the appreciation of Puig as a political figure. While his importance as an architect and art historian was always recognised, his political work, merging *Catalanista* activism with what may have been perceived as uncomfortable affiliations – with Primo de Rivera in the first months of the dictatorship, but also with the member of the

[3] 'Una valuosa part de la història de Catalunya, entre el 1917 i el 1923, estava amagada darrere d'una paret falsa de fusta'. Ibid.

[4] Judith Rohrer, "Puig i Cadafalch: The Early Work", in *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: La Arquitectura Entre La Casa Y La Ciudad*, ed. Judith Rohrer and Ignasi de Solà-Morales (Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Pensiones: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 1990), 14.

[5] 'Los archivos del arquitecto Puig i Cadafalch, intactos desde 1936, salen a la luz en la exposición que se abrirá el próximo día 4 [de noviembre]'; 'Esto no es todo; el archivo principal está en la buhardilla, donde hay una habitación cerrada con llave llena de papeles.' Llàtzer Moix, "Decenas de inéditos de Puig i Cadafalch, sacados a la luz", *La Vanguardia*, November 30, 1989.

Lliga Francesc Cambó, possibly the most popularly hated figure of early-twentieth-century Catalan politics – have been difficult to reconcile for the post-Franco Catalan political establishment. This unease not only reflects specific political agendas, which shape how collective memories are mobilised at any given historical moment, but also reflects some general misconceptions about the construction of the Catalan national imaginary, which my work aims to challenge. This thesis seeks to reappraise the making of Catalan identity in the early 1900s, but it also aims to cast fresh light on the way sub-state cultural and political identities operated in early-twentieth-century Europe more generally.

Part of the difficulty of Puig's political legacy, and its relationship with his less overtly political 'cultural' projects, arises from a tendency in Catalan historiography to understand the history of *Catalanista* activism as a unique and coherent narrative.[6] As Josep Fradera pointed out, 'one of the fundamental paradoxes of Catalan history' is that 'the emergence of the rudiments of what will be a distinctive culture occurs precisely at the moment of greatest identification with the Spanish national project'.[7] This view challenges teleological approaches that frame all expressions of Catalan identity as antecedents to Catalanism. A distinct Catalan identity did not automatically lead to nationalism, and thus another explanation must be found for the emergence of nationalist movements. Fradera and Stephen Jacobson use the expression 'dual patriotism' ('patriotismo doble') to describe non-separatist articulations of Catalan identity from the early modern period to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In that period, expressions of Catalan singularities worked alongside and together with the creation of the Spanish State, often highlighting the positive contributions of Catalans – together with other

[6] According to Núñez-Seixas, the three phases of 'national awakening' in this teleological narrative – Provincialism, Regionalism, and Nationalism – would have been identified and coined already in the 1920s and 1930s and then passed on to post-Francoist historiography. See Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *Historiographical Approaches to Nationalism in Spain* (Fort Lauderdale, 1993), 37–38.

[7] 'Una de las paradojas fundamentales de la historia catalana' [es que] 'la aparición de los rudimentos de lo que será una cultura distintiva se produce precisamente en el momento de mayor identificación con el proyecto nacional español.' Josep M. Fradera, "El proyecto liberal catalán y los imperativos del doble patriotismo", *Ayer* 35 (1999): 87.

Spanish peoples – to the 'grand nation'.[8] This view fits into a broader historiography that emphasises the interplay between national and regional identities in modern Europe, which could be mutually constitutive.[9] As Xosé-Manoel Núñez-Seixas' wrote, the region could be seen as the '*essence* of the Fatherland';[10] he traced this synergy into Francoist discourses of social legitimation.[11] In terms of the history of Barcelona, Umbach and Jacobson have identified a similar interplay between national, regional and urban imaginaries.[12]

Such approaches are underpinned by methods that accord a particular role to culture in the constitution of modern identities. According to Núñez-Seixas, this perspective reveals the 'multiple' and 'hybrid' nature of cultural and

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[8] See Stephen Jacobson, "The Origins of the Ambiguity. Nation and Empire in Catalonia from the Middle Ages to the 1880s", *Studies on National Movements* 2 (2014).

[9] To name just a few recent examples: Piotr Kisiel, "Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism", *European Review of History: Revue Européenne D'histoire* 21, no. 6 (2014): 928–30; David Laven and Elsa Damien, "Empire, City, Nation: Venice's Imperial Past and the 'Making of Italians' from Unification to Fascism", in *Regional Integration as a Function of Empire*, ed. Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013); Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm, eds., *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); William Whyte and Oliver Zimmer, *Nationalism and the Reshaping of Urban Communities in Europe, 1848-1914* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[10] Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, "The Region as Essence of the Fatherland: Regionalist Variants of Spanish Nationalism (1840–1936)", *European History Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (2001): 483–518.

[11] Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, "La región y lo local en el primer franquismo", in *Imaginarios y representaciones de España durante el franquismo*, ed. Stéphane Michonneau and Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2014), 127–54; Xosé-Manoel Núñez and Maiken Umbach, "Hijacked Heimats: National Appropriations of Local and Regional Identities in Germany and Spain, 1930-1945", *European Review of History: Revue Europeenne D'histoire* 15 (2011): 295–316. Other recent works include Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, "Nation-Building and Regional Integration: The Case of the Spanish Empire (1700-1914)", in *Nationalizing Empires*, ed. Alexei Miller and Stefan Berger (Budapest / New York: CEU Press, 2015), 195–245; Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, eds., *Ser españoles: imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX* (Barcelona: RBA, 2013); Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, "Historiographical Approaches to Sub-National Identities in Europe", in *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[12] Stephen Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888", in *Nationalism and the Reshaping of Urban Communities, 1848-1914*, ed. William Whyte and Oliver Zimmer (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 74–109; Maiken Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities: Autonomy, Culture, and Law in Hamburg and Barcelona in the Late Nineteenth Century", *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (2005): 659–92.

political identities,[13] moving beyond approaches that linked modern nationalisms directly to a process of modernisation that could only be understood in centralist, unifying terms.[14] But 'becoming national did not necessarily mean ceasing to be local', and in Spain and elsewhere, modernity could also be articulated in a vernacular idiom. Umbach and Hüppauf coined the term 'vernacular modernism' to describe the process by which, 'in spite of its virtual absence from theories of the modern, the vernacular lived on as a strong subcurrent of modern praxis'.[15]

And yet, in Spanish historiography, 'regionalism' is still most typically associated with tradition, folklore and a sense of nostalgia for the *ancien régime*. Eric Storms' *The Culture of Regionalism* offers a helpful survey of vernacular art and architecture in early-twentieth-century Spain, but his conception of regionalism becomes problematic when analysing the Catalan case. In Catalan *Modernisme*, he argues, 'vernacular elements played only a subordinate and decorative role. This is all the more surprising in light of the fact that the best known *Modernista* architects were prominent propagandists of the Catalan movement'.[16] Storm argues that political regionalism must find its counterpart in cultural regionalism, but defines the latter as a nostalgic engagement with the past. He allows little space for sub-state identities being configured in a modernist idiom, which is precisely what happens in the Catalan case – most evidently in Puig's work. Umbach, by contrast, described Puig's engagement with Catalonia's medieval past in the facades of the Eixample as a 'modernist imagination of place', where the category of 'place' – as opposed to Habermas' conception of 'space' – is also a site of Modernity.[17] Amongst Catalan art

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[13] Núñez Seixas, "Historiographical Approaches to Sub-National Identities in Europe", 13.

[14] The classical advocate of this view is Gellner. See Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change*, Nature of Human Society Series (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965); and Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, New Perspectives on the Past (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

[15] See Maiken Umbach and Berndt-Rüdiger Hüppauf, *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, And the Built Environment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

[16] Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 154.

[17] See Maiken Umbach, "The Modernist Imagination of Place and the Politics of Regionalism: The Case of Puig i Cadafalch and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona",

historians, Catalan *Modernisme* – the way in which Art Nouveau is known in Catalonia; not to be confused with the English term 'Modernism' – is also seen as a mixture of traditional and modernist elements.[18] Judith Rohrer, one of the few international art historians who has looked at *Modernisme* in depth, initially questioned the modern character of *Modernista* architecture in her unpublished doctoral thesis, arguing that 'the goals of Catalanista architects were essentially at odds with the *Modernista* ideology, promoting instead a politically motivated concentration upon the artistic traditions of the past and upon local Catalan particularities'.[19] Rohrer's argument is largely based on the architects' theorisation of their own works, and on their contemporaneous critics. She cites two of Puig's newspaper articles, published in June 1891, where he first used the term 'artistic regionalism' ('regionalisme artístic') to put forward his project of a new Catalan architecture ('Nova Arquitectura Catalana') that was to embody a new Catalonia.[20] While in her thesis, Rohrer's view of cultural regionalism resembles Storm's, her argument later shifted towards recognition of 'a combination of optimistic modernism and historic evocation' as one of the 'vital tensions in Puig i Cadafalch's architecture'.[21]

There is not a single interpretation of what 'regionalism' means. Some authors connect it to a traditionalist, neo-vernacular appropriation of the past, while others understand it as a form of minority nationalism.[22] The lack of agreement on the nature of *Modernista* architects' engagement with the past is partly due to

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in *The Re-Enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age*, ed. Joshua Landy and Michael T. Saler, Stanford University Press, 2009, 81–101.

[18] See, for example, Mireia Freixa, "Nationalism and Architecture in the Catalan Modernisme", in *Idée Nationale et Architecture En Europe, 1860-1919*, ed. Jean-Yves Andrieux, Fabienne Chevallier, and Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 169–78.

[19] Judith Rohrer, *Artistic Regionalism and Architectural Politics in Barcelona* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1987), i. In recent years, Rohrer has questioned the validity of the term 'Modernista' to refer to *fin-de-siècle* Catalan architecture, as contemporaneous architects and critics never referred to the style with that name. She argues that Catalan *Modernista* architecture as we understand it today is a 1960s construct, as in the early 1900s the term used by Puig and others was 'Nova Arquitectura Catalana'. See Judith Rohrer, "Arquitectura Modernista: What Was/Is It?" (coupDeFouet International Congress, Barcelona, 2013).

[20] Rohrer, *Artistic Regionalism and Architectural Politics in Barcelona*, 103–108.

[21] Rohrer, "Puig i Cadafalch: The Early Work", 18.

[22] Núñez Seixas, "Historiographical Approaches to Sub-National Identities in Europe", 15–16.

the malleability of the term, and the similarly ambivalent terminologies of contemporaneous articulations of Catalan regionalism and nationalism: Puig's political party, created in 1901, was named *Lliga Regionalista*, but the most influential book written by its leader, Prat de la Riba – and published just five years later, in 1906 – was entitled *La nacionalitat catalana*. In order to better analyse the interplay between what Rohrer called 'optimistic modernism' and 'historic evocation' in Puig's work, this thesis offers a joint-up analysis of his professional, intellectual and political enterprises.

Until now, Puig's work has usually been studied within separate disciplinary contexts and period divisions. Following a now classic biography by Enric Jardí in the 1970s,[23] our view of Puig's as a *Modernista* architect was crucially shaped by art historian Judith Rohrer, while his later, so-called *Noucenista* architecture was mostly studied by the architectural historian Ignasi de Solà-Morales.[24] Art historian Xavier Barral i Altet wrote on Puig's academic work on Romanesque architecture and his role as a restorer of historical monuments;[25]

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[23] Enric Jardí, *Puig i Cadafalch: arquitecte, polític i historiador de l'art* (Esplugues de Llobregat: Ariel, 1975).

[24] Rohrer, *Artistic Regionalism and Architectural Politics in Barcelona*. Most of Solà-Morales' work on the 1929 International Exposition is gathered in Ignasi de Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929: arquitectura i ciutat* (Barcelona: Fira de Barcelona, 1985). See also Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "Sobre Noucentisme i Arquitectura. Notes per a una història d'Arquitectura Moderna a Catalunya (1900-1917)", in *El noucentisme. Cicle de conferències fet a la Institució Cultural del CIC de Terrasa curs 1984/85* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1987), 19–34. The two then worked together in the aforementioned 1989 exhibition at La Caixa Foundation: Judith Rohrer and Ignasi de Solà-Morales, eds., *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: la arquitectura entre la casa y la ciudad* (Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Pensiones: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 1990).

[25] Xavier Barral i Altet, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch, els Pirineus i l'arqueologia monumental romànica de la Catalunya Nord", in *Sessió de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica a Perpinyà (20 d'octubre de 2004)*, ed. Albert Balcells and Josep Massot i Muntaner (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2005), 31–44; Xavier Barral i Altet, "L'estudi de l'art romànic català o la construcció d'una identitat nacional", in *Obres mestres del romànic. Escultures de la Vall de Boí*, ed. Jordi Camps i Sòria and Xavier Dectot (Barcelona: MNAC-Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 23–33; Xavier Barral i Altet, "Algunes tesis de Puig i Cadafalch sobre la història de l'art català", in *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 19–39. Contributions by others include María Pilar Poblador Muga, "El descubrimiento de la arquitectura medieval: Josep Puig i Cadafalch", in *Lecciones de los maestros: aproximación histórico-crítica a los grandes historiadores de la arquitectura española*, ed. María Pilar Biel Ibáñez and Ascensión Hernández Martínez (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2011), 91–110; Olivier Poisson, "La «carrera francesa» de Josep Puig i Cadafalch", in *1907: el paper de l'IEC en la història de l'art i en la restauració de*

he also edited a compilation of Puig's texts under the title *Escrits d'arquitectura, art i política*, which together with Albert Balcells' edited volume *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània*, attempted to offer a vision of Puig as an architect, art historian and politician. Yet the perspectives offered by the different contributors are shaped by disciplinary divisions.[26] Meanwhile, Balcells focussed on Puig's political role during the presidency of the *Mancomunitat*, and a recent doctoral thesis examined his journalism.[27]

This thesis sees these different spheres of activity as interconnected. Puig's take on architectural 'regionalism', for instance, is best understood in the context of his vast international correspondence, and similarly, his political engagement with the Spanish State as President of the *Mancomunitat* (1917-1923) is illuminated by his design of a display of 'all of Spain's art' for the 1929 International Exposition. In this way, Puig's work also casts more general light on the relationship between culture and politics. Puig's use of urban planning, architecture, exhibitions and academic research to convey his vision of modern Catalan identity were never 'just cultural', as they reveal a form of power – in this case, of identity politics – that goes beyond the frame of explicitly political forms of control. In Tony Bennett's words, culture in this period came 'to be thought of as useful for governing, [and] was fashioned as a vehicle for the

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monuments medievals a Catalunya i Europa, ed. Raquel Lacuesta Contreras (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2009), 15–25; Nazaret Gallego Aguilera, "Lampérez vs. Puig i Cadafalch en el estudio de la arquitectura románica catalana: las planimetrías ilusorias y la restauración de un tiempo que se imaginó nuevo", *Anales de Historia del Arte* Volumen Extraordinario (2009): 263–79; Joan-F. Cabestany i Fort, "L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya: una obra cabdal per a l'estudi de la cultura catalana", in *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània*, ed. Albert Balcells (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 53–67; Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós and Pere Beseran i Ramon, *Puig i Cadafalch i la restauració de monuments* (Barcelona: Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, 2002); Jordi Camps i Sòria, Montserrat Pagès i Paretas, and Gemma Ylla-Català, *Puig i Cadafalch i la col·lecció de pintura romànica del MNAC* (Barcelona: MNAC, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2001); Eduard Riu-Barrera, "Història, arqueologia i restauració (segles XVI-XX)", in *Les església de Sant Pere de Terrassa: de seu episcopal a conjunt monumental* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2001), 27–49.

[26] Xavier Barral i Altet, ed., *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: escrits d'arquitectura, art i política* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003); Albert Balcells, ed., *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003).

[27] Albert Balcells, *Puig i Cadafalch, president de Catalunya, i la seva època* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2013); Tate Cabré Massot, "El llegat periodístic de Josep Puig i Cadafalch. Recerca i anàlisi de la seva producció (1883-1936)" (Doctoral Thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2014).

exercise of new forms of power'.[28] The thesis explores how the visual culture of the 1880s shaped the way in which the historical centre of Barcelona was renovated in the 1910s, and the built environment that resulted from that renovation in turn was to play a crucial role in shaping modern Catalan citizens. And just like engravings and photographs framed the way in which Barcelona was to be seen, Puig's architecture, exhibition displays and historical research articulated how modern Catalonia could be imagined.

Imaginaries sat at the heart of these processes. I draw on Benedict Anderson's notion of 'imagined community', and take issue with Eric Hobsbawm's idea of 'invented traditions'.[29] The centrality of visual and material culture is best expressed through Anderson's terminology. While they were certainly 'imagined', nationalisms such as this were not 'invented', if that term implies a distinction between 'fake' historical identities vis-a-vis more legitimate ones, mapping onto Hobsbawm's distinction between invented traditions and what he conceives as more organic 'customs'.[30] This distinction has sometimes been drawn on by Catalan historians to emphasize the legitimacy of the Catalan nation-building process vis-a-vis the Spanish one, which is considered artificial.[31] I do not seek to evaluate the 'legitimacy' of the particular narratives and imaginaries described, but to explore how and why they were mobilised.

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[28] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 19. I am grateful to Jaume Sastre for the reference.

[29] As is known, the original editions of these classical works are: Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); and E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[30] This does not mean that national identities as an exclusively modern phenomenon; as Anthony D. Smith has shown, there is not a clear-cut divide between pre-modern and modern identities. See Anthony D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations* (Wiley, 2004). A very good analysis of collective identities in Catalonia in the early modern world is found in Òscar Jané Checa, *Catalunya i França al segle XVII: identitats, contraidentitats i ideologies a l'època moderna: 1640-1700* (Barcelona: Afers, 2006).

[31] I am referring to, for instance: Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Historical Analysis of the Catalan Identity* (Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2015); Josep Fontana, *La formació d'una identitat: una història de Catalunya* (Vic: Eumo, 2014); Jordi Casassas, ed., *Les identitats a la Catalunya contemporània* (Cabrera de Mar: Galerada, 2009); Albert Balcells, *Llocs de memòria dels catalans* (Barcelona: Proa, 2008); Arnau Gonzàlez i Vilalta, *La nació imaginada: els fonaments dels Països Catalans, 1931-1939* (Catarroja; Barcelona: Afers, 2006); Josep Fontana, *La construcció de la identitat: reflexions sobre el passat i sobre el present* (Barcelona: Base, 2005); Albert Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism. Past and Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996). For the original Pierre Nora's work, see Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de*

This thesis looks at three spatial tiers of identity construction – the city, the state, and Europe – that were crucial to Puig's configuration of *Catalanitat*. 'Catalonia' does not determine the geographical parameters of my investigation, which looks instead at how Catalan identity was negotiated in the space of the city (Barcelona), in the imagination of its relation to the Spanish State, and in a wider international context. I am not attempting a survey of the classical elements of nation-formation: the construction of Catalan myths, the negotiation of the medieval past, or the landmarks of political Catalanism, to name just a few classical objects of study among historians of national identities.[32] Instead, Part 1 of the thesis examines the influence of the visual culture of the 1880s on Puig's contributions to the remaking of a Barcelona as the capital of a new Catalonia, and the less explored channels for the dissemination of national narratives and imaginaries. Part 2 shows that, in Puig's design for the 1929 International Exposition, Catalan identity was conveyed not through the content of the exhibition – this was devoted to Spain – but through the way in which that knowledge of Spain was organised and displayed. Along a similar line, it also shows that the seemingly 'Castilian' forms of architecture chosen by Puig for the event also entail a 'Catalan' gaze, on the whole of Spain. Part 3 discusses the role of academic research in forming national identities, and more particularly, the way in which 'national' historiographical discourses may be constructed 'transnationally'. All three parts consider Puig's work as an urban planner, exhibition designer, politician, architect, and art historian, and thus engage diverse disciplines and historical

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mémoire, 7 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984); English translation in Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). This same school of thought has very positively received Michael Billig's argument on banal nationalism and state-based identities. See Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995); and the Catalan translation – with a special introduction by Billig -- Michael Billig, *Nacionalisme banal* (Catarroja: Afers, 2006). In turn, Borja de Riquer has interpreted the divergence between modern Catalan and Spanish political identities as a sign of the weakness of the Spanish nation-state building process. See Borja de Riquer, *Identitats contemporànies: Catalunya i Espanya* (Vic: Eumo Editorial, 2000).

[32] Recent contributions to this line of study include Giovanni C. Cattini, "Myths and Symbols in the Political Culture of Catalan Nationalism (1880–1914)", *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 3 (2015): 445–60; and Angel Smith, *The Origins of Catalan Nationalism, 1770-1898* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

debates, from the role of visual culture in shaping urban space to the interplay between Universal Expositions and vernacular architecture, as well as the political use of academic research and the interplay between transnational academic networks and nationalistic history writing.

Part 1

The urban renovation of Barcelona following the demolition of the city walls in the 1850s has received some scholalry attention in the last two decades. Thomas Hall considered the plan for urban reform – the Cerdà Plan or 'Pla Cerdà' – a milestone of nineteenth-century urban planning, which justified its inclusion in his celebrated volume on Europe's 'capital cities': 'it would have felt strange to write about mid-nineteenth-century planning without discussing this project'.[33] Helen Meller presented the Cerdà Plan as an example of the contribution of the built environment to the construction of 'civic identities', and Stéphane Michonneau approached the construction of sites of public memory in both the new and old towns of Barcelona during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[34] The restoration and reconstruction of the old town of Barcelona has been studied by local historians. In 1997, Joan Ganau Casas published a seminal book on the history of monument conservation in Catalonia from 1844 to 1931.[35] This was followed, in 2001, by a study on the opening of the Via Laietana in the early 1900s, which triggered a process of reform of the old town of Barcelona that was seen to singularise the

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[33] Thomas Hall, "Introduction", in *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997), 2. For the chapter itself, see Thomas Hall, "Barcelona", in *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997), 144–64. And for a local perspective on the Cerdà plan, see J. Busquets and M. Corominas Ayala, eds., *Cerdà i la Barcelona del futur: realitat versus projecte* (Barcelona: CCCB; Direcció de Comunicació de la Diputació de Barcelona, 2009); and Manuel de Solà-Morales, "El Pla Cerdà: el naixement d'una disciplina", in *Aportacions catalanes en el camp de la urbanística i de l'ordenació del territori des de Cerdà als nostres dies*, ed. R. Pié (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans; Societat Catalana d'Ordenació del Territori; Agrupació d'Arquitectes Urbanisteses de Catalunya, 2007).

[34] Helen Meller, "Barcelona and Munich, 1890-1930: City Planning, Modernisation and Civic Identities", in *European Cities, 1890-1930s: History, Culture, and the Built Environment* (Chichester: Wiley, 2001), 27–76; Stéphane Michonneau, *Barcelone: mémoire et identité (1830-1930)* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007).

[35] Joan Ganau Casas, *Els inicis del pensament conservacionista en l'urbanisme català (1844-1931)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997).

medieval parts of the city.[36] Agustín Cócola Gant has published a controversial analysis of the modern construction of the old town, identifying tourism as the driving force behind the creation of the brand 'barrio gótico'.[37] Nevertheless, the role of visibility and visuality in this process has received scant attention. And yet it was in this realm that the material re-shaping of the city – in which Puig had a crucial role – became intertwined with the identity politics of early twentieth-century Catalonia. To uncover this connection, Part 1 of this thesis places these early-twentieth-century developments in the wider context of the emergence of a new visual culture that took shape from the 1880s onwards, especially in and through illustrated magazines produced and disseminated in Barcelona. This visual culture, I argue, shaped the imagination of a modern Catalan citizenry of the 1910s, for whom Barcelona shaped a new imagination of the territory of Catalonia.

Following what has been called the 'pictorial turn' – after W.J.T. Mitchell's *Picture Theory* – the image emerged as a crucial source for the study of identity. A number of scholars have taken their cue from this. Alon Confino emphasised the centrality of images in helping people imagine the German nation.[38] Ana Simões explored the role of the illustrated press in the construction of Lisbon as a modern capital city in the early 1900s, showcasing images of the new city well before building work began.[39] Maria Chiara D'Argenio pointed out that Peruvian magazines of the late nineteenth century contributed to the configuration of Cuzco as a key site within the Peruvian

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[36] Joan Fuster Sobrepere, Antoni Nicolau i Martí, and Daniel Venteo, eds., *La construcció de la gran Barcelona: l'obertura de la Via Laietana 1908-1958* (Barcelona: Museu d'Història de la Ciutat; Institut de Cultura de Barcelona; Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2001).

[37] Agustín Cócola Gant, *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona: planificación del pasado e imagen de marca* (Barcelona: Edicions Madroño, 2011). On this topic, see also Josep-Maria Garcia-Fuentes, "Barcelona's Gothic Quarter: Architecture, Ideology and Politics", in *Architecture RePerformed: The Politics of Reconstruction*, ed. Tino Mager (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2015).

[38] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 11–13. Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4.

[39] Ana Simões, "Science in the Capital City or a City Turned into a Scientific Capital? Science, Technology and Medicine in Lisbon as Seen through the Press (1900-1910)", ed. Oliver Hochadel and Agustí Nieto-Galan, *Urban Peripheries? Science and the City around 1900*, Forthcoming.

modernisation process.[40] And Jo Labanyi has argued that the formation of an educated viewing public for historical paintings in late-nineteenth-century Spain enabled the emergence of modern notions of citizenship and national belonging. She talks of a 'pedagogy of spectatorship', since 'by exposing the public to representations of the past organised in a particular way, they schooled them in modes of viewing appropriate to modern citizens'.[41] According to Jordana Mendelson, this moulding of the spectator-citizen would go a step further through the commodification and subsequent consumption of the nation in the 'Spanish' built environment of the Pueblo Español, one of the main attractions of the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, which will be discussed in Part 2.[42] Building on Mendelson's work, Eduardo Hernández Cano has argued that Spanish illustrated magazines in the 1920s created 'monumental surfaces', combining images of monumental sites and texts evoking the spirit of the nation.[43] Drawing on Billig's notion of banal nationalism, Hernández Cano argues that illustrated magazines contributed to the familiar, continual and unconscious daily reminders of one's national place, insofar as they were mechanically reproduced and extensively disseminated. Yet Hernández Cano does not focus on the images themselves, but on the texts than accompany them. Similarly, Joan Ramon Resina's recent book *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image* explores the formation of an 'urban unconscious' of modern Barcelona through literary texts, most notably Narcís Oller's *La febre d'or*.[44] This novel, he argues, shows the commitment of the city to the project of modernity embodying it in

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[40] Maria Chiara D'Argenio, '"Modernity, the Picturesque and National Past in Variedades's Photographic Reportages"', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, Forthcoming.

[41] Jo Labanyi, "Horror, Spectacle and Nation-Formation: Historical Painting in Late-Nineteenth-Century Spain", in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. S. Larson and E. Woods (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 64.

[42] Jordana Mendelson, "El Poble Espanyol / El Pueblo Español (1929)", in *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and The Modern Nation, 1929-1939* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 1–37.

[43] Eduardo Hernández Cano, "«Solitarios refugios de efemérides viejas». Monumentos y ciudades históricas como símbolos nacionales en la prensa gráfica (1918-1930)", *Hispania* LXXIII, no. 244 (2013): 377–408.

[44] Joan Ramon Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008). See also Brad Epps, "Modern Spaces: Building Barcelona", in *Iberian Cities*, ed. Joan Ramon Resina (London: Routledge, 2001), 148–97.

specific sites, such as railway tracks, the Eixample district, and the Liceu opera house. But the representations he analyses are almost exclusively literary, and hence textual.

Chapter 1 builds on such work, but adds to it a more specific focus on visuality.[45] In doing so, I draw methodological inspiration from cultural historians of Britain and Germany in the same period.[46] Otter's work provides an innovative framework for the study of the role of the visual in the construction of the modern individual within a liberal society, by emphasising the privileging of the sense of vision as a distinctive feature of modern citizenship. Umbach de-codes the role of the built environment in the emergence of civic identities in various modern European cities, and places particular emphasis on the way in which urban spaces around 1900, from model villas to large public squares, simultaneously liberated and disciplined a new generation of city-dwellers who saw themselves as champions of the modern.

Complementing the view that Puig's architectural contributions to the Eixample aimed at *catalanising* Cerdà's uniform grid,[47] Chapter 2 explores the role of the second Universal Exposition in Puig's theorisation of the ways in which Catalan identity could be inscribed in Barcelona's urban layout. In doing so, it engages with to the ongoing debate on the extent to which World Fairs had an ephemeral or lasting impact on the urban environments that hosted them. Historians of urban planning such as Javier Monclús have emphasised

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45 In recent years, Teresa Navas Ferrer has also explored the symbolical construction of fin-de-siècle Barcelona through visual artefacts such as tourist maps and vistas. See Teresa Navas Ferrer, "La construcción simbólica de una capital. Planeamiento, imagen turística y desarrollo urbano en Barcelona a principios del siglo XX.", *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 493, no. 13 (2014); Teresa Navas, "Barcelona, visions de la primera metròpoli", in *Cerdà i Barcelona: la primera metròpoli, 1853-1897*, ed. Marina López (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona; MUHBA, Museu d'Història de Barcelona; Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Cultura, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2010), 152–59.

46 Chris Otter, "Making Liberalism Durable: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City", *Social History* 27, no. 1 (2002): 1–15.; Maiken Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890-1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities."

47 See Umbach, "The Modernist Imagination of Place and the Politics of Regionalism: The Case of Puig i Cadafalch and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona."

that this kind of project often worked as 'a simultaneous mechanism for city promotion and regeneration or transformation'.[48] Conversely, historiographical approaches with a stronger focus on the arts and on identity politics have tended to highlight their ephemeral character.[49] Responding to this debate, Chapter 2 interrogates the extent to which Barcelona's second Universal Exposition worked as a catalyst for the transformation of the city's urban space.

Part 2

One of Puig's most iconic – yet unrealised – designs for what became the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition is the 'Palace of Light' ('Palau de la Llum'), a huge lantern that was to preside over the whole site while showcasing electricity as a spectacle. With a large cupola featuring prominent glass windows, it bears a resemblance with Otto Wagner's Kirche am Steinhof, as well as echoing the famous Crystal Palace. Bennett argued that the Palace exemplified the reversion of Foucault's principle of disciplined surveillance in modern public displays. The mechanism beneath the power/knowledge complex is revealed to the eye of the public, yet it still retains its ability to 'discipline'. Modern museums, exhibitions and displays form what Bennett calls the 'exhibitionary complex', where cultural objects become 'vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power […] throughout society'.[50] Taking its cue from this approach, I explore Puig's design for the 1929

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[48] Javier Monclús, "International Exhibitions and Planning. Hosting Large-Scale Events as Place Promotion and as Catalysts of Urban Regeneration", in *Culture, Urbanism and Planning*, ed. Manuel Guardia and Javier Monclus (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2012), 215–216. A similar argument on the 'catalytic effect' of International Expositions in the built environment and transportation infrastructures of the cities that hosted them has been presented in Alexander C. T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siecle Europe* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Schol, Print UK, 2010), 222.

[49] The classic work on the subject is Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); recently expanded in Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai 1851-2010* (Winterbourne, Berkshire, UK: Papadakis Dist A C, 2011). See also the recent special issue "Le Esposizione: Propaganda E Costruzione Identitaria", *Diacronie. Studi Di Storia Contemporanea* 18 (2014); and Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn, *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World* (VU University Press, 1994).

[50] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 60–61.

Exposition. Even though it remained largely unrealised, the project included an ambitious display of 'all of Spain's art', which was accompanied by a careful selection of Spanish architectural motives for the pavilions. Puig's architecture for the Exposition has received some academic attention, although his choice of 'historicist', Castilian-looking elements has caused considerable consternation. Critic Catalina Serra referred to them as 'historicist pavilions with a Neo-Baroque doorway' and wondered, regarding the possibility of hosting Barcelona's future museum of architecture in one of them: 'Does the museum of architecture really have to be placed in one of Puig i Cadafalch's worst buildings?'.[51] Solà-Morales failed to provide an answer to the seemingly conflicting nature of the Exposition's 'Castilian'-looking forms.[52] To address this paradox, I read the buildings of the Exposition alongside Puig's theoretical writings on the nature of Catalan and Castilian historic architectures. In analysing how the relationship between Catalonia and Spain was configured in Puig's work, I draw on Enric Ucelay-Da Cal's work on the 'imperialistic' project of the *Lliga Regionalista*, and explore how this permeated Puig's work.[53]

While Puig's display design for the Exposition has received scant attention to date, the *Pueblo Español* has provoked intense debates among international scholars.[54] The Pueblo, still standing today, is a conglomerate of reproductions of vernacular architecture from diverse parts of Spain set up in a town-like scenario with streets, squares, shops, and restaurants. Brad Epps saw it as an example of 'uncanny architecture […] a homey construct beyond the home', and Jordana Mendelson viewed it as a mechanism for the marketing and consumption of the Spanish nation, intertwined with the expansion of tourism and the development of ethnography as an academic discipline.[55] For Epps, the

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[51] 'Voleu dir que el museu de l'arquitectura s'ha de situar en un dels pitjors edificis de Puig i Cadafalch?'. Catalina Serra, "On posem el museu d'arquitectura?", *Ara*, December 6, 2015.

[52] See Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*.

[53] Enric Ucelay-Da Cal, *El Imperialismo catalán: Prat de la Riba, Cambó, D'Ors y la conquista moral de España* (Barcelona: Edhasa, 2003).

[54] I emply 'Pueblo Español' – in Spanish – rather than the Catalan version 'Poble Espanyol' as this is how the site was referred to at the time, even by Catalan intellectuals writing in Catalan, as we shall see later.

[55] Epps, "Modern Spaces: Building Barcelona"; Mendelson, "El Poble Espanyol / El Pueblo Español (1929)." Parallel to Mendelson's contribution there was a revival of

Pueblo was a compromise between some politicians from the *Lliga* and Primo de Rivera's regime (1923-1931). Robert A. Davidson read the Pueblo as a 'Spanish' manipulation of the original 'Catalan' project, which would allegedly have gathered different elements of Catalan architecture from the Roman period to the eighteenth century – although in fact, not much is known about the original programme.[56] Mendelson also sees a 'Catalan' design corrupted by Primo, but finds the source of that Catalan character somewhere else. She argues that the initial project must have been inscribed in the *Noucentista* predilection for archives, especially photographic ones, in which ethnography played a crucial role. *Noucentista* ethnographic photographs attempted to scientifically and systematically study vernacular forms of life in a way that was diametrically opposed to the chaotic, random choice of elements that characterised the final realisation of the Pueblo.[57] Chapter 4 takes Mendelson's argument one step further and discusses scientific methodology as a key element of Catalan national identity, analysing Puig's design for the display of 'all of Spain's art'.

Part 3

This scientific ethos evolved through Puig's extensive international academic exchanges. Transnational intellectual relationships have been addressed from a variety of angles in recent years. A fruitful approach was suggested by Alison Sinclair's study of Madrid and of Spanish-language media, which views publishing houses and journals as vehicles for international cultural exchange, exploring the role of institutions such as the *Residencia de Estudiantes* and the

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interest on the Pueblo among local authors as well. These include a general history of the site by Soledad Bengoechea – which brought to light a large number of unpublished materials – and two doctoral thesis on the techniques used in its construction and of the towns it was modelled on. See Soledad Bengoechea, *Els secrets del Poble Espanyol: 1929-2004* (Barcelona: Poble Espanyol de Montjuïc, 2004); Pau Sirés Brichs, "Construcció i arquitectura al Poble Espanyol de Montjuïc" (Bachelor Thesis, Universitat Politècnica de Barcelona. Departament de Composició Arquitectònica, 2011); Estela Rahola Matutes, "Dos paseos por el Poble Espanyol" (Master Thesis, Universitat Politècnica de Barcelona. Departament de Projectes Arquitectònics, 2012).

[56] Robert A. Davidson, "Observing the City, Mediating the Mountain: Mirador and the 1929 International Exposition of Barcelona", in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. S. Larson and E. Woods (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 228–43.

[57] Mendelson, "El Poble Espanyol / El Pueblo Español (1929)", 12–25.

journal *Revista de Occidente*, as well as looking at the Spanish fascination for Britain and Russia as case studies. My approach takes up this point, and places Puig's work in a wider story of cultural transfers beyond a 'Franco/German-centred conception of Europe'. But I focus on Catalan-language milieus, which are absent in existing works. While acknowledging the importance of Barcelona, Sinclair accords Madrid a central position in the transfer of culture.[58] Conversely, Christophe Charle has argued that Barcelona was an exception in Europe's cultural space as, unlike other regional centres such as Lyon or Lille in France, it was able to 'compete in intellectual terms with the political capital, Madrid'.[59] Were Puig's contacts with the European academic world mediated by Madrid institutions, individuals, and cultural spheres? By looking at his relationships with scholars at the margins of Europe, Part 3 discusses the role of Catalan language and of Barcelona-based research institutions in Puig's and other scholars' ventures abroad.

Discussing the international engagement of Catalan intellectuals also raises questions about transnational dynamics outside the cultural core, *from periphery to periphery*. The 'creativity' of peripheries has recently emerged as an area on scholarly research. From a postcolonial perspective, Walter Mignolo called for research into how borders contribute to the world's system of knowledge.[60] Pascale Casanova suggested that writers at the margins of Europe were more receptive to innovation, and Nygård and Strang have argued that peripheries are more open to creative eclecticism, while actors in cultural cores regard local ideas as universal.[61] Yet the role of cultural peripheries in the generation and transfer of knowledge to other borderlands is still unclear. Part 3 contributes to this debate by analysing the academic relations between Catalonia and Romania

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[58] Alison Sinclair, *Trafficking knowledge in early twentieth-century Spain: centres of exchange and cultural imaginaries* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2009), 1.

[59] Christophe Charle, *Les intellectuels en Europe au XIXe siècle: essai d'histoire comparée* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 161.

[60] Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[61] Stefan Nygård and Johan Strang, "Facing Asymmetry – Nordic Intellectuals and Center-Periphery Dynamics in European Cultural Space", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 77, no. 1 (2016): 75–98. For Casanova, also cited in Nygård and Strang's article, see Pascale Casanova, *La république mondiale des lettres* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1999), 73–74. Translated into English in Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

during the 1920s and 1930s, a period in which intellectual transnationalism experienced a significant development due to the impact of the Great War, according to Gisèle Sapiro.[62]

The question of how transnational academic exchanges interacted with the writing of national histories is linked to the ongoing debate about the relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. History writing was central to the making of modern cultural and political identities – even if, as Lawrence contends, 'a satisfactory answer to the question "how does history writing inform nationalism?" is yet to be supplied'.[63] Stefan Berger, who has edited several volumes on this topic, suggested that history is 'a crucial element with which to construct nations and national identity'.[64] Patrick J. Geary contended that history writing was 'a tool of nationalist ideology' and argued that 'the history of Europe's nations was a great success, but it has turned our understanding of the past into a toxic waste dump, filled with the poison of ethnic nationalism, and the poison has seeped deep into popular consciousness'.[65] To what extent was history writing a tool of nationalist ideology in Puig's hands? And how was it affected by his extensive academic contacts with scholars from other nations-in-the-making? Little has been said on the extent to which 'nationalistic' history may have been transnationally produced, with some claiming that, unlike other disciplines, national history 'did not require international cooperation'.[66] Building on Margarita Díaz-Andreu's work on transnationalism's impact on the evolution of

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62 Gisèle Sapiro, "Introduction", in *L'espace intellectuel en Europe: de la formation des états-nations à la mondialisation, XIXe-XXIe siècle*, ed. Gisèle Sapiro (Découverte, 2009), 5–25.
63 Paul Lawrence, "Nationalism and Historical Writing", in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 725.
64 Stefan Berger, *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1. Other works by Berger include: Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas, and Andrew Mycock, *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts* (Berghahn Books, 2008); and Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan, and Kevin Passmore, *Writing National Histories: Western Europe Since 1800* (Routledge, 2002).
65 Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton Paperbacks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 15.
66 Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Politics of the Republic of Learning: International Scientific Congresses in Europe, the Pacific Rim, and Latin America", in *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey (Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 208.

institutionalised prehistorical archaeology in Europe, the third part of this thesis discusses the extent to which Puig's ventures abroad may be understood as a form of transnationally produced national history. Díaz-Andreu understands transnational academic exchanges as the process by which scholars 'forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded relations' that link their learned environments 'by communicating with each other and perhaps even travelling to the other countries for short periods'.[67] Chapter 5 discusses Puig's extensive international network of academics and museum professionals and the impact that it had on his views on the origins and evolution of early Romanesque art. My focus is on his international non-French contacts, which account for two hundred correspondents, and whose existence had remained largely unknown up to this date.[68] They reveal Puig's connections with German and Anglo-American academic milieus, which were also important for other Catalan scholars, such as the archaeologists Pere Bosch i Gimpera (1891-1974), who studied in Germany, and Lluís Pericot (1899-1978) who, as Díaz-Andreu has shown, had an intense correspondence with British academics.[69] Much of the recent research on the internationalisation of early-twentieth-century Spanish academics has been carried out by historians of archaeology, which perhaps echoes the prominence of the discipline of the international travel funding of the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* since 1907.[70] Puig's particular

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[67] Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Transnationalism and archaeology. The connecting origins of the main institutions dealing with prehistoric archaeology in Western Europe: the IPH, the CIPP and the CRPU (1910-1914)", in *150 anni di Preistoria e Protostoria in Italia*, ed. A. Guidi (Florence: IIPP, 2014), 164. On intellectual transnationalism, see also Anna Boschetti, ed., *L'espace culturel transnational* (Paris: Nouveau monde, 2010).

[68] Conversely, Puig's French career – to use Olivier Poisson's words – has been relatively well studied. See Poisson, "La «carrera francesa» de Josep Puig i Cadafalch"; Antoni Pladevall i Font, "Puig i Cadafalch i la difusió de la coneixença de l'art romànic a Europa", in *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 69–74.

[69] See Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *Archaeological Encounters: Building Networks of Spanish and British Archaeologists in the 20th Century* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

[70] Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Nación e internacionalización. La arqueología en España en las tres primeras décadas del siglo XX", in *La cristalización del pasado. Génesis y desarrollo del marco institucional de la arqueología en España*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Gloria Mora (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Málaga; Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1997), 404. On the internationalisation of Spanish archaeology, see also, together with the aforementioned works by Díaz-Andreu, Franciso Gracia Alonso, "Academic Relations Between Italian and Spanish Archaeologists and Prehistorians, 1916–1936", *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 22,

interest in scholarly exchanges with the margins of Europe – from Scandinavia to the Balkans, where he travelled several times – is less well understood, and Chapter 6 explores its political implications. Chapter 7 challenges the claim that 'the historiography of foreign historians regarding one's own national history was often either disregarded or rejected as incompetent'[71] by exploring Puig's contributions to Romania's national history writing.

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Puig's varied occupations produced a diversity of textual and graphic materials, and I use both as historical sources. Visual materials feature prominently in Parts 1 and 2. In Chapter 1, I analyse engravings and photographs of architectural sites of Barcelona and Catalonia in relation to the architectural practices en vogue at the time. I use those images as historical sources with the aim of studying the visual imaginaries that were constructed in a specific time period. These are especially useful in revealing views that appeared in textual form only a few decades later. In Part 2, I offer a joint analysis of the graphic materials – vistas and plans – that Puig produced as an architect vis a vis his *verbal* reflections on those projects – which appear in the form of published articles, working documents or letters. In Part 3, the thoughts expressed in his correspondence are confronted, whenever possible, with materials related to the international congresses he participated in, or the joint publications he worked in.

Many of the sources that I use belong to the Fons Puig i Cadafalch of the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya (ANC), to where Puig's personal archive was tranferred from the family residence at carrer Provença in 2006. Currently, Puig's files are classified in folders known as units that have a generic title. Often, this titles are too general, and sometimes misrepresent the contents.

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no. 2 (2012): 12; and Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Revisiting the 'invisible College': José Ramón Mélida in Early 20th Century Spain", in *Histories of Archaeology: Archives, Ancestors, Practices*, ed. N. Schlanger and J. Nordbladh (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 121–29.

[71] Fuchs, "The Politics of the Republic of Learning: International Scientific Congresses in Europe, the Pacific Rim, and Latin America", 208.

That is why I have kept the official code given by the ANC to each unit – which follows after 'UC' – and added, when necessary, a descriptive title in brackets. For example: "[Letter from Aristide Blank to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 21, 1924. UC 1148. ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. In the case of the documents belonging to the Arxiu Municipal Contemporani de Barcelona (AMCB), I have kept both the original description and coding. See, for instance: "Actes de la Junta directiva", December 20, 1913. Z103-47034. AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929. Illustrated magazines and contemporaneous publications have been accessed, for the most part, at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (National Library of Catalonia) and in several online repositories.

The joint use of textual and visual materials as historical sources obviously echoes recent trends in the study of modern national identities, but it is also an almost unavoidable course of action given the nature of Puig's work. And yet, this is one of the first studies – if not the first – to do so. Until now, Puig's work in Barcelona's old town has never been set in the wider context of a visual imagination of the city and Catalonia since the 1880s. My approach challenges traditional assumptions on the novelty of the *Noucentista* gaze on the urban space. Similarly, studies of Puig's urban planning projects – including his work for the 1929 Exposition – had ignored his written reflections on the interplay between urban space and collective identities, or his work on the history of Catalan and Castilian historical architectures. Confronting plans, vistas and texts raises fascinating questions on the nature of Puig's discourse on identity politics, and uncovers some seeming contradictions between theory and practice, which this thesis tries to reconcile. Finally, Puig's much researched work on the history of Catalan Romanesque architecture has never been studied in relation to his international academic correspondence. Doing so not only reveals new aspects of the methodology he employed in his academic work, but also uncovers new political subtexts.

While my analysis cuts across traditional disciplinary divides and uses a broad range of sources, it is necessarily limited given the vast number and variety of Puig's activities, which could nurture several theses. I have chosen to focus on

a series of projects that are representative of the complex spatial dynamics of his work – the city, the State, Europe – as well as of the diverse nature of his professional activities – as an architect, urban planner, politician, exhibition designer, restorer of monuments, and architectural historian. At the same time, I have based my selection on the aim of offering a broad vision of Puig's work to an English-speaking audience – where, beyond his work on the *premier art roman*, he remains largely unknown – and at the same time being a novelty to local readers, who will be familiar with many works published in Catalan. Thus, while offering new readings of his relatively well-known contributions to the renovation of Barcelona's old town, this thesis brings to light his undiscovered display design for the 1929 International Exposition, and reveals unknown connections with an extensive network of international scholars.

PART 1: CATALAN IDENTITY IN THE URBAN FABRIC (1880-1915)

Nowadays, the nineteenth-century plan for the urban renovation of Barcelona – known as the Cerdà Plan – is considered a masterpiece of modern urban planning,[72] but Puig did not cease to perceive it as a 'geometrical eruption' that 'spreads infinitely'.[73] Cerdà's project was characterised by a uniform grid that, in line with the engineer's social thinking, reduced hierarchies and homogenised the city's urban space. In his own words, the grid of the new town, known as the Eixample, would distribute 'with total equality and perfect justice the benefits of vitality […] among the streets' and was 'the antithesis of privilege and monopoly'.[74] Because of the uniformity of the grid, it has been argued that the Cerdà Plan 'failed to connect with the discourse of Catalan separatism' as 'the grid was a universal, not a culturally specific shape'. Puig's aversion for the Cerdà Plan was notorious; in 1891 he criticised it for '[embodying] little more than a spirit of uniformity',[75] and in the winter of 1900-1901 he published three articles in favour of an amendment of Cerdà's Eixample (the new town), as it resembled the horrors of 'corny' South American cities.[76] In the 1905 text 'A votar per l'Exposició Universal', analysed in Chapter 2, he continues this line of thought as he relates Barcelona's resemblance to 'corny America' to the 'quadrícula' – that is, the reticular layout of the Eixample in the Cerdà Plan.[77]

Puig's blunt rejection of Cerdà's intervention in Barcelona is not incidental. It rather illustrates his belief that urban space was capable of representing – and

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[72] See, for instance, Hall, "Introduction", 2.
[73] The Catalan term Puig uses is 'erupció' which relates to both a volcanic 'eruption' and a medical 'rash'. Here the context emphasizes the medical meaning of the word. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal", *La Veu de Catalunya*, November 11, 1905.
[74] Cited and translated in Umbach, "The Modernist Imagination of Place and the Politics of Regionalism: The Case of Puig i Cadafalch and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona", 93.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Lluís Quintana i Trias, "Joan Maragall, el Pla Jaussely i la Reforma de 1908 a la ciutat de Barcelona", *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik* 20 (2007): 150.
[77] Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."

even shaping – cultural and political identities. Cerdà's grid – which was 'imposed' by the Spanish central government after discarding the project that had initially won the competition in Barcelona, by Antoni Rovira i Trias (1816-1889) – did not reflect Catalonia's specific identity but rather connected it to Spanish colonial cities and – as we shall see later – to the 'steppes' of La Mancha. In order to counterbalance this, Puig had a leading role in the transformation of Barcelona's urban space in the early 1900s, often acting at the margins of the Cerdà Plan, or in the old town, which had not been affected by the extension project. Two of these projects are analysed in the first part of this thesis. Chapter 1 looks at the role of visuality in his contribution to the creation of the Via Laietana, a new boulevard traversing the historic core of the city, which provided with a unique opportunity to reimagine Barcelona's monumental heritage. Complementing this, Chapter 2 discusses an early project for the transformation of Barcelona's greater urban landscape on the occasion of the Second Universal Exposition, which highlights the mutually constitutive nature of urban shape and cultural and political identities in Puig's imaginary.

Chapter 1: Illustrated Media, the Built Environment and Identity Politics in fin-de-siècle Catalonia (1880-1905)[78]

In 1913, Puig oversaw an urban design intervention in the medieval centre of Barcelona that opened up a new vista onto the spire of the city's cathedral. The spire, together with the rest of the cathedral's facade, was not itself medieval but a neo-Gothic construction completed just one year earlier. From the fifteenth century until then, the cathedral of Barcelona had had an unfinished facade. Thus, the new vista created by Puig highlighted a medieval element that was, in fact, an invented medievalism, a nineteenth-century evocation of what a

[78] Parts of this chapter have belong to my article Lucila Mallart, "Illustrated Media, the Built Environment and Identity Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Catalonia: Printing Images, Making the Nation", *Cultural History* 4, no. 2 (2015): 113–35; and my book chapter Lucila Mallart, "La visualització de l'entorn arquitectònic i la construcció de la identitat catalana contemporània (1880-1890)", in *Imaginaris nacionals moderns. Segles XVIII-XXI*, ed. Joaquim Capdevila, Mariona Lladonosa, and Joana Soto (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2015), 197–214.

medieval cathedral might have looked like. In this and other schemes, which also led to the creation of the Via Laietana, the desire to visualize a particular moment of the city's history became important enough to change its materiality. New streets were constructed and buildings relocated with the express purpose of creating new perspectives onto the past. In 1902 an article that has been attributed to Puig contended that 'the opening of the Gran Via A [the future Via Laietana] […] will result in new *perspectives* and beauties in the interior of the city'.[79] In 1911 the art historian Joaquim Folch i Torres (1886–1963) demanded that the old town be renovated so that 'ancient buildings with an artistic value [will] be uncovered and become *visible*' and that the Gran Via A be 'embellished with the *view* of ancient constructions'.[80] Jeroni Martorell (1877–1951), an architect and restorer of historical monuments, argued that the chapel of Santa Àgata 'demanded' that its walls and apse be 'placed in *sight*'.[81] And the journalist Ramón Rucabado (1884–1966) also wrote along the same lines.[82] This insistence on visibility was taken up in 1914 in the commission to three different architects to create a design for the renovation of the old town, which stated that the renovation had to 'discover interesting *points of view* on existing monuments and create new *perspectives*'.[83]

Puig's interest in visuality stemmed, according to Solà-Morales, from his readings of *fin-de-siècle* German urban planning, particularly the works of Josef Stübben (1845-1936), Rudolph Eberstadt (1856-1922) and Werner Hegemann (1881-1936). The North American 'City Beautiful' and the British Garden City movements also had an influence on him, providing him with a 'modern conception' of a city 'organically differentiated through hierarchically organised

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[79] "El primer carrer de la reforma de Barcelona", *La Veu de Catalunya*, May 27, 1902; cited in Cócola Gant, *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona*, 93.
[80] Joaquim Folch i Torres, "La reforma de Barcelona", *La Veu de Catalunya*, February 16, 1911; cited in Agustín Cócola Gant, "El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona. Planificación del pasado e imagen de marca" (Doctoral Thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 2010), 109. Some of the quotes gathered here do not appear in the later book but only in his more detailed doctoral thesis.
[81] Jeroni Martorell, "Reforma interior de Barcelona. Exposición al Excmo. Ayuntamiento", *La Cataluña*, May 20, 1911; cited in Cócola Gant, "El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona. Planificación del pasado e imagen de marca", 114.
[82] Cócola Gant, *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona*, 108.
[83] Quoted in Cócola Gant, "El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona. Planificación del pasado e imagen de marca", 119.

[urban] complexes'. It was through visuality that Puig organised the city and, as a result of this, architectural design and urban form became 'inseparable' in his work. Solà-Morales highlights Puig's 'large hierarchical perspectives' and the 'focal position of singular buildings' such as the 'studied perspective over the neo-Gothic façade of the cathedral', but at the same time recognises an attention to the urban fabric in which those architectural monuments are integrated.[84]

Through visibility and visuality, Puig's – and others – material reshaping of the city became prominently intertwined with the identity politics of early twentieth-century Catalonia. The nature of this connection is better understood when it is placed in the wider context of the emergence of a new visual culture that took shape from the 1880s onwards, and in which illustrated magazines produced in Barcelona had a crucial role. Puig's way of seeing the city, and of using this visibility to materially change its urban fabric, indeed echo changes in the representation of the urban environment brought about by this new visual culture. This visual culture, in turn, shaped the imagination of a modern Catalan citizenry of the 1910s, who were linked to the territory of Catalonia as it was represented in and through Barcelona.

Unfortunately, data on the production and dissemination of the Catalan press at the end of the century are patchy. The 1880s saw a great increase of magazines in Barcelona, which addressed a rapidly expanding urban readership. These developments coincided with a dramatic growth of print culture in Spain more generally, which in turn led to a significant expansion of illustrated magazines and to the transformation of Spanish citizens into 'viewing subjects'.[85] Barcelona's population had increased from 133,000 inhabitants in

[84] Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "...'Ciudad ordenada y monumental'... La arquitectura de Josep Puig i Cadafalch en la época de la Mancomunidad", in *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: la arquitectura entre la casa y la ciudad*, ed. Judith Rohrer and Ignasi de Solà-Morales (Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Pensiones: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 1990), 39–42.

[85] Susan Larson and Eva Woods, *Visualizing Spanish Modernity* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 2–3.

1833 to 533,000 at the end of the century.[86] This population growth was accompanied by the improvement and expansion of both printing technologies and communication networks, as part of what some have called the 'second print revolution'. This had begun in northern Europe some decades earlier as circulation of books and periodicals experienced a prominent growth to address a 'geographically dispersed and socially diversified' clientele.[87] The railway covered 30 kilometres in 1848 but 800 in 1879, linking Barcelona with all other cities in the Catalan region – and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula – which allowed the Barcelona press to be disseminated throughout the Catalan territory. In 1879 seventeen daily newspapers were published in Barcelona, whereas Madrid had twenty-five.[88] However, the percentage of periodicals produced in Barcelona increased from an 11% of the whole country in the late 1880s to a 16% in 1910s, while Madrid's decreased from a 25% to a 23%.[89] During the 1880s Spanish-language newspapers had a higher circulation in Catalonia than did Catalan ones. *El Liberal*, *La Publicidad*, *El Correo Catalan* and *Diario de Barcelona* had print runs of between 2,000 and 3,000 copies each, while the Catalan-language *La Renaixensa* had only 1,000.[90] *La Renaixensa* – and, before it, *Diari Català* – was in fact the only Catalan-language daily newspaper in Barcelona between 1879 and 1881, while there were as many as twenty-four Spanish-language ones.[91] But for illustrated, literary and satirical magazines, Catalan publications outnumbered those in Spanish.[92] In fact, magazines – and not newspapers – were the first medium to use Catalan as a press language, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first 'modern' satirical and literary magazines, in the mid-nineteenth century, were also published in Catalan.[93] By 1900 illustrated magazines had become a favourite discursive

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[86] Josep Figueres i Artigues, *El primer diari en llengua catalana: Diari Català (1879-1881)* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1999), 69.
[87] Charle, *Les intellectuels en Europe au XIXe siècle*, 159.
[88] Figueres i Artigues, *El Primer Diari en Llengua Catalana*, 71,76.
[89] Charle, *Les intellectuels en Europe au XIXe siècle*, 161.
[90] Francesc Espinet i Burunat and Joan Manuel Tresserras i Gaju, *La gènesi de la societat de masses a Catalunya, 1888-1939* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1999), 77.
[91] Figueres i Artigues, *El Primer Diari en Llengua Catalana*, 76.
[92] See Carles Duarte i Montserrat, Carles Duarte i Montserrat, "Llengua i mitjans de comunicació a Catalunya", *Comunicació. Revista de recerca i d'anàlisi* 4 (1998): 62–63.
[93] Jaume Guillamet, *Història del periodisme: notícies, periodistes i mitjans de comunicació* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2003), 97–98. On Catalan satirical

milieu in which the historicity, territoriality and materiality of modern Catalonia were visually articulated. According to Labanyi, such periodicals, and also novels in the vernacular such as Narcís Oller's, promoted the emergence of a specifically Catalan public sphere.[94] Towards the end of the century, the production and commercialization of major periodicals changed as large financial and industrial groups took over the sector. This led to a widening of the readership, due to a popularization of the contents and the difficulties of traditionally 'proletarian' publications in competing with the new industrial model.[95] Subsequently, the late 1880s saw the foundations of a Catalan 'mass society', which developed decisively between the 1910s and the 1930s.[96] The turn of the century was also crucial to the consolidation of the Catalan press as a political actor.[97] According to Resina, journals played an especially significant role in the public sphere owing to 'the absence of any other forum for Catalan culture'.[98]

In recent years interest in illustrated print media in fin-de-siècle Europe has increased, with a shift from rather textual approaches to the history, contents and ideologies of these magazines to a stronger focus on their visual features.[99] Nevertheless, studies on Catalan illustrated magazines continue to be scant, with some remarkable exceptions.[100] This chapter fills this gap by focusing on

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magazines see also the recent book Rhiannon McGlade, *Catalan Cartoons: A Cultural and Political History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016).

94 Jo Labanyi, "Relocating Difference: Cultural History and Modernity in Late Nineteenth-Century Spain", in *Spain Beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History, and National Identity*, ed. Brad Epps and Luis Fernández Cifuentes, Bucknell University Press (Lewisburg, 2005), 171–172.

95 Josep-Francesc Valls, *Prensa y burguesía en el XIX español* (Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 1988), 196–197.

96 Espinet i Burunat and Tresserras i Gaju, *La gènesi de la societat de masses a Catalunya, 1888-1939*, 55.

97 See Jordi Casassas, ed., *Premsa cultural i intervenció política dels intel·lectuals a la Catalunya contemporània (1814-1975)* (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2005), 59–80.

98 Joan Ramon Resina, "Modernist Journals in the 'Països Catalans,'" *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 53, no. 2 (2000): 388.

99 Eliseu Trenc, "Tres estudis sobre la imatge en les arts del llibre (segles XIX i XX)", *Locus Amoenus* 10 (2009): 310.

100 Besides the work of Eliseu Trenc, see Geoff West, "'Noucentisme' and the Avant-Garde in Barcelona (1916-36)", in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Europe 1880 - 1940*, ed. Peter Brooker et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 392–412. Yet, the most influential and widely disseminated of these magazines, *La Ilustració Catalana*, has thus far only been object of a master's

the first nine years of one of the most influential and widely disseminated of these magazines, *La Ilustració Catalana* (1880–94).[101] Examples from other illustrated media, such as periodicals, books and collections of postcards, will be used to contextualize this evidence. These include *L'Avens*, a magazine with a particular focus on Catalan literature and culture published from 1881 to 1884 and from 1889 to 1893; the journal of the excursionist society Associació d'Excursions Catalana, published monthly from 1878 to 1890 under the title *Butlletí de l'Associació d'Excursions Catalana*; the *Àlbum pintoresch-monumental de Catalunya*, a two-volume book published in 1878 by another of these societies, the Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques; and two booklets of postcards issued on the occasion of the 1888 Universal Exposition under the title *Recuerdos de Barcelona*. Even though the five publications differ considerably in character and format, they belong in the same discursive milieu.[102] Most artists worked for more than one publication,[103] and sometimes the images they produced appeared simultaneously in different magazines without necessarily mentioning that overlap.[104] Likewise, they all shared a commitment to displaying the built environment. For example almost every issue of *La Ilustració Catalana* included at least one large-format illustration of a building or architectural site. Engravings on architectural sites were also numerous in *L'Avens* and the *Butlletí*, as well as becoming the main protagonists in the *Àlbum* and in *Recuerdos*. Whereas the geographical scope of most of these

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dissertation thesis: Alfred Pallarès i Miró, "La Ilustració catalana i el catalanisme cultural: 1880-1894" (Master's Thesis, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 1999). There is also an inventory of the engravings published between 1880 and 1883: Maribel del Molino Jover, "'La ilustració Catalana' (1880-1883): grabadores, ilustradores y sus temas" (Report submitted to the Escola Universitària Jordi Rubió Balaguer de Biblioteconomia i Documentació, 1983).

101 See reception indicators in Francesc Espinet i Burunat, *Notícia, imatge, simulacre: la recepció de la societat de comunicació de masses a Catalunya, de 1888 a 1939* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Servei de Publicacions, 1997), 144. The magazine was published again in 1903 after a nine-year break, but this study will look at the first period only.

102 Whereas *La Ilustració Catalana* had a marked conservative tone, in the late 1880s *L'Avens* promoted radical left-wing political views. See Resina, "Modernist Journals in the 'Països Catalans,'" 391.

103 Aitor Quiney, "Josep Triadó i Mayol i la il·lustració i decoració de les revistes il·lustrades catalanes (1895-1921)", *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi* XXII (2008): 81.

104 This was common in Madrid-based illustrated magazines too: see Cecilio Alonso, "Antecedentes de las Ilustraciones", in *La prensa ilustrada en España: Las Ilustraciones, 1850-1920* (Rennes: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 1996), 26–28.

architectural illustrations was limited to Barcelona and Catalonia, in *La Ilustració Catalana* it expanded to the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, Europe, and even the Middle East and the Americas. In this regard, *La Ilustració* belongs to a tradition of European illustrated magazines initiated by the *Penny Magazine* (1832–1945), *The Illustrated London News* (1842–2003) and *L'Illustration* (1843–1944).[105] In Spain this kind of press had first appeared during the 1830s and 1840s, with a focus on folklore and the picturesque, and expanded during the last decades of the century with a greater emphasis on the arts and the political and social scene.[106]

1.1 Singularized Architectures versus Urban Fabric

In 1879 the architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850-1923), who was Puig's master and was to become one of the most important figures of Catalan *Modernisme*, described what he himself called a 'dream' of the cathedral square of Barcelona:

> We *see* the large central square in its whole, in its completeness; no other city in the world can present it more steeped in majesty, in memories and in beauty. All private buildings standing, on one side, from the Casa de la Ciutat and the Diputació to the Plaça de l'Àngel, and, on the other side, from the Cathedral, the Corona d'Aragó and Santa Àgata to Sant Just, have disappeared. Overcoming all the unevenness with a wide combination of staircases and ramps, from the magnificent square that remains, visible in the distance at the end of long and majestic streets are

105 Eliseu Trenc, "Los modelos extranjeros, The Illustrated London News y L'Illustration", in *La prensa ilustrada en España: las Ilustraciones, 1850-1920* (Rennes: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 1996), 57–67. On Spanish illustrated magazines, see also Juan Miguel Sánchez Vigil, *Revistas ilustradas en España: del Romanticismo a la Guerra Civil* (Gijón: Trea, 2008).

106 Cecilio Alonso, "Difusión de las Ilustraciones en España", in *La prensa ilustrada en España: Las Ilustraciones, 1850-1920* (Rennes: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 1996), 45–54.

> the stations of the [rail]ways that demand our products, the new parks, the new city, the harbour and the sea that we once dominated.[107]

This fragment is part of an article in which the author envisioned a gigantic renovation of the old town. The Cerdà Plan for the urban extension had already been approved in 1860, shortly after the demolition of the old walls. However, work progressed at a slow pace, both in the new town – which would come to be known as the Eixample – and in the old town.[108] Domènech's 'dream' is only one of several projects that appeared during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, each of them proposing a different vision of the old town of Barcelona.[109] To plan a new city was to envisage it. Domènech takes us through the old city, and every building, every site, comes into existence as we see it. This capacity of projection may be part of the architect's training; what has changed here is that the technologies of production and dissemination of the modern press have made this process a collective one. With the text disseminated all over Catalonia, the readership can join the architect in the process of visualizing the new city.

What does this collective creation consist of? First, it is a space that displays one specific historical moment of the city, as all the buildings chosen to be preserved are connected, in one way or another, to the medieval past of Barcelona: the cathedral, the old palace of the kings of Aragon, the royal chapel of Santa Àgata, the city hall, and the seat of the medieval government of Catalonia, the Diputació del General. Second, the space described by Domènech achieves its 'completeness' once it has been emptied. It acquires 'majesty', 'memories' and 'beauty' once all non-monumental buildings have 'disappeared'. The urban centre is conceived as a group of historical buildings.

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[107] 'Lluís Domènech i Montaner, "Reforma de Barcelona", *Lo Renaixement*, February 28, 1879.

[108] On the Cerdà plan, see the chapter devoted to Barcelona in Hall, "Introduction." For a general introduction to the urban development of Barcelona at the turn of the twentieth century, see Helen Meller, "Barcelona and Munich, 1890-1930: City Planning, Modernisation and Civic Identities", in European Cities, 1890-1930s: History, Culture, and the Built Environment (Chichester: Wiley, 2001), 27–76.

[109] See, for instance, Joan Rubió i Bellver, *Tàber mons barcinonensis: observacions escrites després de l'exposició pública de les visions del Tàber, al claustre de la Seu* (Barcelona: Imp. de la Casa P. de la Caritat, 1927).

This was, in fact, a common approach in the urbanism of the second half of the nineteenth century: Baron Haussmann's renovation of the historic centre of Paris was carried out under this premise, and in the 1870s Àngel Baixeras imported the idea in his proposal for the renovation of the old town of Barcelona.[110] A few years later, even the poet Jacint Verdaguer envisioned a historic centre of the city cleared of non-historic buildings.[111] This isolating approach closely echoes printed representations of monuments produced in earlier decades. Figure 1 shows the facade of the church Santa Maria del Mar as a singularized item that is closed in itself and does not have any relation with the surrounding area. The same happens in an 1839 illustration of the cloister of the cathedral, also displayed in isolation and without any spatial relation with the adjacent parts of the building.[112]

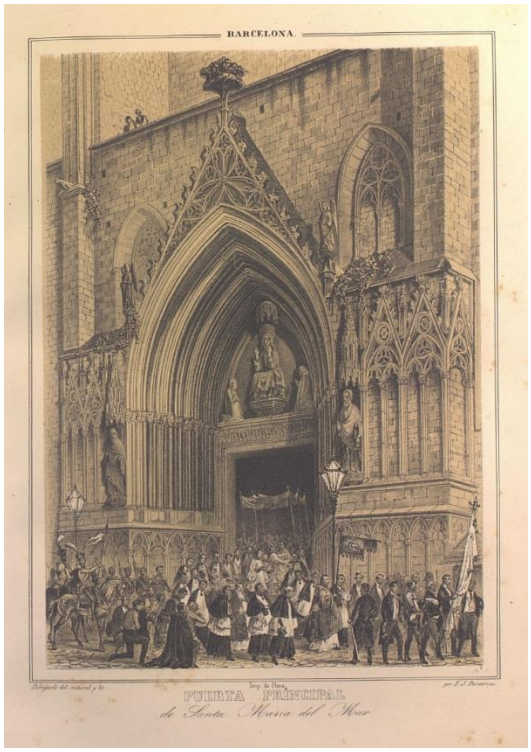


Figure 1. Francesc Xavier Parcerisa, 'Puerta principal de Santa María del Mar', in *Recuerdos y bellezas de España: Cataluña*, vol. 2, 2 vols., 1856, n.p. Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya. Barcelona.

[110] See Fuster Sobrepere, Nicolau i Martí, and Venteo, *La Construcció de la gran Barcelona*.
[111] See Joan Ganau Casas, "Urbanisme i monument a Catalunya en la segona meitat del segle XIX", *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 35, no. VIII (1993): 33–35.
[112] Francesc Xavier Parcerisa, "Claustro de la catedral", in *Recuerdos y bellezas de España: Cataluña*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Barcelona: [Barcino], 1839), n.p.

Images from the later decades of the century differ notably. Already in 1878 – that is, one year before Domènech's text – buildings are no longer displayed in isolation but as part of a larger urban space. In an early photograph of the chapel of Santa Àgata, a tree has slipped into the image.[113] Elsewhere, a specific part of a building was used to evoke its pertinence to a larger body. This is the case for a picture displaying a rather small section of the courtyard of the old Diputació del General.[114] The courtyard expands beyond the borders of the picture: the angle of the photograph and the lines of the walls indicate that the courtyard belongs to a larger building extending beyond the photographic frame. Indeed, photography transformed illustration. It appeared in printed media as early as the 1840s, and from the 1860s onwards it was regularly used in illustrated magazines.[115] Lou Charnon-Deutsch argues that engraving and photography influenced each other as the latter began to be used as a source to illustrate magazines.[116] But as the reproduction of photographs in printed publications remained challenging, magazines relied on engravers, who would now produce images based on photographs, though they often changed them to make them more attractive or more legible. The anonymous engraver who copied a photo of Santa Maria del Mar in 1878, however, stuck to the photograph in one important respect, namely by including the shadow of a neighbouring building.[117] Ten years later that picture was included in a collection of postcards issued on the occasion of the 1888 Universal Exposition in Barcelona [see Figure 2].[118] The shadow is clearly visible in the bottom left of the picture. The surroundings of the monument were thus explicitly quoted in the image. In the history of the visualization of urban

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113 Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científicas, *Àlbum pintoresch-monumental de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científicas, 1878), 24.
114 Ibid., 12.
115 Marie Loup Sougez, "La fotografía en el medio impreso", in *Historia general de la fotografía*, ed. Carmelo Vega et al. (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007), 183–211.
116 Lou Charnon-Deutsch, "From Engraving to Photo: Cross-Cut Technologies in the Spanish Illustrated Press", in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. S. Larson and E. Woods (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 180, 193.
117 Ibid., 185–186.
118 The sharing of this image shows that the exchange of graphic sources between illustrated media occurred not only in Barcelona but also, occasionally, at a Spanish scale. I am grateful to the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona for kindly providing a free copy of this image.

space, this choice marks a paradigm shift in which, through the mediation of technology, historical monuments were visualized as integrated parts of an urban fabric.

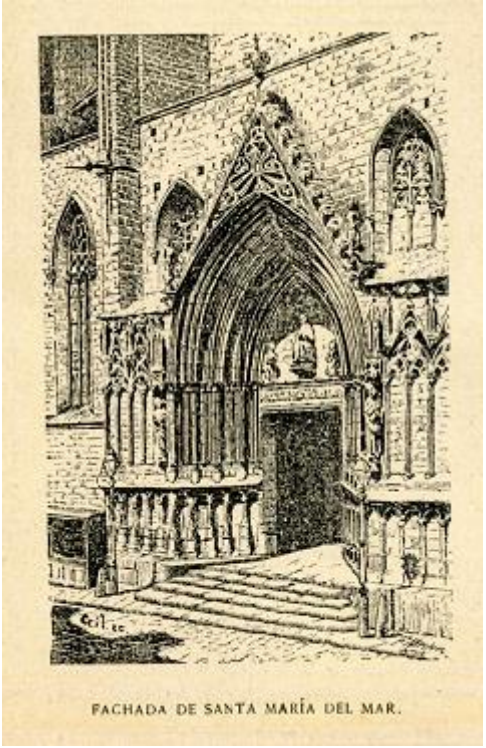


Figure 2. 'Fachada de Santa María del Mar', in *Recuerdo de Barcelona: edificios religiosos* (Barcelona: Librería y Tipografía Católica, 1888), n.p. Source: Real Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona.

The use of photography was so important that illustrated magazines publicized its use. A plate published by *La Ilustració Catalana* in January 1884 includes the text 'Ancient Barcelona. Engravings live from nature. New system of chemical engraving. Procedure by J. Thomas'.[119] Two buildings strongly linked to the regional and municipal governments were chosen to display this new technique: the Casa de la Ciutat, or city hall, and the Diputació del General, that is, a medieval Catalan government committee. In the first image, the facade of the city hall is almost totally covered by the shadow of the neighbouring edifice. The second, showing the courtyard of the Diputació, is very similar to the aforementioned 1878 picture, as it uses the angle to break

[119] "Barcelona antiga. Gravats directes del natural. Nou sistema de gravat químic. Procediment de J. Thomas", *La Ilustració catalana* 102 (January 15, 1884): 12.

the framework of the picture and thus to connect the courtyard to the rest of the building.

How did such shifts affect urban renovation? The creation of the Via Laietana is a good case study. The first proposals for the site were similar to Domènech's 1878 projection of the cathedral square. In 1902 Puig defended a solution that emphasized the conservation of 'monumental' buildings and had little concern for secondary edifices, streets and urban patterns.[120] Puig was finally commissioned to direct the work, and demolitions started in 1908. But soon the list of areas and edifices to be preserved was extended.[121] Calls to preserve minor buildings, ensembles and ancient street layouts appeared in the local press. Martorell started defending the establishment of 'ensembles' (*conjunts*) and 'groupings' (*agrupacions*) around grand monuments, formed by other 'details' like the facades of gremial houses, inner courtyards, windows, balconies and barbicans.[122] At the same time, campaigns in defence of medieval houses such as 43 Gignàs Street and the ancient Calderers guild house were launched. Ancient streets came to be regarded as being more picturesque than the straight lines of the Cerdà Plan. Even Antoni Gaudí, an architect rarely involved in public affairs, advocated the valorization of the old town's 'living ensemble'.[123] According to Agustín Cócola Gant, these views on monumental ensembles were shaped by Camillo Sitte's *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1889) and by Charles Buls's renovation of the Grand Place in Brussels, begun in 1883.[124] But, interestingly, the revalorization of ensembles was not focused on the preservation of existing spaces but on the creation of new ones. Most of these facades, courtyards, windows and balconies belonged to edifices that had actually been – or were to be – demolished, so what Martorell and his colleagues were proposing was to configure a collage of bits

120 Puig published a series of articles in *La Veu de Catalunya* on the topic; excerpts can be found in
121 Ibid., 92, 103.
122 Ibid., 106.
123 Ibid., 104–113.
124 Ibid., 84–88. A modern edition of Sitte's work can be found in Camillo Sitte, *City Planning according to Artistic Principles: Translated from the German by George R.Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins* (London: Phaidon, 1965).

and pieces saved from disappeared buildings, 'rebuilt in an artistic ensemble'.[125] Similarly, the sinuosity of medieval streets was incorporated into the repertoire of possible shapes for newly built ones. Gaudí suggested creating a curved lane to preserve an old manor house and to add 'beauty and elegance' to the site.[126] These examples illustrate a process that goes beyond the difficulties of expropriations and other practical concerns with demolitions, or any other purely financial motive. The renovation of the old town of Barcelona not only was shaped by grand visualizations but also responded to a specific new way of seeing, which can be linked both to the technological developments of the 1880s and to the emergence of the visual as a key feature of the liberal urban space, as described by Otter, Umbach and others.[127] The expression of this visuality was mediated by the experience of the pictured surface, and sometimes explicitly by a photographic way of seeing. Thus, Martorell speaks of '*composing* an ensemble synthesizing the art of old Barcelona'.[128] The use of the verb *compose* is significant as it underlines the constructed nature of the ensemble and also points towards a pictorial approach to the fabrication of this space. The old town of Barcelona would be 'composed', as were the paintings and photographs that displayed it in illustrated magazines, exhibitions and the press. This gaze was prominently shaped by photography. Martorell writes that 'a new street leading from the avenue Gran Via A should *draw focus* to the beautiful facade of [the church of] Sta. Maria [del Mar]'.[129] The Catalan verb he uses is *enfocar*, an unequivocally technical term that began to be used in Spain only with the spread of photography.[130] This shows the extent to which

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125 Cócola Gant, "El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona. Planificación del pasado e imagen de marca", 106.
126 Ibid., 103.
127 Otter, "Making Liberalism Durable." Steaming from the work of Joyce and Rose, Umbach has seen the visual as tool to turn late-nineteenth-century renovated urban spaces into 'technologies of government'. See Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890-1924*, 13–14.
128 Cócola Gant, 'El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona. Planificación del pasado e imagen de marca,' 105.
129 Ibid., 114.
130 A search for *enfocar* and related variants in one of the two main corpora of the Spanish language yielded only four results for the nineteenth century, the oldest dating to 1876. In all of them the use of the word was linked to photography. Since the term was a neologism, its use in Spanish should be comparably significant to its use in Catalan. A search in the Institut d'Estudis Catalans corpus of the Catalan language revealed that the first recorded use of the term was in 1904, although the use was not

photography had affected the way the renovation of the old town was conceived, also permeating the language. This notion of urban space as defined by ensembles of elements echoes the visualization of old Barcelona in the illustrated magazines of earlier decades. One did not predetermine the other, but those printed images formed the basis of what became thinkable, or visualizable, in the minds of urban planners of the 1910s. The use of technical photographic terms in the renovation projects underlines this influence.

1.2 The Sites of Urban Modernity

Most illustrated magazines shared Domènech's focus on the medieval heritage of Barcelona. Out of a total of 99, 25 engravings of the city printed in *La Ilustració Catalana* between the years 1880 and 1888 show medieval buildings. The most frequently depicted is the cathedral, with eight examples, followed by the Diputació, the Llotja (the Exchange) and the Romanesque church Sant Pau del Camp, with two each. Other sites depicted include the Casa de la Ciutat, the churches Santa Anna and Santa Maria del Mar, and numerous palaces, such as that of the kings of Aragon.

The medieval was not, however, the only period mobilized to construct the image of the new Barcelona. Out of the above-mentioned ninety-nine engravings dedicated to Barcelona by *La Ilustració Catalana*, forty-seven present scenes of the modern city (compared to twenty-five engravings depicting the medieval city), including sites of industry, infrastructure and modern leisure such as boulevards, monuments, shops, factories, railways, the opera house and the hippodrome. The extent to which magazines such as *La Ilustració Catalana* – and also the *Butlletí de l'Associació d'Excursions Catalana* – underlined the modernity of such spaces can be seen in an engraving published in January 1888 and dedicated to the scaffold of the monument to Christopher Columbus, not the monument itself.

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technical but metaphorical. See Mark Davies, "Corpus Del Español: 100 Million Words, 1200s-1900s", 2002, <http://www.corpusdelespanol.org>; Institut d'Estudis Catalans, "Corpus textual informatitzat de la llengua catalana [en línia]" (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2014), <http://ctilc.iec.cat>, accessed 24.06.2015.

As with medieval heritage, visuality also played an important role in the display of Barcelona's modernity in the illustrated press of the 1880s, a way of looking that would also resonate in the policies of the *Mancomunitat* a few decades later. Following Michel Foucault's notion of governmentality, Otter diagnoses visual regimes in the late nineteenth-century city through which the individuals' actions and attitudes are (self-) regulated as they are displayed.[131] Otter speaks of a 'bourgeois visual environment' characterized by light, wide streets, which replaced a confusing multiplicity of sensory experiences produced by the proximity and darkness typical of the premodern city.[132] According to Otter, these highly visible transformations were underpinned by new invisible infrastructures of cleanliness and order, such as sewage systems. Puig, later in charge of the renovation of the Via Laietana, occupied himself during the late 1890s with the development of a sewage system in his hometown, Mataró.[133] Modernity here features not just as an aesthetic celebration of the present but as an integrated system of political management of the city and its inhabitants.

These visual regimes can also be recognized in the illustrated press of the 1880s, where the new urban spaces created in Barcelona during the last decades of the century were extensively represented. There are examples of wide and rectilinear avenues, like the Portal de l'Àngel, and of a new site for the enjoyment of urban space: the Ciutadella park (*La Ilustració Catalana*, issues 8, 95, 159, 188). Furthermore, we find representations of the new, regulated uses of this public space, in the form of modern means of public transport like the tram, or the Boqueria market (issues 118, 155). The latter is an interesting example of an informal street market that was settled under an open-air iron structure, thus maintaining an unmediated visual relationship with the exterior. Visuality also played a key role in the hippodrome (issue 95). An 1888 engraving of the public lighting of the city is particularly instructive [see Figure 3]. It shows the city at night, stressing the effect of the lighting system in the dark. Here, street lighting appears as a technology of the visual that triumphs

131 Otter, 'Making Liberalism Durable,' 1.
132 Ibid., 3.
133 His views on the topic can be seen in Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "La administració de las vidas humanas", *La Renaixensa: diari de Catalunya*, February 16, 1896.

over darkness and thus incorporates the nocturnal realm of the city into the bourgeois visual environment.

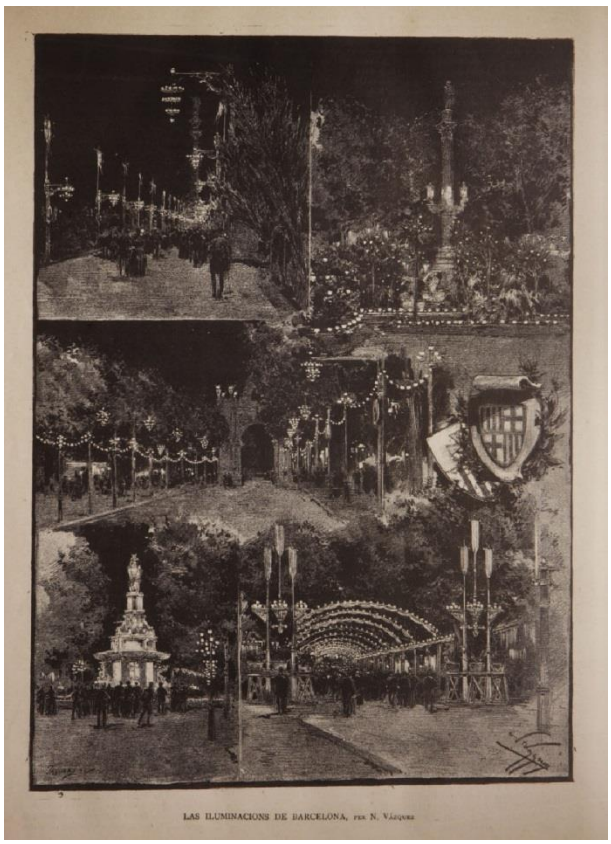


Figure 3. 'Las iluminacions de Barcelona, per N. Vázquez', *La Ilustració catalana* 199 (October 31, 1888): 324. Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya. Barcelona.

Another especially significant image visualizes the interaction of the modern city with a different 'dark' realm, that of the dead. In 1883 *La Ilustració Catalana* published a double plate of Leandre Albareda's project for the new cemetery of Montjuïc, located in the outskirts of the city [see Figure 4].[134] In the bottom-left corner of the plate, an aerial view shows how the mountain separates the city from the new necropolis. Even though burials within the city walls had been prohibited in 1775, urban cemeteries still surrounded most of Barcelona's

[134] The project was presented in 1982 and was only partially implemented. See Estanislau Roca, "La construcció de la muntanya de Montjuïc" (Doctoral Thesis, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 1993), 281–284.

old churches until the mid-nineteenth century.[135] From 1860 onwards, these cemeteries were removed, and the empty spaces they left behind became modern squares. The aerial view of the new cemetery of Montjuïc, hidden behind a mountain that was itself outside the formal urban environment of Barcelona, visualizes the exclusion of burial practices from the city's space – or, rather, from a specific part of that space. For the cemetery itself is brought into the realm of the public as it is visualized through a map, the graphic form that Nicholas Mirzoeff has identified as the origin of the control of the public through the visual.[136] With its regular pattern of streets, avenues and squares, the projected cemetery appears as a modern city, a city for the dead, in which burial practices and the activities that surround them – family visits, walks and even sightseeing – can be easily regulated as they are integrated in a modern visual environment.

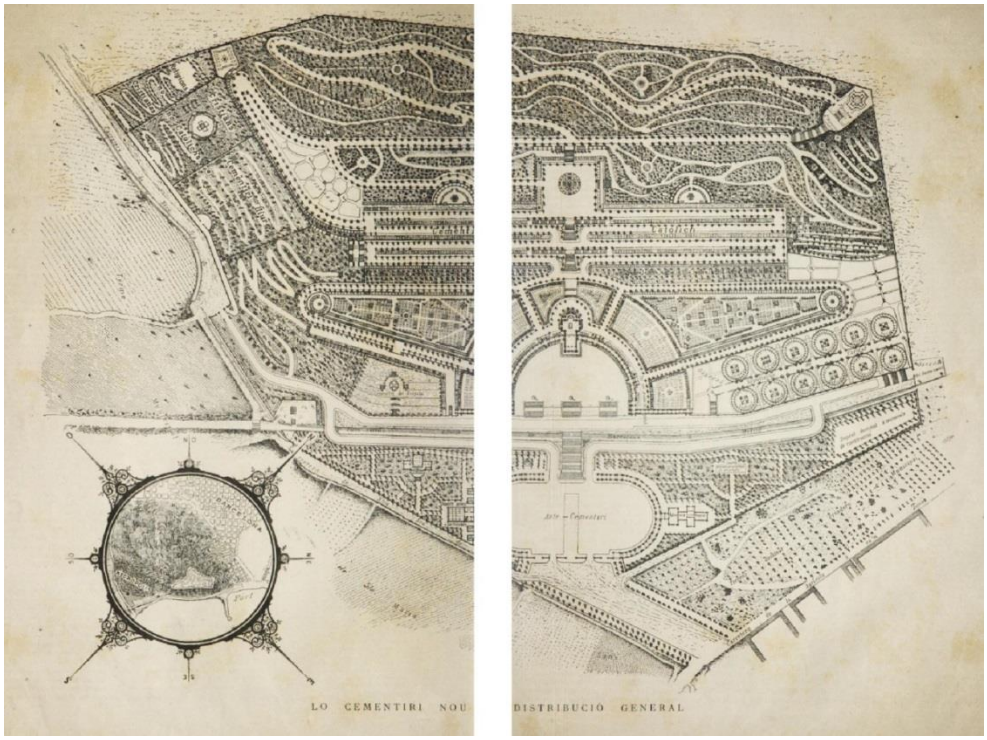


Figure 4. 'Lo cementiri nou – Distribució general,' *La Ilustració Catalana* 83 (March 31, 1883): 88–89. Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya. Barcelona.

[135] See Isabel Lobato i Franco and Olga López i Miguel, "L'espai dels morts: l'organització de l'espai als cementiris del segle XVIII, el cementiri vell de Barcelona", *Pedralbes: revista d'història moderna* 8, no. 2 (1988): 371–77.
[136] See Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

The construction of a bourgeois visual environment in the Barcelona of the 1880s engages with the development of a state policy oriented towards the political management of the city and its inhabitants that emerged in the 1910s within the context of a cultural renovation movement known as *Noucentisme*. At that time, the city and its educational possibilities were implicitly and explicitly mobilized. The writer and leader of the Lliga Regionalista Eugeni d'Ors (1881-1954) coined the term 'Noucentisme' in his daily column 'Glosari' and became one of its most important theorists. The idea of self-discipline was central to this body of thought, and it encompassed civility and good behaviour. In 1913 d'Ors wrote a piece entitled 'On the Aesthetics of Signs', in which he complained that the typography of Barcelona's public signs was insufficiently 'right, classic, quiet and little ornamented'. Because of this inadequate typography, d'Ors argues, 'the eye receives a bad education and a preparation for anarchy'.[137] The importance of the visual for the formation of politically reliable citizens is a pervasive idea in d'Ors's *Glosari*. In 'On Certain German Postcards' he complains about some 'nauseating' satirical German postcards being displayed in Catalan streets, while in 'The Vest' he argues that the use of vests indicates civility, comparing them to city squares.[138] Thus, the objects kept in vest pockets correspond to the buildings located in these central urban spaces: coins and banknotes correspond to a bank, a notebook and a pencil to a school and a library, a watch to a clock, and so on. In a similar fashion, in 'Education and the Eyes' he argues that eyes are important in education as 'showing means teaching'.[139] D'Ors's views would be institutionalized as he became responsible for public instruction – the name then given to ministerial posts related to education – in the Catalan *Mancomunitat* in 1917.

In line with Otter's reading of Foucault's notion of governmentality, the education of modern citizens demanded further reforms to urban space. The opening of the Via Laietana was an ongoing project during this era which

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137 Eugeni d'Ors, *Glosari 1912-1913-1914: amb la sèrie "Flos Sophorum"* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2005), 645.
138 Ibid., 583–584, 626–627.
139 Ibid., 678–679.

required fifty years to complete, from 1908 to 1958.[140] Here and elsewhere, new buildings and spaces articulated the educational goals of *Noucentisme*. Particularly instructive examples were a series of new schools built from 1914 to 1923, known as 'grups escolars'. According to the contemporaneous author Manuel Ainaud, these schools' 'special architecture' had to be characterized by beauty, in order to respond to the 'artistic character' of the 'Latin peoples'.[141] Ainaud acknowledged that the architecture of educational spaces in Europe often prioritized health and hygiene, to counterbalance the bad conditions pupils might encounter in their homes, as they 'live without any sun or air in humid streets and without any clarity in the duskiness of their spirit', echoing Otter's conceptualization of the realms of the visual in the liberal city. But Ainaud also demanded that modern schools 'give the crowds the education necessary to become a self-conscious collectivity' and participate in democratic processes.[142] A few paragraphs later, he adds that modern Catalan schools have to be the heirs of medieval guilds, in which the anonymous masters of the country's artistic past, exemplified by the Romanesque monastery of Ripoll, were educated.[143] Thus, medieval architectures are an important part of the Catalan version of Otter's bourgeois visual environment, an urban space defined by visuality, clarity and order where individuals were to become reliable Catalan citizens.

Indeed, those two imaginaries – the medieval and the modern – were not only displayed in constant juxtaposition but increasingly merged from the late nineteenth century onwards, most obviously on the occasion of the 1888 Universal Exposition. The event took place on the grounds of the former fortress of the Ciutadella, a transformation that symbolized the takeover of the city by the new cultural and political elite. The Ciutadella had been constructed in 1716 by King Felipe V after his victory in the War of the Spanish Succession, in which Catalonia had given support to his opponent. After the war Felipe V ordained the demolition of the north-eastern quarter of

[140] See Fuster Sobrepere, Nicolau i Martí, and Venteo, *La Construcció de la gran Barcelona*.
[141] Manuel Ainaud, "Edificis per a escoles", in *L'Escola Nova Catalana: 1900-1939*, ed. Josep González-Agàpito (Vic: Eumo, 2002), 139.
[142] Ibid., 144.
[143] Ibid., 141–143.

Barcelona and built in its place a large fortress that was integrated into the walls of the city. A century and a half later, the walls of the city were torn down, and a new public park was created. The park was chosen to host the 1888 Universal Exposition, the first to take place in Barcelona, or in Spain, for that matter.[144] As here, the empty spaces left by the demolition of city walls in late nineteenth-century European cities were often used to create urban spaces of particular political significance.[145] These spaces braided the old and the new parts of the city, and after the demolition of the walls they accommodated the buildings that were meant to display the values of the new city. In Barcelona these empty spaces were used to build the Palace of Justice, the Universitat de Barcelona and the sites of the 1888 Universal Exposition. The construction process of the Exposition was extensively documented in the pages of *La Ilustració Catalana* during April and May 1888. The unusually long series of images included the blessing before the beginning of work, the demolishing of the remaining military barracks, the new entrance to the park, the construction of the Palaces of Industry and Fine Arts and of the Japanese pavilion, a triumphal arch dedicated to the king and queen, and Domènech's projects for the International Hotel and the Exposition Restaurant.

Domènech's restaurant makes the fusion of the medieval and the modern most visible. The building has the features of Catalan Gothic architecture,[146] but it was built with a material that is an emblem of the industrial era: red brick, which according to Umbach was 'the key to a fusion of the vernacular and the modern' in German fin-de-siècle architecture.[147] Moreover, this castle-like building was used as a restaurant, for a leisure activity intrinsically linked to modern urban life. Through the 1888 Exposition, Barcelona displayed itself to

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144 For a history of the Universal Exposition and its engagement with Spanish nationalism, see Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888."

145 Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities." Already in the 1980s, Schorske considered the Ringstrasse in Vienna 'a visual expression of the values of a social class'. Carl E. Schorske, "The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism", in *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 25.

146 Stephen Jacobson has in fact seen it as an emblem of a pan-Hispanist architecture, since it combines Catalan and Andalusian elements. Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888", 85.

147 Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890-1924*, 208.

the world. The choice of this architectural fusion consolidated the imagination of Catalonia as it had taken shape in the Catalan illustrated magazines during previous years. Since the 1888 Exposition marks the beginning of Catalan *Modernisme*, it can be argued that the conventions of display in the illustrated press of the late nineteenth century informed the first major movement of Catalan architectural modernity.

1.3 The City and the Territory

Vernacular modernity, however, was not restricted to Barcelona. In fact, the city played a key role in the visual construction of a larger Catalan territory. From a total of over 350 illustrated plates published in *La Ilustració catalana* in the 1880s, 98 depict Barcelona, and 105 represent the rest of Catalonia.[148] In these images, Catalonia is usually displayed as a medieval place, with a variety of styles and typologies: Romanesque and Gothic, churches, monasteries, castles, rural views and historic town centres. We find, for example, the church of Santa Maria de l'Estany,[149] the monastery of Bellpuig de les Avellanes,[150] the medieval wall of Girona,[151] the facade of the cathedral of Tarragona[152], the

[148] Some of the places I have included under the heading "Barcelona" are located in towns like Sants or Sant Martí de Provençals that during the 1880s had not yet been formally annexed to the city. However, I have chosen to consider them in this section as the activities related to the buildings represented – mostly industries – have their origins in the city, and their location outside the boundaries of what was formally Barcelona at the time responds to the need for the city to grow beyond the limits of the old walls. I have also included under this heading the monastery of Santa Maria Pedralbes, because of the close relations that the monastery always had with the city, and I think therefore that its visualisation involved also the visualisation of the history and of the physical space of Barcelona. However, despite the similar physical distance, I have chosen to keep out of this heading the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès, and to include it instead under "Catalonia", due to its much less intense relation to the city.

[149] "Claustre del monastir de Santa Maria de l'Estany", *La Ilustració catalana* 25 (March 10, 1881): n.p..

[150] "Monastir de la Mare de Deu de Bellpuig de las Avellanas", *La Ilustració catalana* 158 (February 15, 1887): n.p..

[151] "Fortificació antiga de Girona", *La Ilustració catalana* 11 (January 20, 1880): 85.

[152] "Tarragona. Porta lateral dreta de la catedral, per P. M. Bertran", *La Ilustració catalana* 170 (August 15, 1887): 228.

monastery of Vallbona de les Monges[153] or the old bridge of Castellbell.[154] Thus, the visual construction of Barcelona was conducted at the same time that Catalonia was being visualised through a medievalist matrix. Arguably, the abundant presence of the medieval in the depiction of Catalonia influenced the way in which Barcelona was in turn represented. After all, Barcelona had been the major city of Catalonia since the Middle Ages, and many of its historic buildings evoke this medieval past. The emphasis on the medieval in the representation of both Barcelona and Catalonia on the pages of *La Ilustració catalana* visualised a connection between the two.

However, Barcelona took from Catalonia not only an image of the medieval, but also of the modern. The representation of Catalan modernity occurred often through the spaces in which the relationship between Barcelona and the Catalan territory was materialized.[155] The best example of this is the railway. While binding the country, it became the symbol of Catalonia's modernity and as such received the attention of the illustrated press several times. *La Ilustració catalana* published several engravings on the topic, often double-paged: in 1881 it showed a viaduct under construction, and in the following years it displayed the opening of the lines between Barcelona and Vilanova i la Geltrú (1882), and between Calafell and Valls (1883).[156] The opening of the Vilanova i la Geltrú section is a particularly elaborate allegory where different roads, bridges and tunnels frame the meal with which a group of delegates are celebrating the opening of the railway [Figure 5]. The landscape is clearly identifiable as the Garraf, the coastal massif that separated Barcelona and Vilanova i la Geltrú,

153 "Lo monastir de Vallbona de las Monjas, dibuixos per Andreu Solá", *La Ilustració catalana* 176 (November 15, 1887): 324–26.
154 "Castellbell - Lo pont vell, per J. Pahissa", *La Ilustració catalana* 124 (December 15, 1884): n.p..
155 Oriol Nel·lo has explored the construction of a positivist discourse on the industrialisation of Barcelona and its benefits for the rest of Catalonia at the end of the nineteenth century. See Oriol Nel·lo i Colom, "Barcelona y Cataluña: las raíces del debate sobre el policentrismo del sistema urbano catalán", *Ciudad y territorio: Estudios territoriales*, no. 176 (2013): 317–32, and Oriol Nel·lo and R. Grau, "Ciutat i territori. Sis reflexions de Barcelona estant", *L'Avenç. Revista d'Història* 220 (1997).
156 See "Ferrocarril de Valls á Vilanova y Barcelona - Pont sobre'l riu Gayá en lo terme de Vilabella", *La Ilustració catalana* 42 (August 30, 1881): 341; "Inauguració del trajecte de ferrocarril de Barcelona á Vilanova y Geltrú", *La Ilustració catalana* 56 (January 2, 1882): 40–41; "Inauguració de la via de Calafell a Valls", *La Ilustració catalana* 80 (February 15, 1883): 40–41.

one of the most important industrial centres outside the capital. The perforation of the massif and the subsequent developing of the railway reduced the travel distance between the two cities by several hours.[157] Here, the railway is not binding an abstract territory, but a very specific and identifiable one. This specific and local landscape works as an actant in the developing of industry in Catalonia, for it is through its modification that these two major industrial centres become connected.[158] The Catalanist adscription of the scene is stressed by the inclusion of the Catalan coat of arms accompanied by those of Barcelona and Vilanova i la Geltrú. At the top, a locomotive leads the celebrants, who become the vanguard of the country's modernization.

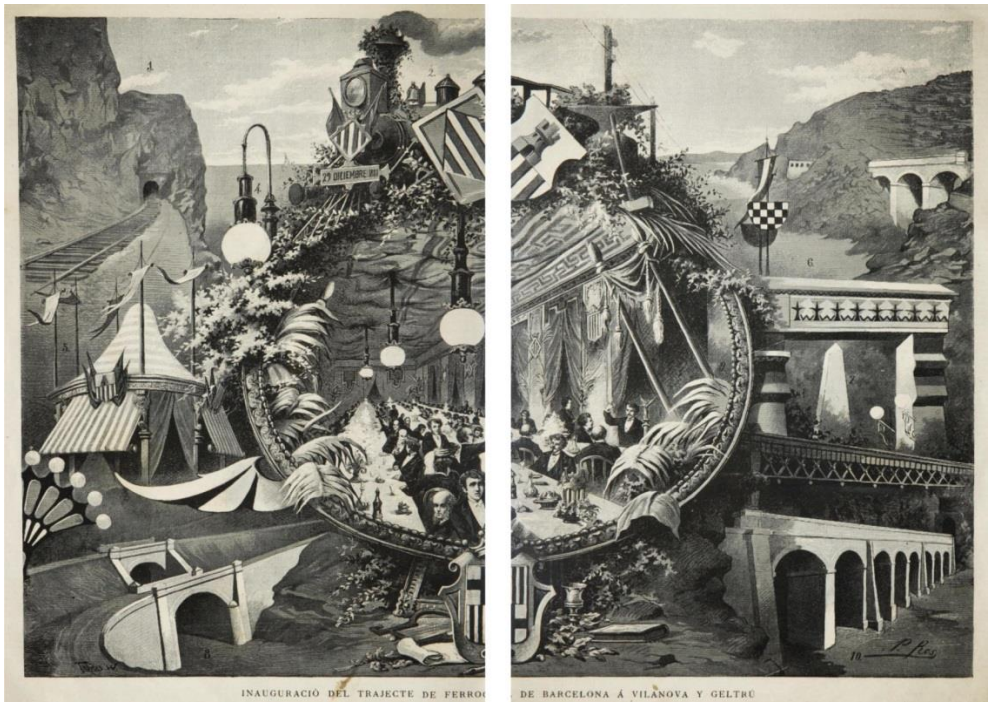


Figure 5. 'Inauguració del trajecte de ferrocarril de Barcelona á Vilanova y Geltrú', *La Ilustració catalana* 56 (January 2, 1882): 40–41. Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya. Barcelona.

[157] See Raimon Soler, *El Ferrocarril i Vilanova i la Geltrú, 1881-1936: infraestructures, economia i societat a la capital del Garraf*, 1a ed (Vilanova i la Geltrú: Ajuntament de Vilanova i la Geltrú, 2011).

[158] I am using the term "actant" to refer to material actors regardless of its intentions following Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities." On the use of local landscapes in the construction of modern national imaginations see Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918*.

The engraving of the opening of the section between Calafell and Valls is even more explicit in terms of how the railway visualises the connection between Barcelona and its wider territory [Figure 6]. The image includes a large map with details of the route between Barcelona and Valls. Above the map there are several pictures of architectural elements related to the new railway and the towns it crosses: Valls' new train station; a monument to Gomà, who promoted this section of the railway; a viaduct over the river Gaià; and a Roman quarry at Roda de Berà. The viaduct and the quarry are placed together, thus suggesting a connection between the two – the viaduct is in fact described as a 'stone bridge' – and therefore also suggesting continuity between the Roman legacy and modern Catalan technology. The railway becomes, therefore, an infrastructure that not only braids the Catalan territory, but also connects it to its classical past.

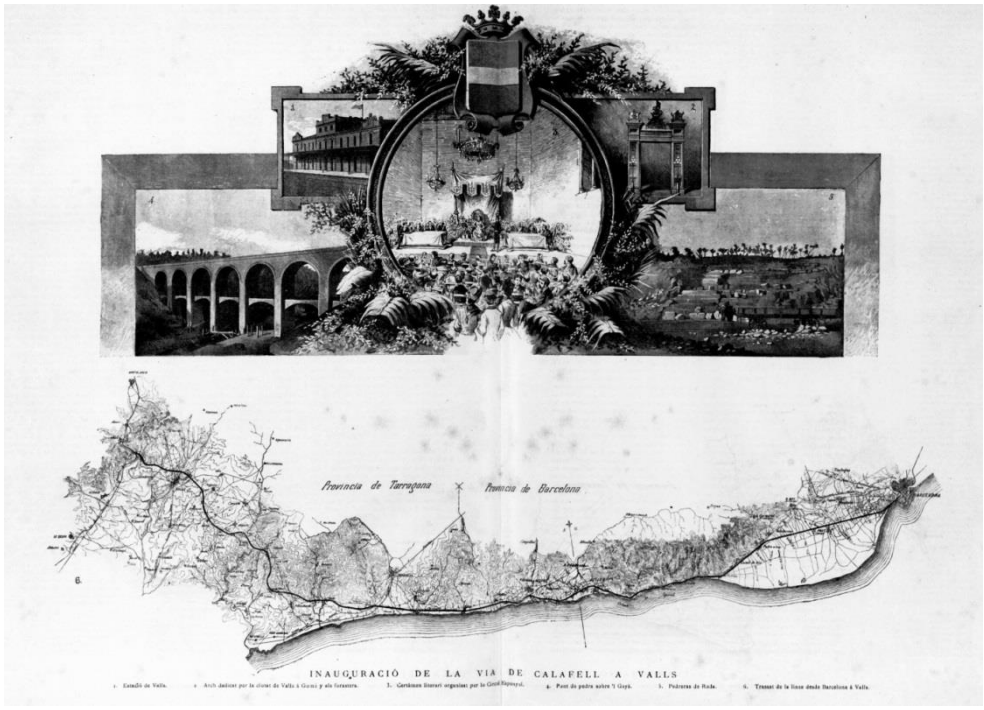


Figure 6. 'Inauguració de la via de Calafell a Valls', *La Ilustració catalana* 80 (February 15, 1883): 40–41. Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya. Barcelona.

The visual construction of modern Barcelona took place in close interaction with that of the Catalan territory. However, it is not a simple task to define what this territory was. So far we have discussed a series of images of places located within the boundaries of Catalonia. However, *La Ilustració catalana* also

reproduced, throughout the 1880s, pictures of places located in a much broader Catalan-speaking area, including Valencia, the Balearic Islands and the Roussillon in France. These are a total of 52 images, a considerable amount if we put it in relation to the figures related to images from other geographical sites.

Geographical Area	**Number of Images**
Barcelona	98
Catalonia (excluding Barcelona)	105
Other Catalan-speaking regions (excluding Catalonia)	52
Rest of Spain (excluding all Catalan-speaking regions)	37
Rest of Europe (excluding Spain)	23
Spanish colonies in America	7
Middle East and Maghreb	31

Table 1. Number of images per geographical areas in *La Ilustració catalana* (1880-1888).

Table 1 shows that engravings of this broader Catalan-speaking territory equal to the half of the total of images depicting Catalonia, and are far above the amount of images on the rest of Spain. Among them we find, for example, medieval trade buildings like the Consolat and the Llotja in Palma (in the island of Mallorca),[159] medieval palaces like that of Mossèn Sorrell in València[160] and l'Almudaina in Mallorca,[161] historic cities like Sóller in Mallorca[162] or Xàtiva in València,[163] or the north-Catalan villages Banyuls, Colliure and Ceret.[164] In a

[159] "Palma de Mallorca - Lo consolat y la Llotja; per Pau M. Bertran", *La Ilustració catalana* 162 (April 15, 1887): 104.
[160] "Valencia - Porta del Palau de Mossen Sorell", *La Ilustració catalana* 98 (November 15, 1883): 336.
[161] "Mallorca. Castell de Capdepera, per Joan O'Neille", *La Ilustració catalana* 166 (June 15, 1887): 165.
[162] "Sóller, apuntació per Francisco Llorens y Riu", *La Ilustració catalana* 136 (March 15, 1886): n.p..
[163] "Porta de l'ermita de Sant Feliu de Xàtiva", *La Ilustració catalana* 30 (April 30, 1881): 236.

picture of a prehistoric site in the island of Menorca an individual dressed in a rustic appearance is leading towards the monument a bourgeois adorned with a suit, a hat, and umbrella and a book.[165] This image displays local awareness on the importance of historical heritage, accompanied by the assumption that its study must be carried out by urban educated experts. In doing so, it also suggests that the *mise en valeur* and later study and protection of this heritage are only possible in the intersection between the city and the territory.

This series of engravings of several Catalan-speaking territories evokes, in the eyes of the modern reader, what we nowadays know as 'Catalan Countries' ('Països Catalans'), but was *La Ilustració Catalana* really involved in the visual construction of a pan-Catalan territory beyond the borders of Catalonia? Another engraving suggests that it is indeed appropriate to interpret this set of images as part of a spatial imaginary specifically linked to the Catalan-speaking territories. In 1883, the magazine published a 'Map of the Catalan Language' that depicted the Catalonia, València, the Balearic Islands, the north-Catalan counties in France, and Andorra [see Figure 7]. The publication of this kind of graphic material is very rare, as no other example of a map has been found in the illustrated press analysed. This uniqueness shows the importance awarded by the editors to the display of this particular territorial space, which takes its unity from the Catalan language.

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164 "Banyuls de la Marenda, per P. Teyssonnieres", *La Ilustració catalana* 169 (July 31, 1887): n.p.; "Colliure, per P. Teyssonnieres", *La Ilustració catalana* 169 (July 31, 1887): 212; "Pont de Ceret, per P. Teyssonnieres", *La Ilustració catalana* 169 (July 31, 1887): 212.

165 "La taula dels sacrificis de Mahó", *La Ilustració catalana* 4 (August 10, 1880): 29.

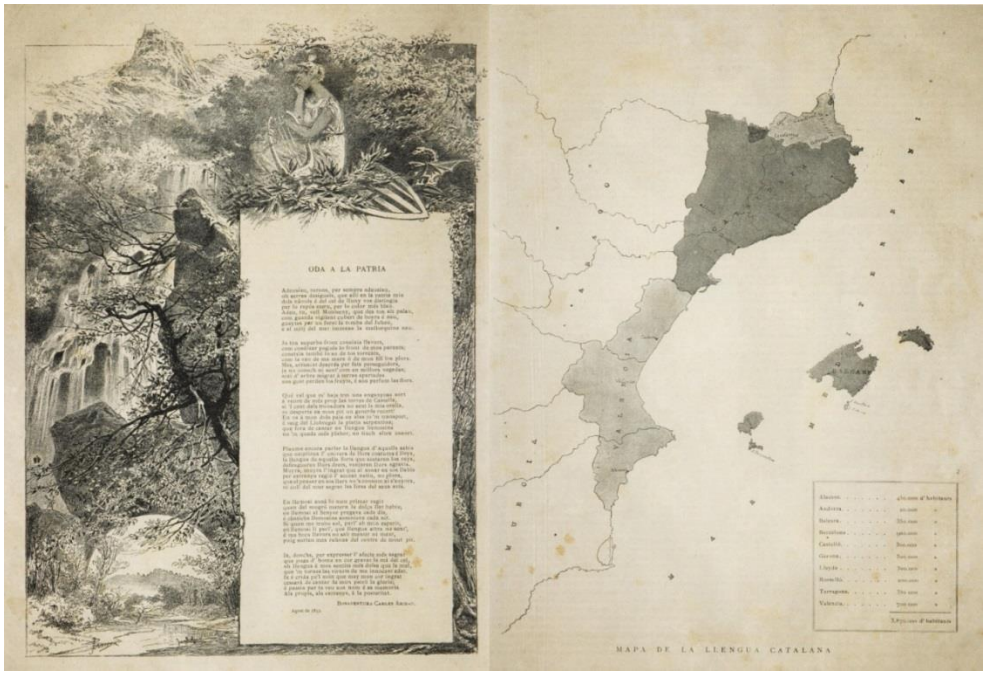


Figure 7. 'Mapa de la llengua catalana', *La Ilustració catalana* 85 (May 6, 1883): 116–17. Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya. Barcelona.

This Catalan-speaking territory has been called 'Països Catalans' in modern times, and corresponds largely to the territories that belonged to the medieval Crown of Aragon. The origins of the concept was widely studied by Arnau Gonzàlez i Vilalta in his monograph *La nació imaginada. Els fonaments dels Països Catalans*. His main argument was that the concept emerged and was consolidated during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939) and not in the work of the Valencian writer Joan Fuster (1922-1992), as had been commonly interpreted in late-twentieth-century historiography. In doing so, Gonzàlez i Vilalta pays little attention to the development of the concept during the period prior to the Second Republic. He considers that the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia of 1932 was a necessary condition for the existence of pancatalanism, and therefore situates the creation of the 'theoretical base' and the 'historical and political origins' of the movement in the 1930s. Subsequently, he argues against pancatalanist policies – 'especially cultural ones' – having been executed before this moment.[166] The thrust that pancatalanism experienced during the Second Republic seems undeniable, particularly with regards to its theoretical fixation, its engagement with civic

[166] Gonzàlez i Vilalta, *La Nació imaginada*, 10–12.

society, and the overtly pancatalanist character of some political initiatives. Nevertheless, a closer look at the integration of the 'Països Catalans' in the *fin de siècle* Catalan visual imaginary expressed by *La Ilustració* suggests that it is necessary to review the development of the movement in those previous decades.

On the one hand, the programmatic nature of the 1883 'Map of the Catalan Language' cannot be underestimated. The map shows the boundaries between the different regions, which seems to point towards a confederate perception of this territory already in the 1880s, a view which, as Gonzàlez i Vilalta argues, was not dominant until the 1930s. As Figure 7 shows, this territorial proposal was published as a double-page spread next to the 1833 poem 'Oda a la pàtria' ('Ode to the motherland') by Bonaventura Carles Aribau, a piece that was claimed by late-nineteenth century Catalan intellectuals to be the origin and motor of the revival movement of Catalan history, language and culture known as Renaixença. On the other hand, the visual construction of the territory 'of the Catalan language' seems to foreshadow some of the actions taken by the Catalan *Mancomunitat* (1914-1923). These suggest that some political pan-Catalanist strategies were indeed conceived before the 1930s. Shortly after its creation, the *Mancomunitat* established, in 1915, a Service for Archaeological Research ('Servei d'Investigacions Arqueològiques'). Sites in Menorca – in the Balearic Islands – and the Matarranya, a Catalan-speaking county belonging to the neighbouring region of Aragon hosted the first archaeological campaigns of the Service.[167] These excavations were carried out by the *Mancomunitat* outside its administrative borders until the following decade. The activity of the Service diminished considerably in the 1920s during Primo's regime, and thereafter during the Second Republic (1931-1939) archaeological excavations became limited to the borders of the Principat.[168] While the archaeological policy of the *Mancomunitat* was not presented to the public as being

[167] On the formation, development and research activities of the Service for Archaeological Research , see Jordi Cortadella i Morral, "L'Institut d'Estudis Catalans i el Museu d'Arqueologia", in *Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya: 75 anys, 1935-2010: miscel·lània commemorativa*, ed. Jordi Rovira i Port (Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, 2010), 56–71.
[168] Ibid.

pancatalanist, it was so *de facto*. This shows that the imagined construction of the nation, and therefore the territorial conception upon which the governmental action of the *Mancomunitat* had to be undertaken – at least when it came to archaeological excavation – included not only the sites of the Principat, but also those of the other Catalan-speaking territories. And this pancatalanist construction of the nation was already suggested, as it has been discussed above, in the illustrated press of the 1880s.

Barcelona played a pivotal role in the construction of this pan-Catalanist imagination. The relationship between Barcelona as a governmental city and the different Catalan-speaking territories that formerly belonged to the Crown of Aragon was explicitly displayed in a reportage on the Archive of the Crown published by the magazine *L'Avens* in 1890 [Figure 8].[169] This is an unusually extensive illustrated piece, which includes as many as four images: the staircase of the entrance courtyard illustrates the cover, while in the interior pages we find the coffered ceiling of the interior staircase, the facade, and a view of the reading room.

[169] "Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó", *L'Avens: literari, artístich, científich: revista mensual ilustrada* 2, no. 3 (March 31, 1890): n.p.; 59–61.

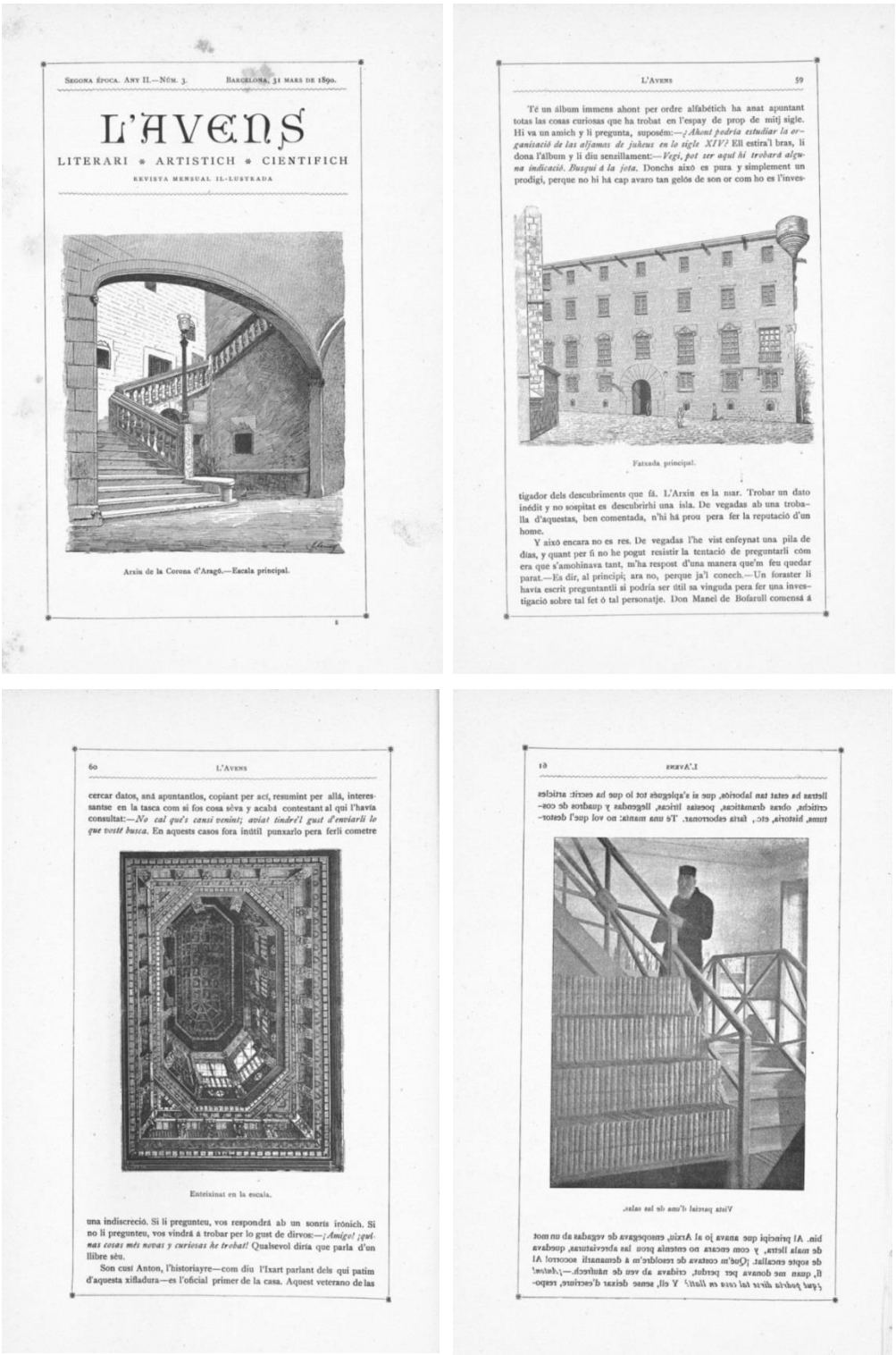


Figure 8. 'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó', *L'Avens: literari, artístich, científich: revista mensual ilustrada* 2, no. 3 (March 31, 1890): front page; 59–61.

Buildings guarding the documents upon which national history had to be written acquired a great importance all over Europe at the end of the century.

A map of the *Atlas of European Historiography* recently published by Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael shows that, in the late nineteenth century, there was a proliferation of national historical archives throughout Europe. Archives were built mostly in Germany, northern Italy and the north-east of France, but also in Scandinavia, the Mediterranean, and Eastern Europe.[170] With the emergence of new nation states, Raphael argues, 'the institution for the new national historiography had to be built by the new national elites'.[171] National archives are thus a symbol of the recovery and study of national history by these new elites, and as such its architecture embodied the narratives of the identity of the new country. The Barcelona archive is not located in a new building, but in the ancient 'Palau del Lloctinent', which since the Middle Ages contained the Royal Archives of Barcelona. During the nineteenth century, it integrated the collections of documentation of all the territories of the former confederation. Therefore, in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon we do not encounter the material construction of the national archive, but its modern constitution. The process culminated in the integration of the archive in the modern Catalan imagination through its display in the pages of *L'Avens*.

1.4 Conclusion

Recent studies in visual culture have contended that in the nineteenth century, new visual technologies modified the ways in which individuals interacted with materiality, experience and truth.[172] This chapter has shown that the visualisation of Barcelona through print media transformed the materiality of the city, as it affected the way in which it was physically constructed and reconstructed. It also modified the experience of the city, which became crucial to the 'administration of human lives', as Puig put it. As in Fascist Florence – even if the context is markedly different – 'the experience of the city was

[170] Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael, eds., *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession 1800-2005* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 14–15.
[171] Lutz Raphael, "New Nations and Their Institutions of Historiography", in *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession 1800-2005*, ed. Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 16.
[172] Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

reframed in conjunction with the reconceptualization of history'.[173] This reconceptualization of history, using the material remains of the past to create a vernacular narrative of modernity, transcended the limits of the city. It informed a modern sense of Catalan identity and permeated Catalan public policies in the 1910s. Barcelona's medieval architecture embodied the nation within the city. Thus, the visualisation of Barcelona in the illustrated press of the 1880s also altered the 'truth' of the nation; modern Catalonia emerged as it began to be imagined in the streets of its capital city. Barcelona's urban space has many of the characteristics of the bourgeois visual environment described by Otter, but it also has one element lacking in Otter's approach: it is embedded within the material culture of the past. The fabrication of modern Catalans took place in an educational urban space with the features of the modern liberal city and yet with a crucial presence of medieval architecture. The material remains of the past also connected the city to the wider Catalan territory, just like other more modern engines such as the railway. As has been argued, this architecture had to be preserved not in singular buildings but as an urban fabric. And it also had to be *seen*: this is why Puig decided to create a new street in front of the cathedral's facade to make its spire visible from the Via Laietana. Visuality was a driving force behind the imagination of modern Barcelona – and, with it, of modern Catalonia – and it affected the ways in which both the medieval traces of the city and its modern spaces were negotiated. Beyond the old town, Puig's game of perspectives and visual hierarchies was perhaps more difficult to play, due to the 'imposition' of Cerdà's uniform grid. Nevertheless, there too he found a way to inscribe Catalan identity into the urban layout, as the next chapter will discuss.

[173] D. Medina Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), XXVIII.

Chapter 2: Voting for the International Exposition and Planning Barcelona as a Metropolitan Capital

While the 1888 Universal Exposition may be seen as a landmark of Catalonia's 'vernacular modernity' as expressed through late-nineteenth-century illustrated magazines, the prospect of a second Exposition provided Puig with the chance to provide Barcelona with a new urban fabric more in line with his conception of Catalan identity than the Cerdà Plan. This is seen through a 1905 newspaper piece in which he advocated the celebration of a second Universal Exposition in Barcelona, conveying an understanding of urban space as capable of representing – or even shaping – cultural and political identities. Thus, drawing on readings of the built environment as an 'actant' within individual and collective identity formation and contestation,[174] this chapter shows that the second World Fair held in Barcelona was perceived as a transformative element with an impact beyond the city's urban fabric, as it was presented as being concomitant with the transformation of Catalan politics and with the invocation of a specifically Catalan collective identity.

By focusing on Puig's 1905 text, the chapter also draws attention to a significant yet underrated moment in the urban history of Barcelona. If the 1888 Universal Exposition coincided with the city's extension beyond the old town,[175] the Exposition projected in 1905 would create Barcelona on a metropolitan scale, incorporating the surrounding towns into a single urban space. Comparing these two moments, the present chapter reveals the recurring importance of the ring shape in the urban planning of modern

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[174] I am using the term "actant" to refer to material actors regardless of their intentions following Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities", 660. See also Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890-1924*; and Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (Verso, 2003).

[175] According to some authors, the 1888 Exposition had a limited effect on the transformation of the urban landscape of Barcelona. Although it promoted the development of the Ciutadella Park on a former military side, its objective was mainly propagandistic and did not have a lasting impact on the urban modernisation of Barcelona in the late nineteenth century. See Albert Garcia Espuche et al., "Modernization and Urban Beautification: The 1888 Barcelona World Fair", *Planning Perspectives* 6 (1991): 139–59.

Barcelona, as it was in rings that those two crucial events were subsequently planned: in 1888, knitting the transition between the old and the new city on the circular space formerly covered by the old defensive systems, and in 1905, materialising the linkage between the city and the towns and villages that had grown around the perimeter of the Eixample in a semi-circular shape.

According to most authors, the idea of a new World Fair to be held in Barcelona emerged around 1900, with the memories of the successful 1888 Universal Exposition still fresh. In 1905, the project acquired public visibility as Puig utilized it in an electoral proclamation published by the major newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya*.[176] In the text, entitled 'A votar per l'Exposició Universal' – which may be translated as 'Let's vote for the Universal Exposition' – he linked the success of his political party – the Lliga Regionalista – in the upcoming municipal election to the celebration of such an Exposition. In his argument, the Exposition transcended the leisure and commercial character of the event, as the urban and political opportunities it would provide were made explicit. The modification of the urban space of Barcelona required by an Exposition is seen as inseparable from the change it would bring to the city's political and cultural image. Puig read the prospect of a new Exposition as an opportunity to implement the Jaussely Plan, a development that aimed to connect the reticular layout of the modern extension of the city – known as the Eixample – with the more organic patterns of the towns surrounding Barcelona. The Plan was actually never implemented, beyond some minimal traces,[177] but its symbolical importance for Puig and other Catalan intellectuals, such as the poet Joan Maragall, was prominent.[178]

As is well known, the urban reform of the city had begun in the 1850s. Following European patterns, it involved both a renovation of the old town

176 Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."
177 Ricard Pié, ed., *Aportacions catalanes en el camp de la urbanística i de l'ordenació del territori, des de Cerdà als nostres dies* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007), 100.
178 Quintana i Trias, "Joan Maragall, el Pla Jaussely i la Reforma de 1908 a la ciutat de Barcelona."

and the expansion beyond the former city walls.[179] In 1859, the city council launched a public competition for the extension of the city, won initially by the local architect Rovira i Trias. However, the Spanish central government forced the execution of a different project, the one presented by the engineer Ildefons Cerdà (1815-1876), which eventually came to be known as the Cerdà Plan.[180] Whereas Rovira i Trias had conceived a radial layout around the former city walls, with an explicit centre in Barcelona's old town – as in Vienna or Paris – Cerdà's plan was characterised by a uniform grid that was largely rejected by the Barcelona bourgeoisie as it did not connect with Catalonia's singular character. As has been outlined, Puig wrote extensively against it from the early 1890s onwards, to the point that in his 1905 piece his rejection of the grid is expressed bluntly as he says that it 'spreads infinitely like a geometrical eruption'.[181]

2.1 The Second Exposition and the Jaussely Plan

In 1903, the Barcelona city council launched a competition for a linkage plan ('pla d'enllaços') to connect Cerdà's Eixample with Barcelona's surrounding towns. The French architect and urban planner Léon Jaussely (1875-1932) won the competition, in which Puig acted as a member of the jury. This competition and the subsequent winning plan have commonly been interpreted as an attempt by the Catalan bourgeoisie to move beyond Cerdà's homogeneous grid.[182] Perceived as an alien imposition – from Madrid – the Cerdà Plan had also stopped the implementation of a Paris-fashioned radial layout in Barcelona, such as the one conceived by Rovira i Trias, the initial winner of the 1859 competition for the enlargement of the city. In Puig's text,

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[179] On the urban redevelopment of Barcelona in the 1850s, see Marina López, "La política urbanística barcelonina. Una dècada decisiva, 1851-1860", in *Cerdà i Barcelona: la primera metròpoli, 1853-1897*, ed. Marina López (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona; MUHBA, Museu d'Història de Barcelona; Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Cultura, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2010), 15–25.d

[180] Eduardo Aibar and Wiebe E. Bijker, "Constructing a City: The Cerdà Plan for the Extension of Barcelona", *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 22, no. 1 (1997): 7–10.

[181] Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."

[182] Quintana i Trias, "Joan Maragall, el Pla Jaussely i la Reforma de 1908 a la ciutat de Barcelona", 150.

the Jaussely Plan is indeed presented as the way to liberate Barcelona from that resemblance of 'corny America' while making it closer to Paris.[183] In fact, Jaussely's project was not intended to eliminate Cerdà's grid, which was already – partially – in place. It would rather act at its margins, connecting the reticular grid of the Eixample with the more irregular layouts of the existing towns around Barcelona.[184] The linkage had not been planned by Cerdà, and thus the ring between the Eixample and the surrounding towns was a vacuum, from a structural and also from a material point of view [See Figure 9]. Puig describes the place where the Exposition was to be located – at Plaça de les Glòries, between Barcelona and the town Sant Martí de Provençals, north of the city – as a 'desert': 'I imagine our Exposition, […] extending along the desert plains that separate Sant Martí from Barcelona'.[185] Therefore, the project of the Exposition was meant to promote the implementation of the Jaussely plan by placing it in one of the areas where the plan was supposed to be developed. When the project of this second Barcelona Exposition was validated by the central government, in 1914, and an official board ('Junta de la Exposición') was created, the site of the event was moved from Plaça de les Glòries– north of the Eixample – to Plaça d'Espanya, in the south. At the time, the change was defended due to the 'location, extension and visuality' of the base of the mountain of Montjuïch, and nearby Plaça Espanya, together with the limited dimensions of the terrains available in the Glòries area.[186] Shortly after that, works began under Puig's direction, who was in charge of the project until 1923. Then, the coup d'état of General Primo de Rivera prompted the resignation of Puig and the rest of the original team. The Exposition finally

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183 The connection between the second Exposition in Barcelona and the Jaussely Plan, has already been pointed out in Javier Monclús, "International Exhibitions and Urban Design Paradigms", in *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, ed. Robert Freestone and Marco Amati (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 227.

184 By planning a way of modifying the reticular layout of the Eixample already in place, Puig was following a similar pattern to his 'inscribing memory' on the grid by placing medievalist ornamentations on his privately commissioned buildings in the district. See Umbach, "The Modernist Imagination of Place and the Politics of Regionalism: The Case of Puig i Cadafalch and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona", 96–101.

185 Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."

186 These were the reasons given by Francesc Cambó, a member of the Lliga Regionalista and curator in chief of the Exposition, in a meeting of the Junta in March 1914. "Actes de la Junta directiva", March 28, 1914, [4], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

took place in 1929 based on a design that roughly followed the 1914 guidelines but with significant changes. As will be discussed in more detail in Part 2, Puig regretted that the display of Spanish art had dismissed the methodological, academic approach that he and his collaborators had conceived during the 1910s.

The 1914 change in the location did not actually conflict with Puig's 1905 views on how the project of the Exposition would canalise the implementation of the Jaussely plan, as Plaça d'Espanya was located like Plaça de les Glòries in the void strip around the Eixample that was supposed to be transformed by the plan. The change, from the north to the south of the strip, was nevertheless regarded as significant by the historian of architecture Ignasi de Solà-Morales.[187] According to him, the change involved a detachment from the Cerdà Plan – in which the Glòries area was to emerge as a new centre of modern Barcelona – and the promotion of an alternative centre, south of the city, that would later become a cluster of metropolitan – and international – infrastructures such as the railway station in Sants, the airport in El Prat de Llobregat, or the seaside industrial and logistics cluster known as 'Zona Franca'.[188] Although Solà-Morales considered the Exposition a 'centrepiece of the urban policy developed in Barcelona' between 1914 and 1929,[189] more recent interpretations have diminished the transformative role of the event on the urban fabric of the city arguing that even though it had, in some respects, a catalytic effect, this was unplanned.[190]

[187] Most of Solà-Morales' extensive works on the topic are gathered in the monograph Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*.
[188] Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona (1914-1929) com a instrument de política urbana", *Recerques: història, economia, cultura* 6 (1976): 141–143.
[189] Ibid., 137.
[190] Monclús, "International Exhibitions and Planning. Hosting Large-Scale Events as Place Promotion and as Catalysts of Urban Regeneration", 223–224.

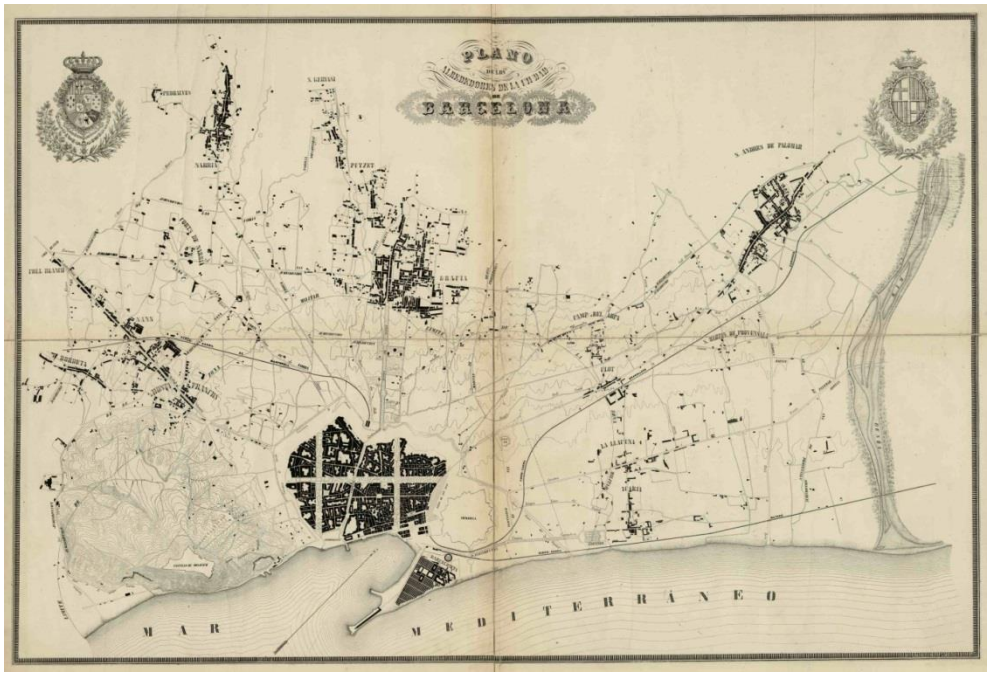


Figure 9. Ildefons Cerdà, *Plano de los alrededores de la ciudad de Barcelona levantado por orden del Gobierno para la formación del proyecto de ensanche de Barcelona* (1855). Source: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.

This void strip in which both the Plaça de les Glòries and Plaça d'Espanya were located had a ring shape due to the former prohibition of building within a military perimeter around the old city walls, which led to all surrounding towns being built along a semi-circular line following the shape of the walls. This was noted by Cerdà in the preliminary works for his plan of extension of the city, in 1855 [Figure 9], but was not subsequently reflected on the plan itself (dated 1859). There, he projected a unified reticula across the Barcelona plain, without any reminiscence of that ring shape [Figure 10]. In contrast, Jaussely's 1905 intervention underlined this ring shape, as he planned to discontinue Cerdà's grid at the line of the old military perimeter, right before reaching the towns of Sants, Gràcia, Clot and Sant Martí [Figure 11]. Significantly, the projection of the Exposition in this empty ring follows a pattern also found in Vienna or Hamburg, where, as Maiken Umbach has argued, 'the circular strip of free land created when old city walls were razed […] became the representational space *par excellence*'.[191] In Barcelona, that space

[191] Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities", 678. See also Schorske, "The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism."

of the old city walls was filled with, among others, the buildings of the University of Barcelona (built 1863-1882), the Universal Exposition (1888), and the Palace of Justice (built 1887-1908). Umbach has shown how the architecture of the latter embodied the pretension of new Barcelona as a modern city to enforce and be enforced by the Spanish nation-state. The fusing of Catalan and Spanish motives in its façade would serve this purpose.[192] The same may be argued about the selection of philosophers represented in the hall of the University of Barcelona, which included the Catalan-speaking Ramon Llull and Joan Lluís Vives, the Castilian King Alfonso X, the Andalusian ʾAbū l-Walīd Muḥammad bin ʾAḥmad bin Rušd (known as Averroes), or the Hispano-Goth Isidore of Seville.[193] Stephen Jacobson has argued in the same direction in his analysis of the architecture of the 1888 Universal Exposition, which also merged Catalan and Spanish elements.[194]

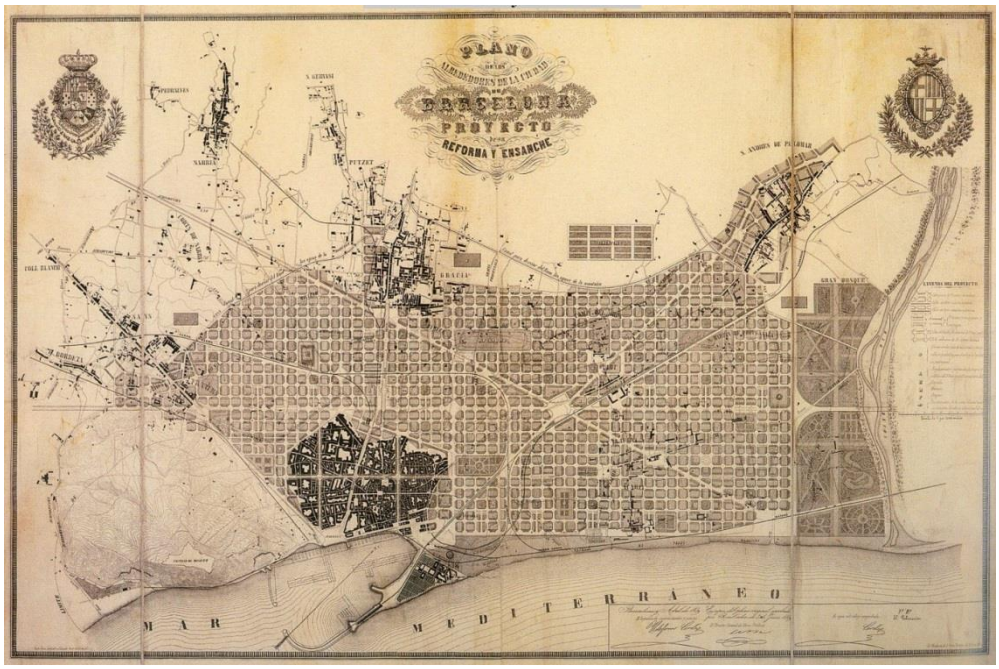


Figure 10. Ildefons Cerdà, *Plano de los alrededores de la ciudad de Barcelona. Proyecto de reforma y ensanche* (1859). Source: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona. The superposition of Cerdà's grid (in grey) on the historical layouts of Barcelona's

[192] Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities", 687–689.
[193] On the iconographic programme of the building, see Joan-Ramon Triadó, "Les comandes d'art que generà la construcció de l'edifici", in *Elies Rogent i la Universitat de Barcelona*, ed. Carmen Isasa (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 1988), 153–69.
[194] Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888", 85–86.

surrounding towns (in black) is especially visible to the right of the image, where the irregular urban fabric of Clot and Sant Martí de Provençals *disappears* under the grid, with no indication of how the two layouts would merge.

The architectures of this first ring appeared in a moment – the late nineteenth century – in which Barcelona was being represented as an emerging modern city.[195] The ring linked the old town and the new Eixample; similarly, the motifs chosen to represent Barcelona's modernity – such as in the 1888 Universal Exposition, discussed in the previous chapter – merged the old and the new. At the same time, the new city sought legitimation both in Catalonia's historical particularities and in the Spanish liberal nation-state.[196] In turn, the second ring – projected and discussed during the early 1900s – lay between the Eixample and the towns that were to be annexed to the city. It did not mediate between old and new Barcelona, but between the city and its metropolitan area [Figure 11]. Thus, the implementation of the Jaussely Plan would make the city grow to a metropolitan scale.[197] However, the scale change promoted by the Plan did not only have an urban dimension but also a symbolic one. The project raised the enthusiasm of Catalan intellectuals such as the poet Joan Maragall, who saw in the Plan a possibility to 'dream big': 'I stood in front of the future city plan designed by a dreamer architect, a foreigner. It was to be so for the greater freedom of dreaming; a man, to whom the city came as something new and could excite him to dream big'.[198] Along the same lines, Puig argued – in the above-cited fragment – that the Jaussely Plan would give Barcelona the 'resemblance' of Paris.

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195 On the representations of Barcelona as a modern city, see Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image*.

196 Umbach, "A Tale of Second Cities", 685.

197 There is a social reading of this annexation, as the districts beyond the second ring were mostly populated by the working classes – what Riquer called 'proletarian Barcelona'. See Borja de Riquer, "Les eleccions de la Solidaritat Catalana a Barcelona", *Recerques: història, economia, cultura* 2 (1972): 126–134. The diverse regional origins of many of those workers led Klaus-Jürgen Nagel to speak of a 'multicultural society' in Barcelona between the 1888 and 1929 expositions, in which social tensions were also played in the urban layout. See Klaus-Jürgen Nagel, "'Multikulturelle Gesellschaft' und staatliche Interventionspolitik in der Stadt Barcelona zwischen den Weltausstellungen von 1888 und 1929", *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 32 (1992): 1–31.

198 Quoted in Quintana i Trias, "Joan Maragall, el Pla Jaussely i la Reforma de 1908 a la ciutat de Barcelona", 150.



Figure 11. Léon Jaussely, *Projet de concours pour l'aménagement et l'extension de Barcelone* (1903-1907). 'Plan d'ensemble. Échelle 1/20.000e. Non daté'. Source: Fonds Léon Jaussely. Académie d'architecture/Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine/Archives d'architecture du XXe siècle. 312 AA 23.

Puig's choice of words is significant, for while the layout of modern Paris was indeed based on a system of concentric rings,[199] there was more to the analogy than a physical resemblance. This statement indicates his belief that changing the layout of the city would have an impact on its operations and meaning. Not only would it give Barcelona the 'resemblance of Paris', but it would also 'bring Catalonia to the world market and its thought to the stream of world ideas'. Here, the new Exposition had a crucial role. If the Jaussely Plan acted as the tool that was to enable a change in the urban and the symbolic scale of Barcelona, the Exposition was its catalyst. As such, and as Puig puts it, the celebration of a new Exposition would redefine Barcelona's place in the world – and with it, that of Catalonia. For in his 1905 article Puig talks of it as a 'Catalan Universal Exposition': 'It is a great enterprise, a huge enterprise, meant to be the Glory of our elected tomorrow, who are destined to begin organizing the Catalan Universal Exposition of the early twentieth century'.[200]

[199] Schorske, "The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism" is a classical work on the use of concentric rings in modern urban planning.
[200] Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."

2.2 Urban Space and Collective Identities

While bringing Catalonia closer to the world, the Exposition would also distance it from Spain. Puig considered that, unlike Catalans, the peoples from the rest of Spain did not have a 'desire to serve in universal life'. Commenting on how hypothetical visitors from other parts of the country would react to the displays, he says: 'In front of this work, think of the honourable citizens fallen here from the steppes of La Mancha or from troglodyte Andalusian villages or from poor Galician *caserons*'.[201] Puig's evocation of the inhabitants of other Iberian regions resembles his blunt description of the Cerdà Plan as a 'geometrical eruption', as he refers to La Mancha as a 'steppe', to Andalusian towns as 'troglodytes', and to Galician houses as 'poor *caserons*'.[202] Significantly, the disparagement of Manchegos, Andalusians and Galicians is done by discrediting their landscape and their forms of urban – and rural – life. Stemming from the thought of the French historian Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), linking the character of a specific group of people to their natural and built environment became common place in some regionalist circles. As Storm has argued, this had important resonances in architectural practice; for instance in the 1915 Spanish National Conference of Architects, a landmark of Spanish neo-vernacular regionalist architecture, practitioners were prompted to 'adapt themselves to the local topography, climate, and temperament'.[203] Taine's influence was prominent in Puig in both his facets of architect and art historian, which will be discussed in more detail in Part 3. Even if his positivist approach to art history writing was shaped by early-twentieth-century developments, it still echoed Taine's contributions to social positivism.

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[201] Ibid.

[202] 'Caseron' is a Spanish term to refer to a big and dilapidated house. Puig's use of Spanish in a word already conveying a pejorative meaning reinforces his critique of the Spanish architectural environment.

[203] Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism*, 160–161. In previous years, writers like Azorín had argued that architects needed to 'take into account the climate, the temperature, the major or minor transparency of the air, the surrounding constructions, the landscape, etc'. Similarly, the Madrid-based architect Manuel Aníbal Álvarez stated in 1910 that 'every country, because of its different climate and tradition, had its own customs'. See Ibid., 157–158.

Nevertheless, in his 1905 piece, Puig's theorisation of national affiliations transcends the connection between 'temperament', 'topography', 'climate', and architecture. There, he links this character and landscape to a specific way of doing politics:

> This crazy love for our city, for our Catalonia, is not felt by those who are here waiting for a promotion […]; is not felt either by Rius i Taulet's grandeurs, by the poor in spirit, the poor in soul, children of a homeless country, children of the desert, brought up with that sumptuous traditional and chivalric misery; they don't feel the desire to serve in universal life, not those arrived from the grey village of the oasis, full of quixotic memories, full of abandoned houses, hopeless![204]

The fragment includes several words that copy or imitate those used by Puig to refer to the peoples of La Mancha, Andalusia and Galicia in the previous paragraph. 'Poor' and '*caserons*' appear again, and 'desert' resembles 'steppe'. The semantic field is extended with terms and expressions like 'poor in spirit and in soul', 'without hope', 'grey village', and 'the country without a home'. Next to this environmental and spiritual landscape, Puig brings in those 'who are here waiting for a promotion' and Rius i Taulet's grandeur. The first may arguably be Spanish civil servants working in Catalonia; significantly, the word 'promotion' is written in Spanish in the original ('*ascenso*') and highlighted in italics. In turn, Francesc Rius i Taulet was a mayor of Barcelona during the second half of the nineteenth century. He was elected as many as four times from 1872 to 1890, following the *turno pacífico*: the rotation of the conservative and the liberal parties in the government characteristic of the Restoration system.[205] This was a period of political stability that began with the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1874, after several decades of civil wars, a disputed Queen, and a revolution that was followed by the establishment of

[204] Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."
[205] These two features, the civil service structure and the rotation of political parties, were the pillars of the modern Spanish state. On this issue, see Stephen Jacobson and Javier Moreno Luzón, "The Political System of the Restoration, 1875-1914: Political and Social Elites", in *Spanish History Since 1808*, ed. Adrian Shubert and José Alvarez Junco (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 93–109.

the brief First Spanish Republic from 1873 to 1874. With the turn of the twentieth century, a series of intellectuals and incipient politicians regarded the loss of the remaining oversees colonies in 1898 as a sign of the failure of the Restoration system to modernise Spain and pledged for a change. This came to be known as the regenerationist movement.[206] The emergence of new regionalist parties, such as the Lliga Regionalista – founded in 1901 – to which Puig belonged has been regarded as part of this process.[207] Puig himself wrote about the need for a regeneration of Spanish politics in several articles published in *La Veu de Catalunya* in 1899.[208] The regeneration of Spanish politics was also a driving force for many theoreticians of regionalist architecture in Spain, such as Manuel Aníbal Álvarez (1850-1930) and Vicente Lampérez y Romea (1861-1923), who, as we shall see later, would also collaborate with Puig in the design of the display of Spain for the 1929 International Exposition.[209] However, Puig's take on architecture and the urban space is very different from what is usually considered a regionalist style. While people like Álvarez and Lampérez sought to create a new Spanish architecture based on rural, traditional styles, with an explicit rejection of 'foreign architectural modes',[210] Puig's critique of the Spanish political system is embedded within an essentially urban, and European-inspired, design plan. In his text, he describes Restoration politicians and state workers as 'poor' and 'hopeless' people who inhabit a 'grey', 'abandoned', and 'deserted' space, which may be described as the political landscape of his time. In the text, these 'poor' and 'hopeless' characters and 'grey' and 'abandoned' landscapes are placed next to a few easily recognisable Spanish features: they are linked to the regions of La Mancha, Andalusia and Galicia, to 'quixotic' memories, and to a 'chivalric' education. However, they are not embodied exclusively by Spaniards: the only

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[206] See, for example, Helen Eve Graham and Jo Labanyi, eds., "The Loss of Empire, Regenerationism, and the Forging of a Myth of National Identity", in *Spanish Cultural Studies - An Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[207] Jordi Casassas, "Francesc Cambó: el discurs polític del regeneracionisme català", in *El Pensament polític català: del segle XVIII a mitjan segle XX*, ed. Francesc Artal and Albert Balcells (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1988), 205–47.

[208] Coll i Amargós, Joaquim, "Puig i Cadafalch: de la miltància associativa a l'exercici de la política regionalista (1887-1907)", in *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània*, ed. Albert Balcells (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 191.

[209] Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism*, 156–159.

[210] Ibid., 158.

name to appear in the text is that of a Catalan, the mayor of Barcelona Francesc Rius i Taulet. Nevertheless, Puig builds a narrative in which 'Catalans' are opposed to these figures. Whereas Rius i Taulet and the rest 'don't feel the crazy love for our city, for our Catalonia', at the end of the text he argues that the Catalans are the ones who 'feel the need to make a greater Barcelona': 'It is us Catalans who feel the need to make a greater Barcelona, the Paris of the South that may bring us the intellectual effort and the will concomitant to life in large human agglomerations'.[211]

Taking into account that *A votar per l'Exposició Universal* was an electoral message – published right before the 1905 municipal election – and that in it Puig linked the celebration of the Exposition and the transformation of Barcelona to the success of his political party in that election, the previous paragraph conveys that Puig's party – the Lliga Regionalista – aimed to represent *Catalanitat* as a whole. This is particularly clear when he claims that 'It is us Catalans who feel the need to make a greater Barcelona, the Paris of the South'. However, in the text this sense of *Catalanitat* does not seem to respond to 'national' pertinence – Rius i Taulet was a Catalan and yet is integrated in the Spanish 'grey', 'poor' and 'deserted' political landscape – but rather to a different way of doing politics. Indeed, the electoral success of the Lliga Regionalista would eventually disrupt the political system of the Restoration, dominated by the two parties alternating in power – the liberals and the conservatives. Puig also seems to convey that the emergence of a new Catalan political elite would alter the civil service structure of the Spanish state, as a more autonomous Catalonia might have its own public workers. With a belligerence unfound in his later texts, Puig links 'freedom' to the dream of a new city and of a 'racial' triumph, which would liberate Catalonia from the 'methodical and regulated misfortunes' imposed by 'the enemy' that constitute Spanish politics – and echo the nature of Cerdà's urban planning:

> We Catalans, hungry for freedom, dream of the strength of a great, rich and cultured city; on making our modern capital; on reaching the

[211] Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."

> triumph of our race; on beating an enemy that brings hunger with the misfortunes of methodised and regulated bombs.[212]

In Puig's text, urban space is understood as inseparable from the construction and representation of cultural and political identities. The reticular grid of the Eixample echoes the political system of the Restoration in a similar way as the built landscapes of Galicia, Extremadura and Andalusia embody the 'poorness of spirit' of Spaniards. It is difficult to assess which of the two – character or built environment – came first. In other texts, Puig suggests that two are reciprocally constitutive. In 'Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas' (1897) and 'L'Architecture en Espagne' (1915) – which will discussed in more detail in Part 2 – he describes Catalan and Castilian architectures as two essentially distinct traditions profoundly embedded within and shaped by the character of the peoples that created them.[213] In a similar way, the materialisation of a specific kind of urban space in Barcelona, more appreciative of the city's historic layouts, would shape, in Puig's eyes, an envisaged new Catalan character, energised by international networks and the model of metropolitan Paris, and more compatible with the success of the political values he and his party represented.

Puig's focus on Paris as a model for Barcelona does not reflect his contemporaries' preferences of international models for the new Catalonia in the making. According to most authors, Catalans were to derive their inspiration from those politicians who negotiated the Austro-Hungary's dualism, the federal constitutions of the United States and Switzerland, and

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[212] 'Som els catalans famolencs de llibertat els que somiem en la força d'una gran ciutat, rica i culta; en fer la nostra capital moderna; en arribar al triomf de la nostra raça; en vèncer l'enemic que hi porta la fam amb les desgràcies de les bombes metoditzades i reglamentades'. Puig's use of 'bombs' here is metaphorical. Ibid.

[213] Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas. Conferencia llegida per Joseph Puig y Cadafalch en l'Ateneu Barcelonès el 31 de maig de 1897", *La Renaixensa: diari de Catalunya*, June 11, 12 and 14 1897; Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "L'Architecture en Espagne", in *Lecciones del VIII curso internacional de expansión comercial: celebrado en Barcelona del 27 al 12 de agosto de 1914* (Barcelona: Impr. Moderna de Guinart y Pujolar, 1915), 632–47.

Bismarck's Prussia.[214] If, as Puig argues, the urban environment shapes cultural and political character, how should we interpret his insistence on Barcelona's need to resemble Paris? And how does this connect to our apparently contradictory knowledge of the international influences of *Catalanista* movements at his time? Arguably, this discrepancy illustrates the fact that Puig did not approach the international sphere as something that could provide explicitly political models for Catalonia's demand for recognition; he rather saw this international engagement as a way of shaping Catalan identity in the realm of knowledge and ideas.[215] As we have seen, Puig felt that an urban resemblance with Paris would connect Catalonia to the 'stream of world ideas'.[216] Thus, instead of looking for international precedents of political autonomy in Austro-Hungary, the United States or Germany, Puig seeks an intellectual model – Paris as the capital of world ideas. Nevertheless, this intellectual model was not completely detached from the political sphere since, as Puig argues, urban spaces shape identities and policy-making. Thus, Puig, like his contemporaries, was looking for international models for a new, more autonomous, Catalonia; the difference is that his starting point was not a comparable constitutional set-up, but what he considered to be a more important source for the creation of cultural and political identities: urban shapes and the public display of knowledge.

2.3 Conclusion

[214] Ucelay-Da Cal, *El Imperialismo catalán*, 195; Giovanni C. Cattini and Carles Santacana i Torres, "International Models of Catalan Nationalism: 1882-1914", in *Empires and Nations from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Antonello Biagini and Giovanna Motta (Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 327–36. Eric Ucelay-Da Cal has also argued that Germanic federalism, under the shape of Bismarck's Prussia, became increasingly prominent with the raise of the Lliga Regionalista, as Prussia was taken as a mirror of Catalonia's hypothetic leadership in a regenerated Spanish state. Enric Ucelay-Da Cal, "'El Mirall de Catalunya': models internacionals en el desenvolupament del nacionalisme i del separatisme català, 1875-1923", *Estudios de historia social* 28 (1984): 216.

[215] This would be attuned with the at the time traditional argument of Catalans being more industrious and civilised than their Spanish counterparts. See Ucelay-Da Cal, "El Mirall de Catalunya", 216.

[216] Puig i Cadafalch, "A votar per l'Exposició Universal."

In his text *A votar per l'Exposició Universal*, Puig does not present the project of a second Exposition in Barcelona as a tool to internationally brand or showcase the city's identity – as may have been the case with the first Exposition in 1888[217] – but as a catalyst to create that new identity. In Puig's eyes, the project of the Exposition was not an end in itself, but a vehicle for implementing the desired Jaussely Plan, which would enable a reconfiguration of Barcelona as the Paris of the South, reinforcing the ring as a crucial feature in the city's layout and thus relativizing the reticular grid imposed by the Spanish government through the Cerdà Plan. Together with its more Europeanised character, this would allow Barcelona to attain a metropolitan scale, as the Jaussely Plan incorporated the surrounding towns of Sants, Gràcia and Sant Martí, among others. Placing the Exposition in this new space between the former limits of Barcelona and its new metropolitan extensions would in turn materialise this link on a symbolical level, as with the *mise-en-valeur* of the intermediate space between the old town and the new Eixample after the demolition of the city walls in the late nineteenth century. As we have seen, Puig's text is particularly useful as a case study of how the built environment may be perceived as an 'actant' in the formation of collective identities, as the transformation of Barcelona's urban fabric prompted by the Exposition is presented as being concomitant with the transformation of Catalan politics, and also with the mobilisation of a specifically Catalan collective identity. There is no consensus on whether the second Barcelona International Exposition, in the shape in which it finally took place in 1929, actually had a transformative impact on the city's urban fabric.[218] Nevertheless, this article has shown that the potential for this transformative impact was perceived very early on in the planning of the Exposition. As per its impact on Catalan politics, the victory of the Lliga Regionalista in the 1905 municipal election certainly marked the beginning of the hegemony of the party in Catalan politics until 1923. Displacing the Spanish conservative and liberal parties, which had

[217] Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888."
[218] Compare Monclús, "International Exhibitions and Planning. Hosting Large-Scale Events as Place Promotion and as Catalysts of Urban Regeneration"; and Solà-Morales, "L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona (1914-1929) com a instrument de política urbana."

dominated the political system of the Restoration, the Lliga also ruled over the proto-autonomous federation of Catalan provinces known as the *Mancomunitat*, which actually Puig as its second President between 1917 and 1923.[219] Ultimately, growing into a metropolis would have consequences not only on the development of Barcelona as a city, but also, and more importantly, on the political role of the city, whose metropolitan scale would enable it to act as the capital of the new, autonomous Catalonia envisaged by Puig and the other members of the Lliga Regionalista.

[219] On the political agenda of the Lliga Regionalista, see Charles E. Enrlich, "The Lliga Regionalista and the Catalan Industrial Bourgeoisie", *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 399–417.

PART 2: SPAIN IN BARCELONA: REGIONAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE PROJECT OF THE 1929 INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION (1905-1923)

Part 2 of this thesis analyses Puig's architecture and display design for what would become the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition. He first contemplated the idea of a second Universal Exposition in 1905, and began to work on the architectural project for the site in 1913. In 1915, he received an official commission to develop one of the sections of the Exposition, becoming the de facto architect in chief of the whole project until Primo de Rivera's coup in 1923 prompted his resignation.

Puig's project for the Exposition began to attract scholarly attention in the late 1970s, parallel to a re-appreciation of his post-*Modernista* work. Ignasi de Solà-Morales's research on late Puig and particularly his project for the Exposition culminated in a 1985 monograph, and in the Exposition and catalogue that he coordinated with Judith Rohrer in 1989.[220] Solà-Morales read the project for the Exposition as a way to unlock Puig's understanding of architecture as a means to transform urban space, and as embracing a monumental idiom to fit the *Mancomunitat*'s project of turning Barcelona into a Mediterranean capital. It was 'a conception of architecture at the service of the city',[221] in which visuality had a crucial role. But he neglected the centrality of a display 'of all of Spain's art' – or Spanish Section – in Puig's curatorial design, as well as the significance of the seemingly 'Castilian' architectural motives that he chose for the site, as they do not chime with traditional narratives of the Exposition being a *Catalanista* project. The aim of Part 2 of this thesis is to challenge these conceptions, but not by discussing whether the project was embedded with *Spanishness* or *Catalanitat*, but to question the very nature of Catalan and

[220] Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*; Rohrer and Solà-Morales, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch*.
[221] Solà-Morales, "...'Ciudad ordenada y monumental'... La arquitectura de Josep Puig i Cadafalch en la época de la Mancomunidad", 63.

Spanish identities in Puig's project. I do this by exploring a series of unpublished visual and textual sources in the Fons Puig i Cadafalch of the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, including floor plans, vistas, letters and working documents, as well as by re-evaluating the proceedings of the Junta de la Exposición (Exposition Board) that are currently held at the Arxiu Municipal Contemporani de Barcelona.

Chapter 3 challenges the view that the Catalan bourgeoisie's plan for Barcelona 1929 was an Exposition of Electrical Industries, and that the so-called 'Spanish Section' was imposed by the Madrid central government, suggesting that it may instead be considered a *Catalanista* project. It does so by re-evaluating the proceedings of the meetings of the Exposition's Junta, as well as by discussing the economic and cultural significance of electricity in early-twentieth-century Barcelona and beyond.

Chapter 4 offers an unprecedented joint reading of Puig's architecture *and* display design for the Exposition, based on unpublished sources found at the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, and re-considers Puig's view of Spanish architectural histories. It discusses the Catalan character of the display design vis a vis the 'Spanishness' of its contents, and also relates Puig's architectural choices for the site architecture to the Lliga Regionalista's political project to regenerate Spain. In doing so, it also reconsiders some of the ways in which existing historiography has conceptualised the link between material culture and political ideologies.

Chapter 3: Electricity versus Spanish Art: Why would Catalan nationalists want to dedicate their International Exposition to a display of Spain?

The second Barcelona Universal Exposition was initially planned as an Exposition of Electric Industries. The idea initially emerged from a group of

electricity businessmen led by Joan Pich i Pon (1878-1937).[222] These entrepreneurs were involved in the instalment of electric plants along the Llobregat river and in Barcelona, which has led historians to argue that the project of an Exposition of Electrical Industries emerged as a strategy to gain new markets for these industries.[223] This was linked to ambitions for the electrification of Catalonia and the construction of an electricity–powered railway network. From 1907, this group gathered around the Asociación de Industriales Electricistas de Cataluña, which had Pich i Pon as its first president.[224] He was also one of the members of the executive board ('Junta directiva') created in 1913 to promote an 'Exposición Internacional de Industrias Eléctricas y sus aplicaciones' ('International Exposition of Electric Industries and their Applications'). However, after 1913, the focus of the Exposition shifted from electricity to Spanish art and industry. In 1914, a 'General Spanish Exposition' was added to the project, and by 1915 it occupied the central position in Puig's architectural design for the site. The 'Exposition of Electric Industries' was relegated to the margins, behind the Exposition's main building and up on the mountain of Montjuïc. By 1916, the detachment of the Junta from the initial electricity project was made evident by the need of the Asociación de Industriales Electricistas de Cataluña to 'recall' that 'the idea of celebrating an Exposition of Electrical Industries in Barcelona germinated' in one of their assemblies.[225] The association filed a complaint in which their members requested to be reimbursed for the expenses of the trip they had made to Madrid in 1914 in order to present the project to the central

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[222] Pich i Pon was a self-made man and a foundational member of the Radical Republican Party, with which he would become deputy of the Barcelona City Council, of the Barcelona Provincial Government, and later a Senator and a member of the Spanish Parliament ('Cortes'). See Jordi Ferran Boleda, "Els públics de l'electricitat a Catalunya (1929-1936): De la Font Màgica de Montjuïc a la difusió dels electrodomèstics" (Doctoral Thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2013), 42.

[223] Ibid. On the industrial colonies of the Llobregat river, see Gràcia Dorel-Ferré, "La qüestió de les colònies industrials: un fenomen discutit de la història industrial de la Catalunya dels segles XIX i XX", *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics*, no. 14 (2003): 97–112.

[224] On the history of the electricity industry in Catalonia, see Horacio Capel, "La electricidad en Cataluña, una historia por hacer", in *Las Tres Chimeneas. Implantación industrial, cambio tecnológico y transformación de un espacio urbano barcelonés*, vol. 3, 3 vols. (Barcelona: FECSA, 1994), 165–216.

[225] "Actes de la Junta directiva", July 28, 1916, [16–17], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

government. In response, the Junta felt the need to acknowledge that the original idea for the Exposition had come from this society, as well as highlighting the 'importance of the works carried out by that Association',[226] which can be read as a polite gesture towards an organisation, and a project, that had by then been dismissed. In addition to this, the planned architectures for the 'Exposition of Electric Industries' were never built, as works started on the Spanish Section. By 1924, when Puig resigned as architect in chief of the Exposition after Primo's coup, not even that part had been completed.[227] The project was continued during Primo's dictatorship and the Exposition finally took place between May 1929 and January 1930. Although electric industries were included, they lost the centrality, and featured alongside metallurgical and textile industries, applied and graphic arts, agriculture, and sports.[228]

Historians have commonly argued that the shift from electricity to Spanish art and industry was the consequence of an imposition by the Spanish government, which the Catalan promoters accepted as a lesser evil.[229] However, archival evidence suggests otherwise. The following pages will not only show that the centrality of the Spanish display was conceived in Barcelona, but it will also reveal the crucial lack of support for the 'electricity project' by a series of key Catalan figures, due to several economic, political, and cultural circumstances.

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[226] Ibid.

[227] Puig wrote the letter of resignation on 27 January 1924, and this was accepted by the new board on 19 April. He stated that the substitution of all the members of the executive board of the Exposition, following the governmental change, forced him to give up all the commissions that he had received from the previous Junta: 'la renovació completa dels comitès i Junta que regeixen l'Exposició de Barcelona crec m'obliga a posar en les seves mans la dimissió dels encárrecs que de les passades Juntes vaig tenir l'honor de rebre'. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Carta de dimissió adreçada al President de la Junta de l'Exposició de Barcelona", January 27, 1924, UC 259, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

[228] For a complete overview of Barcelona 1929, see Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*.

[229] Josep Emili Hernández-Cros and Miguel Usandizaga Calparsoro, "L'Exposició de la muntanya perduda. Precisions sobre la urbanització de Montjuic: 1859-1929", in *L'Exposició internacional de Barcelona del 1929: arquitectura i arts decoratives* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1980), 21; Davidson, "Observing the City, Mediating the Mountain: Mirador and the 1929 International Exposition of Barcelona."

3.1 Precedents: An Exposition of Electric Industries?

As early as 1905, and parallel to Puig's speech 'A votar per l'Exposició Universal', several commercial and industrial organisations in Barcelona investigated the possibility of a new Exposition in the city. Francesc d'Assís Mas, an executive of the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce, visited Liège's International Exposition – which ran from April to November 1905 – and presented reports to the Chamber and to the Sociedad de Industriales Mecánicos y Metalarios de Barcelona.[230] In 1908, he published a further report with suggestions for the celebration of a future Exposition in Barcelona.[231] Plans were made for the event to be held between 1911 and 1914, but they were stopped due to a lack of funding.[232]

Puig himself also gathered information on contemporaneous World Fairs. In 1910, H. Cañellas sent him two postcards of the Brussels Universal Exposition. One of them depicts the 'Entrée de Bruxelles – Kermesse' and the other one the 'Pavillon de la Hollande'. At the back of the postcards, Cañellas informed Puig that he was also sending him the general plan of the site so that he could 'get an idea of the situation of the pavilions and the distribution of the Exposition'. Unfortunately, this plan has not been preserved. Cañellas added that he thought the distribution of the Exposition was only remarkable because it was 'right next to the Bois de la Cambre' but that, regardless of that, the 'variety of its architectures' and its 'colourfulness' attracted some 30,000 daily visitors.[233]

Puig visited some of these events. Paul Lambotte, curator of Fine Arts in 1913 Gent International, wrote to him requesting a photograph to issue his

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230 Ferran Boleda, "Els públics de l'electricitat a Catalunya (1929-1936)", 42.
231 Ibid.
232 Francesc d'Assís Mas, *Las Exposiciones Universales e internacionales: su estudio económico y administrativo* (Barcelona: Jaime Benet, 1910); cited in Ferran Boleda, "Els públics de l'electricitat a Catalunya (1929-1936)", 42.
233 'Si no fos el trobar-se al costat mateix del 'bois de la cambre', jo crec que com a distribució no val pas gran cosa. Mes naturalment que la diversitat de construccions que s'hi veuen i la multitud de coloraines fan d'ella com de totes les altres un centre on s'hi reuneixen cada dia aquelles 30.000 persones'. "[Postcards from H. Cañellas to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", 1910, UC 1192, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

accreditation with permanent entrance to the Exposition.[234] Puig may also have exhibited some of his works here, as another letter from Lambotte suggests.[235] His correspondence with Georges Benoît–Lévy indicates that Puig also exhibited in – and maybe visited – the Lyon International Urban Exposition, also held in 1913. In his letter, Benoît–Lévy asks Puig to send him information on 'everything concerning the modern city', and in particular photographs of 'the model factories you have built, of your type of villas, etc'.[236]

None of these Expositions – Liège 1905, Brussels 1910, Gent 1913, and Lyon 1913 – included electricity displays.[237] In fact, by 1913 electricity Expositions were about to go out of fashion. Displays of technological developments like electricity had been present in World Fairs since London's 1851 Great Exposition.[238] After the presentation of Edison's bulbs and Bell's telephone in Philadelphia 1876, electricity exhibits became especially popular during the 1880s, particularly in the United States. Nevertheless, their popularity decreased throughout the 1890s and the early 1900s, with the last World Fairs to give electricity a central role being Saint Louis 1904 and San Francisco 1915.

Although the Junta created in 1913 was nominally dedicated to the organisation of an 'International Exposition of Electric Industries and Their Applications', plans soon evolved in another direction. The leader of this drive was Francesc Cambó (1876-1947), a crucial figure in the Catalan political, economic and cultural scene during the 1910s and the 1920s. Like Puig, he was a prominent member of the Lliga Regionalista and, in alliance with the Spanish Conservative Party, he eventually became a Minister of the Spanish government, in 1918 and in 1921. He was also a very successful businessman, who would later have strong interests in the Hispano–American Electricity

234 "[Letter from Paul Lambotte to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", 1913, UC 1451, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
235 "[Letter from Paul Lambotte to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", March 3, 1913, UC 1451, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
236 Georges Benoît-Lévy, "[Letter from Georges Benoît-Lévy to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 21, 1913, UC 1129, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
237 Based on a chart by Ferran Boleda, "Els públics de l'electricitat a Catalunya (1929-1936)", 40.
238 Ibid.

Company (CHADE), based in Buenos Aires.[239] It is easy to assume that Cambó's relationship with this electricity company underpinned his promotion of an Exposition of Electrical Industries in Barcelona. However, he only became involved with CHADE in 1920 and the Junta de la Exposición's meeting records reveal that he did not sponsor electricity as the core subject of the Exposition, but on the contrary discouraged it.

In the first meeting of the Junta, on the 20 December 1913, Cambó cast doubt on the benefits of an Exposition focussed exclusively on electricity and its applications, and suggested that these were complemented by a display of 'national or regional products'.[240] Cambó insisted on this idea during the second meeting, on the 17 January 1914, and the project took shape as two separate commissions were created, one for the planning and budgeting of the 'Exposición de Industrias Eléctricas' ('Exposition of Electric Industries'), and another for the 'Exposición de Industrias y Productos Nacionales' ('Exposition of National Industries and Products'). That same day Cambó was designated – together with Pich i Pon – as general curator of the event.[241] A third commission was formed with the purpose of liaising with the Spanish government, which reinforces the idea that the project of a dual Exposition emerged in Barcelona and was later presented to the central government. Indeed, Cambó and other members of the board presented the project to the King Alfonso XIII and President Eduardo Dato at a meeting in Seville that took place from the 9 to the 11 February 1914. This meeting was successful: the members of the Catalan board telegraphed the Barcelona press about it daily, and on their arrival from Seville they expressed their satisfaction with their stay, as 'in the audience granted by the King they received from Alfonso's lips expressions of enthusiastic encouragement and of sincere empathy towards

[239] Rafael Alcalde, "Cambó a la CHADE: l'inici dolç i el final amarg", *Recerques: Història, economia i cultura*, no. 52 (2006): 211–30; Gabriela Dalla-Corte Caballero, "Empresas, instituciones y red social: la Compañía Hispanoamericana de Electricidad (CHADE) entre Buenos Aires y Barcelona", *Revista de Indias* LXVI, no. 237 (2005): 519–44; Enric Ucelay-Da Cal, "La dimensión desconocida: Cambó en Buenos Aires, entre Franco y Perón, 1941-1946", *Historia social*, no. 48 (2004): 87–109.

[240] "Actes de la Junta directiva", December 20, 1913, Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

[241] "Actes de la Junta directiva", January 17, 1914, Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

the great project that Barcelona prepares'. President Dato also offered to discuss the granting of a ten million pesetas subvention in the Spanish Parliament.[242] The extent of the press coverage was such that Cambó considered it unnecessary to debrief his colleagues during the following meeting of the Junta on the 27 February, as, he said, the trip had been sufficiently described in the media.[243] Shortly afterwards, the first tentative dates for the event were fixed: April to October 1917.[244] The subvention was confirmed a few months later after a second trip to Madrid, in May 1914,[245] and in July the Spanish Parliament passed the Act which granted the Exposition an official status.[246]

Based on this evidence, it is difficult to argue that what came to be known as the Spanish Section was alien to the project of the Catalan bourgeoisie for the Exposition, let alone that it was imposed by the Madrid government. A purely economic analysis of this same evidence may suggest that granting the financial support of the central government was a pivotal motive for the incorporation of the Spanish Section to the project of the Exposition, especially if one takes into account Cambó's insistence on the importance of the government's support. 'An Exposition of this kind', he said, 'is the magnum opus of a generation […] and to accomplish it, it is necessary to have a combination of several elements and especially the cooperation of the State, particularly with regards to the economic aspect'. Without this economic support, he argued, it would be 'impossible' to host the Exposition.[247] Nevertheless, even if finances played a role in Cambó's decision of including a display of Spain in the Exposition, the significance that this display of Spain acquired certainly

[242] "L'Exposició de Barcelona", *La Veu de Catalunya*, February 12, 1914.
[243] "Actes de la Junta directiva", February 27, 1914, Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.
[244] "Actes de la Junta directiva", March 14, 1914, Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.
[245] "Actes de la Junta directiva", May 16, 1914, Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.
[246] "Actes de la Junta directiva", July 10, 1914, Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.
[247] "Actes de la Junta directiva", April 25, 1914, [5–7], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

surpassed that of a financial compromise, as we shall see in detail in the following paragraphs.

The need to accompany the display of electricity with a 'General Spanish Exposition' was based on the fact that, according to Cambó, electricity and its applications were 'foreign products':

> Mr. Cambó […] said that […] Expositions should undoubtly specialise on one topic nowadays, as the time of Universal Expositions was long gone, but that it was necessary to reflect on the consequences it may have for the Nation and especially for Barcelona to merely hold an Exposition of foreign products.

Thus, he invited the Junta to reflect on the 'usefulness' of opening an Exposition of 'national or regional products' alongside the electricity display.[248] This idea is later reinforced in a letter written by Puig shortly after the opening of the Exposition in 1929. It was addressed to a Michel Massot and to Jeanne Vielliard (1894-1979), a historian of the medieval period, who translated Puig's *Els orígens i la geografia del primer art romànic* into French in 1935.[249] The undated letter is a typescript held at the ANC. Its aims are not fully transparent, but the content suggests that it was produced shortly after the opening of the Exposition in 1929, as Puig compares his original project with its final realisation under Primo's regime. Reflecting on his original plan for the Exposition, he retrospectively explains that 'it was soon understood' that an

[248] '[…] el Sr. Cambó […] dijo que […] indudablemente debían hoy día las Exposiciones especializarse por haber pasado ya la época de las universales, pero que era preciso meditar en las consecuencias que pudiera tener para la Nación y en especial para Barcelona el celebrar meramente una Exposición de productos extranjeros; y que aun cuando él consideraba como muy conveniente en las presentes circunstancias la obra iniciada, estimaba oportuno que todos los reunidos reflexionaran respecto la utilidad de abrir junto aquella Exposición otra de productos nacionales o regionales'. "Actes de la Junta directiva", December 20, 1913.

[249] On Vielliard, see Geneviève Faye, "Une historienne à l'ombre de la communauté scientifique: Jeanne Vielliard (1894-1979)", in *Histoires d'historiennes*, ed. Nicole Pellegrin (Université de Saint-Etienne, 2006), 349–65; and also "Hommage à Mlle Jeanne Vielliard, Directrice honoraire de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes", *Institut de recherches et d'histoire des textes. Bulletin* 15 (1969).

Exposition on electricity would be 'foreign', and that local technicians would not have the knowledge necessary to make it attractive to the general public.[250]

The labelling of electricity as 'foreign' both by Cambó and Puig seems paradoxical, if we take into account that Catalonia had an emergent electric industry and that it was the professional association of businessmen in this sector who promoted the celebration of the Exposition. Their words may echo a concomitant shift that reformulated the role of those Catalan entrepreneurs in the development of electric industry in the country. In the early 1910s, two companies funded with foreign capital – the Canadian Barcelona Traction, Light and Power, and the French–Swiss Energía Eléctrica de Cataluña – had started the electrification of the northern half of Catalonia, which aimed at providing Barcelona's factories with large–scale and affordable electric energy using hydraulic resources in the Pyrenees.[251] Barcelona Traction's factory in the city was popularly known as 'La Canadenca', due to the Canadian origin of the firm, and acquired a place in Barcelona's public memory due to the winter 1919 strike, which left the city's industry in the dark.[252] The use of hydroelectric energy, coupled with technological improvements such as the introduction of alternating current, marked a turning point in the amount of energy available and its cost, and it also had an impact on redefining the agents and markets of the sector. Until then, energy for Barcelona-based factories had been produced locally in the city, in small and independent thermoelectric plants.[253] From 1914 onwards electricity would be provided entirely by those two corporate groups, Barcelona Traction and Energía Eléctrica de Cataluña, which arguably had a monopolist agenda.[254] Over the course of their existence,

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250 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [1929], UC 249, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

251 Luis Urteaga, "El proceso de electrificación en Cataluña (1881-2000)", in *Obras Públicas en Cataluña. Presente, pasado y futuro* (Barcelona: Real Academia de Ingeniería, 2003), 355–76. Special thanks to Joan Falgueras for bringing this passage of the history of electricity in Catalonia to my attention.

252 For a discussion of the social tensions of the late 1910s in Barcelona, see Angel Smith, "The Catalan Counter-Revolutionary Coalition and the Primo de Rivera Coup, 1917-23", *European History Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 13–21 especially.

253 There were also industrial colonies along the Llobregat river, extending from Barcelona to the Pyrenees, and which used mostly hydraulic energy. See Dorel-Ferré, "La Qüestió de les colònies industrials."

254 Urteaga, "El proceso de electrificación en Cataluña (1881-2000)."

those small–scale Catalan electricity producers had been in constant need of new markets for the modest and expensive energy they produced, and repeatedly failed to make electricity widely used in public lighting and private homes.[255] In contrast, Barcelona Traction and Energía Eléctrica de Cataluña focussed on one single but expanding market, industry, which could benefit from the more affordable and powerful energy they provided. Thus, those who had led the development of electricity in Catalonia during the first years of the century, and who had envisaged an Exposition of Electric Industries as a way of expanding their market, were by 1914 no longer shaping the sector. This role had been taken over by two new companies, Barcelona Traction and Energía Eléctrica de Cataluña, which had prominent foreign funding, used new instruments and had new objectives. Their focus on industry as a market for electricity, together with the – temporary – abandoning of the former project of extending the use of electricity into the public and private sectors, may explain why, in 1914, a large Exposition of Electric Industries was no longer considered a priority. At that time, there was no longer a need to diversify markets, but rather an interest in focusing on a single one: industry. This also explains why, fifteen years later, electricity did eventually find a place in the final layout of the Exposition celebrated in Barcelona in 1929: by then, the displays were used to foster the domestic uses of this energy, following the appearance of appliances such as electric refrigerators, cookers, irons, and the like.[256] Similarly, the existence, in 1914, of these two foreign–funded companies had resolved the long–standing problem of limited financial resources in Catalan industry, something that, since the early 1900s, had been consistently perceived as an obstacle to the development of the sector. If during the early years of the twentieth century the project of the Exposition responded to a strategy to attract foreign capital, by 1914 the participation of foreign investors in the establishment of the Pyrenees hydroelectric plants was firmly in place.

Barcelona Traction and Energía Eléctrica de Cataluña followed the strategy of incorporating some of the Catalan small entrepreneurs into their boards; some

[255] Ibid.
[256] On the dissemination of domestic uses of electricity in Catalonia in and after the 1929 Barcelona Exposition, see Ferran Boleda, "Els públics de l'electricitat a Catalunya (1929-1936)", 115–168.

of the designated members of the Junta of the Exposition were Catalan electric businessmen serving also as members of Barcelona Traction's board: these were the cases of the Marquis of Alella, the Count of Torroella de Montgrí, and the Marquis of Foronda.[257] It has been argued that the incorporation of these Catalan entrepreneurs into the new companies' administrative boards served to rally local support,[258] in a move that could be seen as illustrative of these companies' phagocyting of the former local industries.

Together with a shift in the modes and uses of electric energy, Cambó's and Puig's labelling of electricity as 'foreign' also points towards a shift in the articulation of Catalonia's engagement with modernity. In a speech at the Barcelona city council in April 1914, Cambó argued that the Exposition's initial focus on electricity had to be reconsidered as Barcelona would never be able to match the budget the United States government had just granted the forthcoming San Francisco World Fair.[259] Instead, Spain should display what the Americans didn't have: history. Thus, the display of 'international' electrical appliances should be accompanied by an Exposition of 'the whole of Spanish life', which would include 'past grandeurs resuscitated by recent archaeological findings […] or continued in a diverse industrial tradition'.[260] The development of the San Francisco Exposition remained a concern for the Junta also after it had been decided that the focus of the Barcelona event would not be electricity, as shown by the payment made in July 1916 to N. Orestes Guille for his report on the event.[261] A working document, datable to 1915, on one of the buildings projected by Puig for the Barcelona event corroborates the idea that, at the time, electricity was starting to be perceived as going out of fashion. The text defends the need to grant the building colossal dimensions and great interiors to attract visitors, as pretending that electricity alone would cause a

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257 Horacio Capel, "Innovación técnica, gestión empresarial y financiación en el capitalismo global de comienzos del siglo XX. Los casos de Brazilian Traction y Barcelona Traction" (Globalización, innovación y construcción de redes técnicas urbanas en América y Europa: Brazilian Traction-Barcelona Traction y otros conglomerados financieros y técnicos, 1890-1930, Barcelona, 2012), 15.
258 Ibid.
259 Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism*, 199; Jesús Pabón y Suárez de Urbina, *Cambó: 1876-1947* (Barcelona: Alpha, 1999), 342.
260 Pabón y Suárez de Urbina, *Cambó*, 342.
261 "Actes de la Junta directiva", July 28, 1916, [14].

great effect would lead to failure since 'electricity is not a novelty anymore, not even an exception, but [something] common'.[262]

In this context, Cambó's bet on a dual Exposition combining electrical and historical displays was visionary. In the April 1914 speech he presented his project of a dual Exposition as something that would be regarded as innovative when compared to 'those Expositions in vogue, which focus on one specialty'.[263] Cambó's defence of a display of Spanish history and traditions was imbued with a language of innovation. Cambó spoke of 'recent' archaeological findings to be displayed in the future Exposition, while Puig explained, in the aforementioned retrospective letter, that the reason behind the choice of Spanish ancient art was that it 'would be a discovery for Europe'.[264] 'History' and 'art' were not conservative or nostalgic topics, but exciting, novel and, ultimately, as modern as electricity.

3.2 From Light to Ancient Art

Archaeology was in vogue in Catalonia – and Spain – in the mid-1910s. Following the creation of the Institute of Catalan Studies (Institut d'Estudis Catalans or IEC, 1907) and the establishment of the federation of Catalan provinces known as the *Mancomunitat* in 1914, a Service for Archaeological Research was set up in 1915, prominently modelled on European patterns. The institutionalisation of archaeology in Catalonia followed a consistent tradition of amateur excavations since the mid–nineteenth century, which had been carried out under the label of history, history of art, architecture, and even geology. The transition from antiquarianism to professionalised and

[262] 'De otro modo, es decir, confiando el efecto a la luz eléctrica por el sólo hecho de serlo conduciría al fracaso, pues la luz eléctrica no es ya una novedad ni siquiera la excepción sino lo vulgar y corriente en materias de alumbrado. Esta circunstancia no debe perderse de vista, con el objeto de que al proyectar el palacio de la luz se tenga como ideal lo extraordinario y maravilloso'. "Palacio de la Luz. Grupo IV del Programa", 1915, [1], UC 253, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
[263] Pabón y Suárez de Urbina, *Cambó*, 342.
[264] "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [1].

institutionalised archaeology has been widely studied in recent years.[265] During the late 1800s, amateur archaeology in Catalonia evolved mostly around medieval sites, influenced by the French scholar Jean-Auguste Brutails (1859-1926), who worked extensively in the Roussillon, one of the Catalan counties in southern France.[266] In turn, prehistoric archaeology was firstly associated with the natural sciences, more specifically with Geology studies. In Barcelona, this kind of work was circumstantially carried out at the School of Theology.[267] The first campaigns were dedicated to megalithic burial chambers in the Pyrenees and their results began to be published in 1872[268]. This academic activity coexisted with more informal practices developed by excursionist societies like the Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques (1876-1890) or the Associació d'Excursions Catalana (1878-1890), later merged into the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya.[269] One of the leading figures was Lluís Marià Vidal (1842-1922), a mining engineer who was also an amateur geologist, archaeologist and photographer.[270] At the turn of the twentieth century, the study and practice of prehistoric archaeology in Catalonia shifted from the natural sciences to the humanities and became fully institutionalised. After the creation in 1907 of the Institute of Catalan Studies, excavations were

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265 For a global approach, see Françoise Choay, *L'allégorie du patrimoine* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1996); for a case study of the Catalan province of Girona, see Lluís Buscató i Somoza, "De l'antiquarisme a l'arqueologia. La protecció del patrimoni històric i arqueològic a la província de Girona (1835-1876)" (Universitat de Girona, 2011).

266 Olivier Poisson, *Jean-Auguste Brutails, l'arqueologia francesa i l'aparició de l'arqueologia monumental catalana a finals del segle XIX* (Barcelona: Amics de l'Art Romànic, 2006).

267 Eduard Riu-Barrera, "L'arqueologia a Lleida i a la Catalunya de ponent. Origen i evolució fins a la fi de la Dictadura franquista.", *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 4 (1994): 71–75. On the origins of prehistoric archaeology in the broader Spanish context, see José María Lanzarote Guiral, "Le naturaliste, l'archéologue, l'anthropologue: Les débuts de la préhistoire en Espagne (1859-1880)", *Bulletin du Musée d'anthropologie préhistorique de Monaco* 53 (2013): 29–41.

268 Riu-Barrera, "L'arqueologia a Lleida i a la Catalunya de ponent. Origen i evolució fins a la fi de la Dictadura franquista.", 121.

269 On Catalan excursionist societies, see Jordi Martí Henneberg, *L'excursionisme científic i la seva contribució a les ciències naturals i a la geografia* (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1994); Elisabet Andreu i Creus et al., *Bases socials de l'excursionisme català* (Granollers: Agrupació Excursionista de Granollers, 1997).

270 Julio Gómez-Alba, *Lluís Marià Vidal, 1842-1922: selecció d'obres: biografia* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Indústria i Energia. Direcció General d'Energia : Museu de Geologia : Instituto Tecnológico Geominero de España, 1992); Josep de C. Serra-Ràfols, *Materials de prehistòria catalana i la col·lecció prehistòrica Lluís Marià Vidal* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona. Seminari de Prehistòria, 1921).

conducted in rock art and proto-historic sites such as Cogul, Serinyà, Capellades and Calaceit – the latter in the Catalan-speaking region of Matarranya, beyond the administrative limits of Catalonia – and also in the ancient Greek colony of Empúries.[271] Shortly after that, in 1915, the aforementioned Service for Archaeological Research was founded.

Thus, the planning of the Barcelona International Exposition in the mid-1910s coincided with the emergence of archaeology as a professionalised and widely sponsored discipline. The creation of the Service of Archaeological Research in 1915 was a very ambitious enterprise, and was imbued with a strong sense of innovation and a notable European engagement. The research institution to which it belonged, the Institute of Catalan Studies had been modelled on prominent European academies such as the École des Hautes Études in France and the Società di Storia Patria in Italy. According to Gracia Alonso, following these countries' approach to modern research led to the decision of creating a new research organism rather than reforming an already existing one. Records of one of the first meetings of the IEC, in July 1907, show how this novelty was crucial to the very first conceptualisation of the institution. The IEC is described as 'a new body which, precisely because it was new, would be under more of an obligation to prove itself and could carry out more fruitful initiatives'.[272] At the Service of Archaeological Research itself, a very young archaeologist, Bosch i Gimpera, who had just finished his doctorate in Berlin, was appointed its first director.[273] Bosch was commissioned with the task of organising a service modelled on what he had seen in Germany, and research took on an eminently empirical tone.[274]

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[271] Francisco Gracia Alonso, "Archaeology and Nationalism: The Development of Archaeology in Catalonia in the Early Twentieth Century", *Complutum* 24, no. 2 (2013): 139–140.
[272] Ibid., 137–138.
[273] There is a wide bibliography on Bosch. See especially Francisco Gracia Alonso, *Pere Bosch Gimpera: universidad, política, exilio* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2011); Francisco Gracia Alonso, Josep Maria Fullola Pericot, and Francesc Vilanova, *58 anys i 7 dies: correspondència de Pere Bosch Gimpera a Lluís Pericot (1919-1974)* (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 2002).
[274] Cortadella i Morral, "L'Institut d'Estudis Catalans i el Museu d'Arqueologia", 62; Riu-Barrera, "L'arqueologia a Lleida i a la Catalunya de ponent. Origen i evolució fins a la fi de la Dictadura franquista.", 121.

Archaeology in Catalonia was, by 1915, a modern discipline that enabled a connection with European ways of doing research, and which also provided an opportunity to showcase cutting-edge academic modernity within the country.[275] This explains why, once electricity was deemed as an inappropriate core subject for the Exposition, attention shifted towards archaeology – and more broadly, to art and history. Some may argue that this shift towards archaeology and history responded to the common use of these disciplines in nation-building processes.[276] But the case discussed here presents an especially complex national dynamics, as Cambó and Puig did not conceive an Exposition of Catalan art and history, but – in Puig's own words – one of 'all of Spain's art', as will be widely discussed in Chapter 4.

The shift from electricity to ancient art and history as the main subject of Puig's project for the Barcelona International Exposition took shape in a rather plastic way. In 1915, the first plan of the site featured a 'Palace of Light', dedicated to the display of electrical artefacts and fantasies, as the central building of the Exposition. Only one year later, in 1916, this had been replaced by a 'Palace of Ancient Art' ('Palau d'Art Antic').

In 1915, Puig was commissioned to design a general urban plan for the event, which included both a display of Spanish art and history and an Exposition of Electric Industries. At this stage, Puig was not officially designated as the architect in chief of the Exposition, nor is there any formal mention of the commission in the Junta's records, but there is evidence of a payment of 18,000 pesetas made to Puig for a 'preliminary draft of the whole Exposition'

[275] In the early twentieth century, the engagement of peripheral European countries with international intellectualism was perceived as a way of bringing Modernity to their small, sometimes regarded as backward, countries. See Nygård and Strang, "Facing Asymmetry – Nordic Intellectuals and Center-Periphery Dynamics in European Cultural Space."

[276] On the particular cases of Spain and Catalonia, see Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Archaeology and Nationalism in Spain", in *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, ed. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Gracia Alonso, "Archaeology and Nationalism: The Development of Archaeology in Catalonia in the Early Twentieth Century."

in the proceedings of 7 October 1915.[277] However, the records suggest that Puig's plan was used as a reference for works on the site from July, when the flattening of the central avenue was scheduled to begin.[278] Nevertheless, the works did not effectively start until September that year.[279]

The vista in Figure 12, signed in April that year,[280] is the most well–known image of this preliminary plan for the site.[281] Together with this vista, Puig traced a complete floor plan of the site, which he presented in different sizes and formats, from a detailed 1:2000 scale one to a quartile-size one. The layout of the Exposition was structured along a main avenue from Plaça Espanya square to the mountain of Montjuïch [see Figure 13]. The main entrance was set in the square, which acted as a linkage point with the city.[282] The display of Spain occupied the first and main part of the site, on the plain between the square and the mountain, whereas the exhibits on electricity and its appliances were set later on, at the top of the mountain, and behind the Palace of Light. A third section connecting the Exposition to the sea–side balcony of the mountain, to be called 'Miramar', emerged in one of its laterals.

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277 "Actes de la Junta directiva", October 7, 1915, [10], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

278 "Actes de la Junta directiva", July 9, 1915, [5], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

279 Hernández-Cros and Usandizaga Calparsoro, "L'Exposició de la muntanya perduda. Precisions sobre la urbanització de Montjuic: 1859-1929", 22.

280 Ibid.

281 It has been published in Josep Emili Hernàndez-Cros, "La Segunda Exposición Universal de Barcelona. Cinco Flash-Backs", *CAU* 57 (1979): 40; Hernández-Cros and Usandizaga Calparsoro, "L'Exposició de la muntanya perduda. Precisions sobre la urbanització de Montjuic: 1859-1929", 23; Josep M. Rovira, "La funció segueix la forma: el Poble Espanyol de Montjuïc", in *L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona del 1929. Arquitectura i arts decoratives* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1980), 37; Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*, 56; Mendelson, "El Poble Espanyol / El Pueblo Español (1929)", 7.

282 On the impact of Puig's project on the urbanism of Barcelona, see Solà-Morales, "L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona (1914-1929) com a instrument de política urbana."



Figure 12. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *Exposició Barcelona MDCCCCXVII* [1915], UC 229/230, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

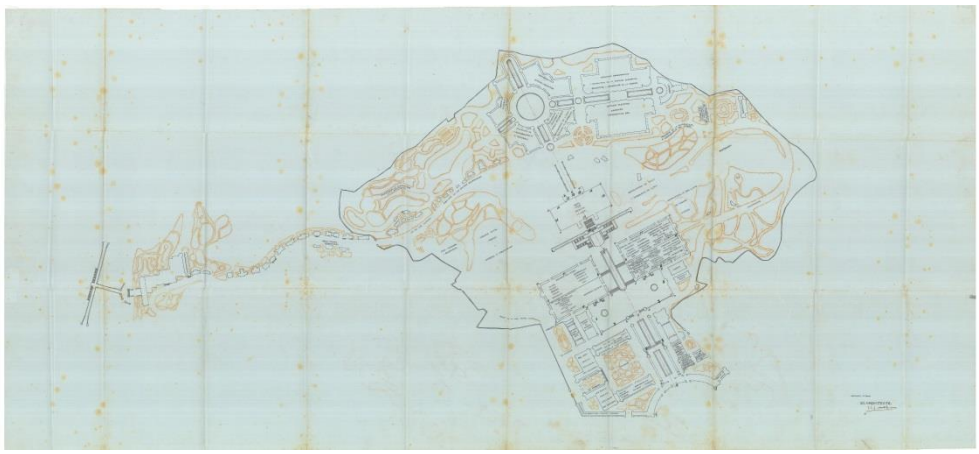


Figure 13. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, [Plànol de l'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona], [1915], UC 252, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

Shortly after completing this general plan, the project was divided in three parts and a different group of architects commissioned for each. Puig was allocated, together with Guillem Busquets, the so-called 'National Exposition', which subsequently came to be known as 'Spanish Section'. He was asked to develop 'the architectural studies related to the National Exposition and its linkage to the International one' as early as 19 June 1915, and the official commission then arrived on 18 October. The design of the 'International Exposition' – covering electric industries – was allocated to Puig's mentor,

Domènech i Montaner, together with Manuel Vega i March (1871-1931), while August Font i Carreras (1846-1924) – who had built the lantern of the cathedral of Barcelona just a few years earlier – and the well-known *Modernista* architect Enric Sagnier (1858-1931) were responsible for the Miramar section and the linkage to the harbour.[283] In the updated version of the plan for the Spanish Section that Puig presented only a few months later [see Figure 14], the Palace of Light disappeared, being replaced by a Palace of Ancient Art that had originally had a more secondary position on one of the laterals of the main, central avenue. The structure of the Spanish Section was overall simplified and, beneath the Palace of Ancient Art, two other pavilions would complement the exhibits on 'Modern Art'. The latter are the only two main buildings of the Exposition that Puig completed before his resignation in 1923, and which were subsequently renamed Palace of Alfonso XIII and Palace of Victoria Eugenia. The Exposition had originally been planned to take place in 1917 – as can be read in the vista caption – but works advanced at a very slow pace and were further complicated by the First World War and Primo's coup, which resulted in the event only opening in 1929. In lieu of the Palace of Ancient Art, a different team of architects built a 'National Palace' ('Palau Nacional') between 1926 and 1929, loosely based on Puig's and Busquets' design, and which now hosts the National Museum of Art of Catalonia (MNAC). Some areas of the mountain of Montjuic that were devoted to the display of electric industries in the original plan finally hosted, among others, the sports section and the aforementioned Pueblo Español.[284]

[283] "[Commissions to Josep Puig i Cadafalch on the Occasion of the Barcelona International Exposition]", 1915, UC 259, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
[284] On the final realisation of the Exposition in 1929, see, among others, Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*, 67–74.

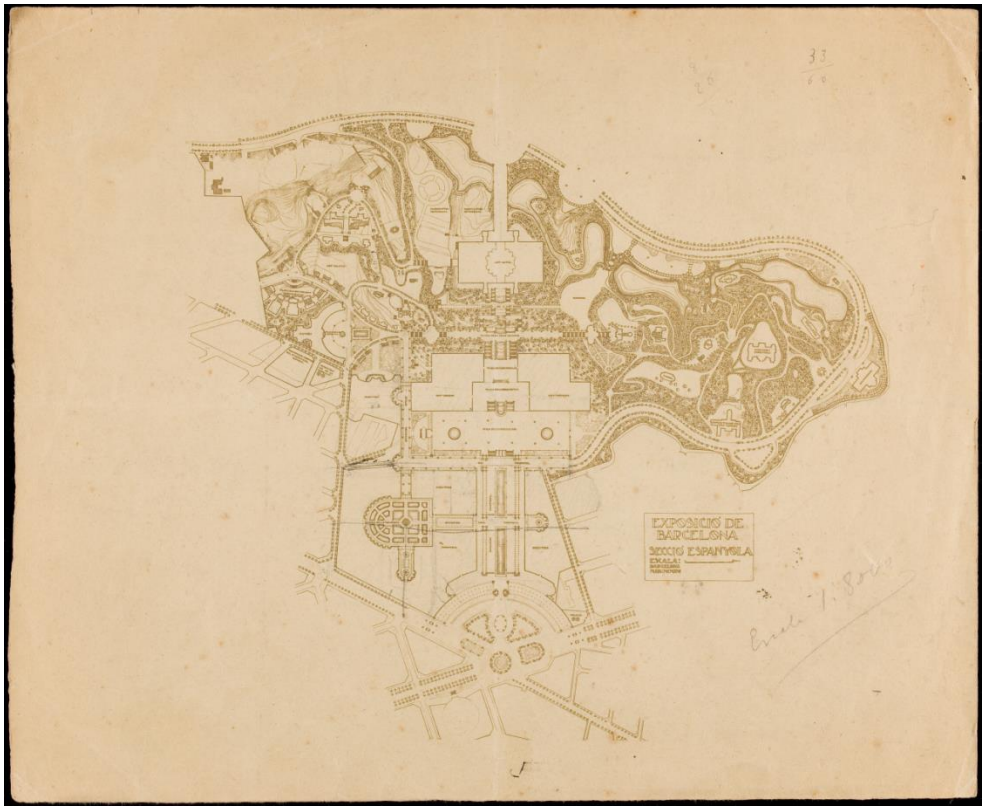


Figure 14. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *Exposició de Barcelona. Secció Espanyola* [1916], UC 229/230, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

It has been argued that Puig's choice of the National over the International Section was driven by the possibility of working with a larger area and developing the link to the city.[285] Although he was certainly interested in the urban planning aspect of the project, as discussed in Chapter 2, the nature and the dimension of his involvement in designing the display of Spain suggests that he was more than tangentially interested in projecting a specific vision of the country, as the following chapter will discuss.

3.3 Conclusion

A superficial reading of the replacement of the Palace of Light by the Palace of Ancient Art might lead to consider that the updated project of the Exposition was no longer representing an idea of Modernity; however, as has been argued,

[285] Hernández-Cros and Usandizaga Calparsoro, "L'Exposició de la muntanya perduda. Precisions sobre la urbanització de Montjuic: 1859-1929", 27.

in early–twentieth–century Catalonia ancient archaeology was perceived as being as modern and novel as electrical light. Outlining the characterization of archaeological research as a feature of modernity during the planning for the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition allows a rethinking of the dynamics of representation of archaeology and other related disciplines vis a vis more explicitly technological improvements such as electricity. The nonlinear reception of electricity in Catalonia, being promoted as an object for mass consumption when local entrepreneurs were seeking new markets, but discarded as non-fashionable once the sector had shifted towards less public uses of electricity, also informs on the contextual character of the configuration as 'modern' of technological developments. As we have seen, this context was not only shaped by business dynamics, but also by the logics of world fairs – by 1914, the once very novel subject of electricity was already in decline as a display topic – and by identity politics. In this sense, the creation, in 1914, of the proto-autonomous federation of provinces of the *Mancomunitat*, certainly had an impact on the configuration of the Exposition. Both Puig and Cambó, the main figures behind the project, were leading members of the Lliga Regionalista, the party that dominated the Catalan political scene from the early 1900s to the mid-1920s. From the beginning, the Lliga showed a prominent interest in settling research institutions, first with the creation, in 1907, of the Institute of Catalan Studies, and later on with initiatives such as the Service for Archaeological Research (1915) and the funding of numerous ethnographic, photographic, and artistic inventories. This shows the important role that research had in the configuration of modern Catalonia. It should not come as a surprise, then, that academic knowledge was chosen as the core topic of one of the most important public events the government of the *Mancomunitat* engaged with, the Barcelona International Exposition. Academic knowledge, and not merely Spanish art and history, was, as will be discussed in the following chapter, what provided the project of the Exposition with a *Catalanista* agenda.

Chapter 4: Defining National Identity: Imagining a Catalonia-led Spain

What idea of Spain – and of Catalonia – was conveyed in Puig's design for the Spanish Section?

World Fairs have long been powerful mechanisms for the dissemination of narratives of the nations that hosted them. According to Greenhalgh, 'it was the French who first exploited the potential of Expositions as carriers of nationalist ideas'. After the Revolution, display events 'were amongst the first manifestations of a new era', he says, 'in which 'Frenchness' had to be redefined and then collectively loved by the population'.[286] Bennett has looked at the creation and dissemination of 'messages of power' in the context of the expansion of modern display spaces such as World Fairs but also museums, and has identified the 'exhibitionary complex' as the tool with which national and other narratives of power permeated people's hearts and minds.[287] In Puig's hands, the 'exhibitionary complex' of the Barcelona Exposition became even more powerful as he was in charge of both the architectural and the display designs.

Indeed, the general floor plan of the Exposition that Puig presented in 1915 included a detailed display programme of the Spanish Section [Figure 15, page 107]. Labels are written inside or next to each pavilion. Some include lists of what should be exhibited, others only name a general theme. This display programme offers an extraordinary insight on how Puig and Cambó, who was the curator of the Exposition, and by extension the Lliga Regionalista, conceived Spain in the mid-1910s. However, while the accompanying vista [Figure 12, page 102] has been discussed in many publications since the 1970s, the floor plan has been mostly ignored. Several copies of the plan are currently held at the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, and at least some of these versions were known before the release of Puig's archive in 2006. A small version of it

[286] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 114.
[287] See Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 60–61.

was published in 1980 and, despite not reproducing it, Ignasi de Solà-Morales' description of the site suggests that he saw a map very similar to the ones in the archive.[288] It was detailed enough, for example, to include a written reference to a section on 'Tipos de la vida rural española'.

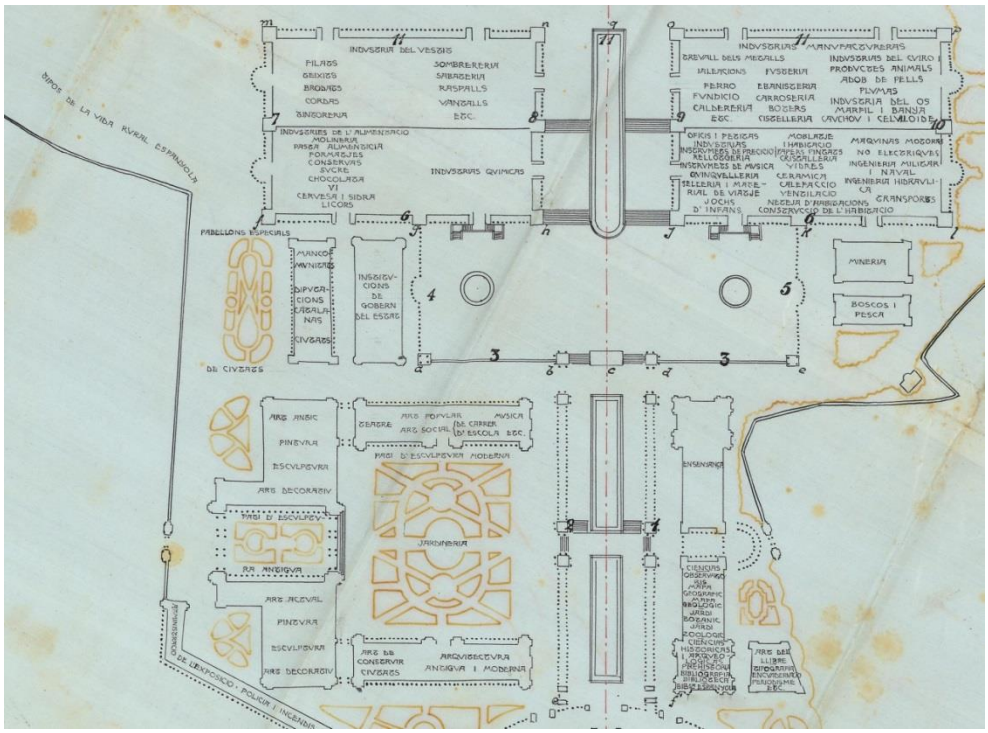


Figure 15. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, [Plànol de l'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona, detail of the Spanish Section], [1915], UC 252, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

By ignoring this display programme, existing historiography has highlighted the *visual* aspect of Puig's project and obscured its programmatic content. Puig's original plan for the Exposition has been emptied and refilled with pre-conceptions of what the Exposition would have been like. Because Puig's project was planned at the heyday of cultural and political Catalanism – just one year after the creation of the *Mancomunitat* – the mainstream interpretation is that this was a *Catalan* Exposition and that as such it was inherently incompatible with any display of *Spanishness*. That is why many historians suggested that the initial Exposition of Electric Industries was a Catalan

[288] Hernández-Cros and Usandizaga Calparsoro, "L'Exposició de la muntanya perduda. Precisions sobre la urbanització de Montjuic: 1859-1929", 22; Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*, 55–61, 133–134.

'nationalist' project, and that the display of Spanish history and art was an imposition from the government in Madrid that involved reducing its 'nationalistic character' and was reluctantly accepted by the Catalan bourgeoisie as a compensation for being granted the possibility of celebrating the event.[289] Chapter 3 has shown the extent to which the idea of the Spanish Section was in fact born at the core of political and cultural Catalanism. By looking at the contents and containers of the display, this chapter offers a reading of it as a Catalan project, as both a mise-en-scène of Puig's idealised vision of Spain and a materialisation of Cambó's political vision for the country. As we shall see, Puig viewed Spain as an essentially diverse country, a diversity that he can then use to cast a new, Catalonia-led, image of Spain. Here, the use of the verb 'cast' is not accidental, but aims at highlighting the plastic and material nature of Puig's contribution to this configuration of a new Spain. Thus, the present chapter looks at previously unpublished architectural floor plans, designs and textual documents, and it analyses the remaining buildings that materialised in light of Puig's theorisation of Castilian and Catalan historic architectures. In doing so, it discusses the seemingly contradictory nature of this Spanish-looking Catalan project, making the point that the Exposition not only aimed at displaying one specific view of Spain, but also that the source of its Catalan character was to be found underneath the surface, in the way those Spanish contents were organised and displayed.

4.1 Exhibiting 'All of Spain's Art'

In a retrospective text, Puig claimed that his display plan for the Barcelona International Exposition aimed at exhibiting 'all of Spain's art classified and carefully theorised.[290] This illustrates the two key features of the project that will be discussed in this section: its ambition, and its scientific ethos.

[289] Hernández-Cros and Usandizaga Calparsoro, "L'Exposició de la muntanya perduda. Precisions sobre la urbanització de Montjuic: 1859-1929", 21.
[290] '[…] tot l'art d'Espanya classificat, metoditzat minuciosament'. "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [3].

The ambition seems to have stemmed from Cambó, who in a meeting of the Junta in April 1915 suggested a collaboration of the Barcelona Board of Museums ('Junta de Museus') to 'proceed to catalogue the artistic wealth of Spain'. Prior to this, Cambó had already asked the Madrid-based historian of architecture Vicente Lampérez y Romea and the nobleman and amateur historian Joaquín de Arteaga y Echage, Duke of the Infantado (1870-1947) to collaborate respectively on the inventory of Spanish gothic monuments and ancient castles.[291] Just one month later, Puig was chosen by the Board of Museums, together with Jeroni Martorell, as spokespersons for the realisation of the inventory, and shortly after 50,000 pesetas were consigned for the 'formation of the graphic inventory and for obtaining reproductions'.[292] Puig thus became doubly – or, in fact, triply – involved in the organisation of the Exposition: as the architect responsible of the general layout, as the author of the architectural developing of the Spanish Section, and, on behalf of the Board of Museums, in charge of the 'Historic, Monumental and Artistic' display. Thus, although he was never a curator of the event – that position was held by Cambó and Pich i Pon – nor a member of the Exposition executive board, Puig's crucial role in the configuration of both the architectural and the displaying programme of the event is clear.

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[291] 'A propuesta, asimismo, del Comisario Sr. Cambó, fue decidido dirigirse a la Junta de Museos de Barcelona recabando su cooperación para proceder a la catalogación de la riqueza artística de España. Acordóse al propio tiempo haber visto con la mayor complacencia las relaciones entabladas por la Comisaría con los Sres. Lampérez y Duque del Infantado, de Madrid, relativas con el primero de los Sres. el inventario gráfico de los monumentos de arte gótico en España y con el segundo al de los Castillos antiguos, resolviendo la Junta expresarles el deseo que ella experimenta de contar con su valiosa cooperación'. "Actes de la Junta directiva", April 17, 1915, [3], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929. Vicente Lampérez y Romea, was an architect and art historian who specialised in medieval Spanish architecture. He has been considered the first modern historian of Spanish architecture and one of the first popularisers of art history within the Spanish educated classes. He was also a restorer of ancient monuments who participated, under the influence of Viollet-le-Duc, in the restoration of the cathedrals of León, Burgos, and Cuenca, among others. See Javier Rivera Blanco, "El comienzo de la Historia de la Arquitectura en España, Vicente Lampérez y Romea", in *Lecciones de los maestros: Aproximación histórico-crítica a los grandes historiadores de la arquitectura española*, ed. María Pilar Biel Ibáñez, and Ascensión Hernández Martínez (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" and Universidad de Zaragoza, 2011), 59–90.

[292] "Actes de la Junta directiva", May 19, 1915, [2], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929; "Actes de la Junta directiva", June 21, 1915, [5], Z103-47034, AMCB. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929.

The choice of a catalogue or inventory as the form through which to study and display Spain's art was not accidental. On the one hand, it reflected Puig's approach to art history writing, which was shaped by positivism. This originated in controversies surrounding Leopold von Ranke's historical method, the critique of sources, or *Quellenkritik*, which had become widely accepted in Germany – and much in the rest of Europe.[293] Positivist history writing incorporated the principles of scientific positivism in order to find historical laws that helped explain historical processes and causalities. This challenged Ranke's 'historicist' approach, which placed importance on the study of original sources and viewed historical phenomena as distinct products of their times, not as a part of longer processes. Puig's positivism has traditionally been considered a burden of the past, a slightly old fashioned adherence to nineteenth-century historiographical principles similar to that of Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1856-1937), a historian of medieval Catalonia with whom he shared several of the international research trips discussed in Part 3.[294] Nevertheless, Puig's approach had much in common with that of his international colleagues, whose 'positivism' did not stem from the mid-nineteenth-century critique of Ranke, but from a more recent reappraisal of the method. The first positivist challenge had led to a debate on the extent to which the natural sciences and 'cultural' sciences could share aims and methodologies, eventually resulting in Dilthey's ontological distinction between the *Geisteswissenschaften* (the 'sciences of the spirit') and the *Naturwissenschaften* (the 'sciences of nature'). This ultimately consolidated Ranke's *Quellenkritik* as

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293 Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguascha, and Attila Pók, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4: 1800-1945* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 60–62.

294 See Ramon Grau i Fernández, "El positivisme historiogràfic de Puig i Cadafalch i l'arquitectura catalana", in *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània*, ed. Albert Balcells (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 98; Jordi Casassas, "La historiografia del positivisme", in *Història de la historiografia catalana*, ed. Albert Balcells (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004), 182; Enric Pujol, "La historiografia del noucentisme i del període republicà", in *Història de la historiografia catalana*, ed. Albert Balcells (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004), 196–197. In this historiography, 'positivism' is often understood in a broad sense, reading it as a general adherence to an anti-Romantic, scientistic ethos rather than a specific interest in empirical observation of phenomena, to the point that Ranke's work on sources is also considered 'positivist'. See for instance Enric Pujol, "Positivisme historiogràfic", in *Tendències de la historiografia catalana*, ed. Antoni Simon i Tarrés (València: Universitat de València, 2009), 367.

the main method for the writing of history in Germany in the understanding that, on the basis of that ontological difference, methodologies specific to the natural sciences should not be used by the 'sciences of the spirit'. But towards the end of the century, another German, Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915), revived the positivist approach to history writing – with some innovations derived from fin-de-siècle psychology – in works such as *Deutsche Geschichte* ('German History'), published in twelve volumes between 1891 and 1901. His views were again mostly rejected in Germany, but were positively received in other academic cores such as France, Britain, and the United States.[295] They were also received warmly in Europe's borderlands. He heavily influenced the work of Nicolae Iorga, a Romanian historian who was a close collaborator of Puig's, and who features prominently in the analysis of the latter's international academic contacts carried out in Part 3. Lamprecht also found followers in Spain, particularly around the Centro de Estudios Históricos (Centre for Historical Studies) created in 1910 with the aim of 'provid[ing] a firmer historical foundation for Spanish national identity'.[296] His views seem to have been equally useful for the Catalan nation-building process. Lamprecht's emphasis on the study of 'collective phenomena' and his psychological approach inspired a conception of the Catalan people as a 'collective soul', as seen in the work of Antoni Rovira i Virgili (1882-1949). In 1922, the Catalan politician and journalist quoted Lamprecht in his book *Història nacional de Catalunya*, asserting that 'peoples' have 'souls' as 'peoples are psychically a unitary whole'. According to Rovira i Virgili, this means that there is a 'collective soul of society that produces socio-psychical phenomena that are common to the whole of society and different in each period'.[297] In Romania, Iorga argued along similar lines when he considered that 'Transylvania was Romanian […] not only because the majority of the population was Romanian,

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[295] Macintyre, Maiguascha, and Pók, *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, 60–62.
[296] Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, "Historical Writing in Spain and Portugal, 1720-1930", in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4: 1800-1945*, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguascha, and Attila Pók (Oxford University Press, 2011), 258–259. The CEH was founded shortly after the creation of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, in 1907, which allegedly served as an inspiration. See Julià Esteban Chaparría, "El Centro de Estudios Históricos y el Institut d'Estudis Catalans", in *1907: el paper de l'IEC en la història de l'art i en la restauració de monuments medievals a Catalunya i Europa*, ed. Raquel Lacuesta Contreras (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2009), 27–49.
[297] Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Història nacional de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Pàtria, 1922), 11.

but more importantly because its soul and spirit were Romanian'.[298] Whether or not Puig's own work was also directly influenced by Lamprecht is unknown, but his belonging to an international network of 'positivist' art historians seems evident. His positivist approach also becomes apparent in the contents of the display design for the Spanish Section. In the 1915 floor plan, a pavillion dedicated to the 'Sciences' included displays on 'Observatories', a 'Geographical Map', a 'Geological Map', a 'Botanical Garden', a 'Zoo' and, right next to those, 'Historical and Archaeological Sciences', and 'Prehistory' [see Figure 15, page 107].

Reading cultural and historical phenomena as if they were natural phenomena meant that they were to be understood not by looking at historical sources, but by gathering, observing, analysing and comparing large amounts of data on the elements studied. In the field of art history, gathering images became a crucial resource. And this is exactly what Puig and Martorell did while preparing the inventory of Spanish art for the Exposition. They constituted a team of researchers and photographers in order to create what came to be known as the *Repertori Iconogràfic d'Espanya* ('Iconographic Repertoire of Spain') which was eventually formed by over 80,000 record cards like the one shown in Figure 16. Initially, the repertoire was supposed to include, together with photographs, plaster reproductions of monuments, watercolours executed by art school students, dioramas of disappeared cities, and real pieces of art.[299] In the letter to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard, Puig recalls that the display of Spain 'demanded a long, large and extensive preparation', and he talks of the Exposition itself as a big archive, in which 'all of Spain's art' would be 'classified and carefully methodised'. The idea of hosting a grand Exposition with a predominance of art was probably a French inspiration, seen as the best

[298] Marius Turda, "Historical Writing in the Balkans", in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4: 1800-1945*, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguascha, and Attila Pók (Oxford University Press, 2011), 352.
[299] Àngels Casanovas i Romeu, "L'exposició de Barcelona del 1929 i el IV Congrés Internacional d'Arqueologia", in *Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya: 75 anys, 1935-2010: miscel·lània commemorativa*, ed. Jordi Rovira i Port (Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, 2010), 122–123.

expression of the national character since the time of Napoleon III.[300] Mirroring France, Puig's artistic archive would have been 'larger than the ones held [in Paris] at the Trocadero Library and at the Direction générale des Beaux-Arts in the rue Valois'.[301] It should be noted that the two French archives that Puig takes as references and aims to surpass were formed during the same period, the Third Republic, a moment which, like the Catalan government *Mancomunitat*, was characterised by a major effort in the creation of public cultural and educational institutions.[302] Puig ends this fragment asserting that the archive of Spanish art would not only be larger than the French ones but also more 'novel' and 'unprecedented'. This strengthens his earlier point on Spanish ancient art being a discovery for Europe, and also links with the previous discussion of archaeology and history as by-products of Modernity in the eyes of the Barcelona Exposition's organisers. In the 1930s, the *Repertori* was split in two and the art files were moved to the newly created National Museum of Art (MNAC), while the archaeological ones were gathered in the Museum of Archaeology (MAC), where they still remain today.[303]

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300 Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 115.

301 The 'Trocadero Library' may be the library of the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, founded in 1878 on the occasion of the Paris Universal Exposition and a precedent of today's Musée de l'homme. The museum's library gathered mainly ethnographical and archaeological collections and has been considered one of the axial sites for the development of French anthropology during the 19th and 20th centuries. See Emmanuelle Sibeud, "La bibliothèque du Musée de l'homme: un corpus menacé", *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 3, no. 2 (2000): 185. On the other hand, Rue Valois was the site of the headquarters of the Direction générale des Beaux-Arts in Paris, the equivalent of today's Ministry of culture.

302 See James R. Lehning, *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Third Republic* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001).

303 Casanovas i Romeu, "L'Institut d'Estudis Catalans i el Museu d'Arqueologia", 122–123. On the *Repertori*, see also Pilar Blesa and Alicia Cornet, "El Repertorio Iconográfico de Arte Español: análisis de las imágenes de Salamanca", *Culturas de archivo: Fondos y nuevos documentos* 2 (2003); and Pilar Blesca and Alícia Cornet, "El Repertori Iconogràfic del MNAC: evolució i tractaments arxivístic", *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 5 (2001): 161–70.

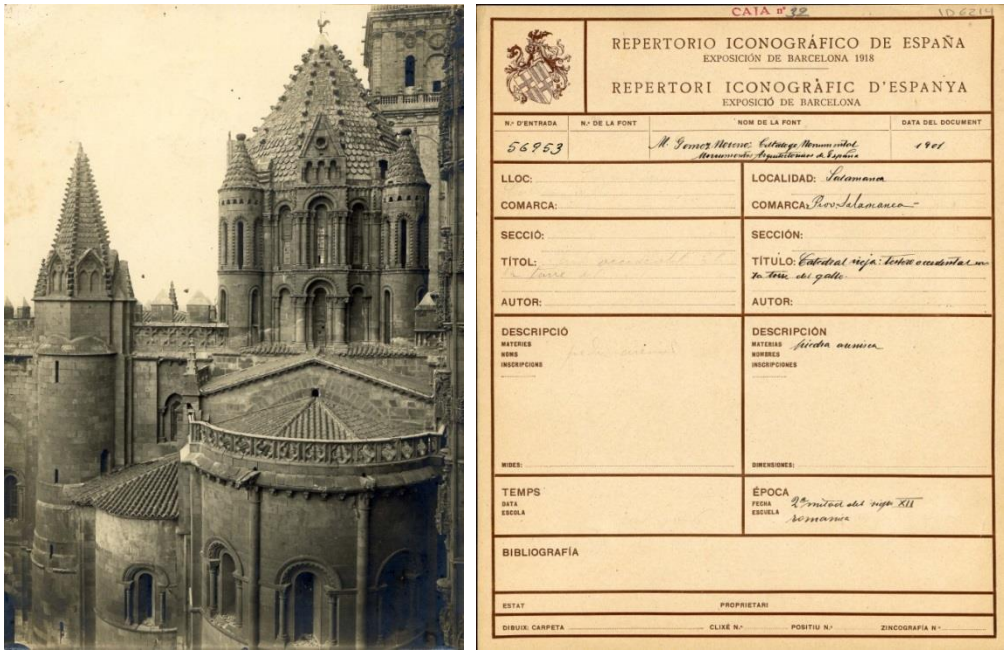


Figure 16. 'Salamanca. Catedral vieja: tesoro occidental con la torre del gallo', *Repertori Iconogràfic d'Espanya. Exposició de Barcelona*. Arxiu del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. I am most grateful to Alícia Cornet from the MNAC for sending me the images and allowing me to use them in the thesis.

Far beyond Puig's own interest in positivist methodologies for art history writing, artistic and cultural inventories had attracted the attention of Catalan intellectuals since the early twentieth century. As noted by Mendelson, Enric Prat de la Riba (1870-1917), a leader of the Lliga Regionalista and president of the Mancomunita between 1914 and 1917, emphasized in his very influential book *La nacionalitat catalana* (1906) the role of Romantic photography in shaping modern Catalonia.[304] Prat argued that 'the essential claim of Catalonia's being' stemmed from 'its songs and parchments, book folios, collections and photographs'.[305] Three years later, Martorell picked up this idea when presenting his project of a 'graphic inventory of Catalonia' in the pages of the *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*.[306] In order to justify the importance of the inventory, Martorell claimed that 'civilised nations form graphic inventories of works of art, which they try to carry out with splendour.

[304] Mendelson, "El Poble Espanyol / El Pueblo Español (1929)", 12.
[305] 'De llurs cants y pergamins, infolis, col·leccions y fotografies anava sortint la afirmació capital del ésser de Catalunya'. Enric Prat de la Riba, *La Nacionalitat catalana* (Barcelona: Escola d'Administració Pública de Catalunya, 2007), 40.
[306] Mendelson, "El Poble Espanyol / El Pueblo Español (1929)", 12.

Catalogues, negatives archives and photographs, museums of reproductions, national museums, these are the means used by cultured nations to inventory their artistic wealth and make history out of them'.[307] In the text, Martorell mentions the photographic archive of the Servei de Catalogació i Conservació de Monuments ('Service for the Cataloguing and Conservation of Monuments') of the Diputació de Barcelona – which he would direct between 1914 and 1951 – as one of the already existing sources with which to carry out the enterprise. But there were more. In 1907, along with the expedition to 'rediscover' the medieval art of the Pyrenees led by Puig, the Institute of Catalan Studies commissioned an 'Inventari iconogràfic de Catalunya' ('Iconographic Inventory of Catalonia') to the photographer Adolf Mas (1860-1936), who had already privately built a body of images as part of the campaign to catalogue the Catalan historical heritage promoted by the Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques – later integrated into the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya – since 1876. The collection, which reached 25,000 negatives in 1917, was initially focussed on Catalonia, but it gradually broadened the scope first to the rest of Catalan-speaking regions and later on to the whole of Spain. Puig used some of Mas' images in the third volume of his *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, and most probably recommended Mas to Walter Cook (1888-1962), an American historian of Catalan and Spanish medieval art who commissioned him with a series of photographs on Asturian and Galician sites between 1918 and 1919. In 1920, the collection became a formal – and private – archive, and its destiny became uncertain after the Mas' death in 1936, much to the concern of Cook, as will be discussed in more detail in Part 3.[308] In addition to the Arxiu Mas, the same year Puig and Martorell were commissioned with the task of creating the *Repertori*, the

[307] 'Les nacions civilisades s'en preocupen de la formació d'inventaris gràfics de les obres d'art, que procuren desenrotllar ab esplendidesa. Catàlecs, arxius de clixés y fotografies, museus de reproduccions, museus nacionals, són el medi de que's valen els pobles cultes pera inventariar les seves riqueses artístiques y fer-ne historia'. Jeroni Martorell, "L'inventari gràfic de Catalunya", *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* XIX, no. 169 (February 1909): 48–49.

[308] On the Arxiu Mas, see Carmen Perrotta, "Adolf Mas: pioner en la documentació fotogràfica del patrimoni artístic", *Món medieval : arqueologia, història i viatges*, 2011, 86–97. On Adolf Mas as a photographer, see Blanca Giribet, *Barcelona 1900-1917: els reportatges d'Adolf Mas* (Barcelona: Viena Edicions; Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2014).

philosopher and ethnographer Tomàs Carreras i Artau (1879-1954) formed the Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya ('Archive of Ethnography and Folklore of Catalonia') with 'an ambitious plan for establishing methodological uniformity and a comparative system for organising a vast array of visual and written documentation'.[309]

With the Exposition, Martorell's long-standing dream of a graphic inventory of Catalonia's art met Puig's academic interest in the gathering of art history data, and Cambó's project of forming and displaying Catalonia's view of Spain. Thirty years later, in 1943, Cambó wrote to Puig recalling his idea of gathering 'the documented photographic reproductions of all the works of art in Spain'. He does not use the word 'idea', but the Catalan term 'dèria', which implies a personal obsession or mania, passionate and irrational. This was elderly Cambó speaking, living in exile – in Argentina – after having seen his political projects fail and the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War. And yet, he valued this project dearly enough to refer to it as his personal 'dèria' in a letter sent to his life-long friend across the Atlantic, just four years before his death. He also regretted that 'little has been done in Spain to graphically disseminate its artistic monuments. Around the world, even in countries with lower levels of culture, this aspect has been given more importance'.[310]

The ambitious enterprise was disrupted by Primo's coup and the change in the direction of the Exposition. The 1929 event did have an exhibition of Spanish art, but Puig was notoriously disappointed by it. His reaction to the display shows that the Catalan character of such a seemingly Spanish-looking project as a display of 'all of Spain's art' lay beneath the surface, in the way the knowledge of that art was to be organised and displayed. And this was not only because artistic inventories were deeply embedded in the *Noucentista* approach

[309] Mendelson, "El Poble Espanyol / El Pueblo Español (1929)", 13.
[310] 'Vós sabeu la part que jo tinc en aquest arxiu pel fet d'haver donat a En Mas l'encàrrec de realizar la meva dèria de reunir a l'Exposició les fitxes fotogràfiques documentades de totes les obres d'art d'Espanya […] A Espanya s'ha fet molt poc per la difusió gràfica dels seus monuments d'art. Arreu del món, fins en països de menor nivel cultural, a aquest aspecto se li ha donat més importancia'. "[Letter from Francesc Cambó to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 31, 1943, UC 1184, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

to research. In a review of the exhibition, Puig regretted the removal of 'the scientific element of our country' – the expression he uses for 'country' in Catalan is 'de casa nostra'. He complained that the final display lacked 'method' and 'order', and that instead of the 'scientific method the initiators had dreamt of', the display resulted in a 'rich and colossal exhibition of antiquities in the house of a sumptuous merchant'.[311] On the basis of contemporaneous accounts, Enric Granell argues that 'El arte en España' was indeed a chaotic mixture of pieces with different formats and time periods, in which 'it was impossible to understanding anything'.[312] In contrast to this, Puig explained that the 'initiators' had prepared 'a vast graphic inventory of Spanish art, classified by subjects, which included more than 150,000 documents', and on the basis of that a 'plan' had been 'deduced' that would 'lead to an orderly display of the history of art in Spain in all its complex periods and in all its areas of expansion'.[313]

Which was the view of Spain that was to be convenyed in Cambó's *dèria*? What narratives on the Spanish State – and Catalonia – would have been embodied in Puig's extensive and very scientific inventory of 'all of Spain's art'?

4.2 The Spanish State in the Display Programme of the 'Spanish Section'

311 'La realització ha estat ben lluny del mètode científic que els iniciadors havien somiat, i més aviat ha resultat una rica i colossal exhibició d'antiguitats a casa d'un marxant sumptuós'. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "L'exhibició de l'Art d'Espanya a l'Exposició de Barcelona", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXVII-XXXI* VIII (1936): 2.

312 Enric Granell, "L'Exposició com a interior: 'El Arte en España' i els jocs d'aigua-llum", in *L'Exposició internacional de Barcelona del 1929: arquitectura i arts decoratives* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1980), 52.

313 'Hom havia preparat en el primer període un amplíssim inventari gràfic de l 'art espanyol classificat per matèries que comprenia més de 150 mil documents; d'aquest inventari s'havia deduit un pla que havia de conduir a l'exhibició ordenada de la història de l'art a Espanya en tots els seus complexes períodes i en tota la seva àrea d'expansió.' Puig i Cadafalch, "L'exhibició de l'Art d'Espanya a l'Exposició de Barcelona", 2.

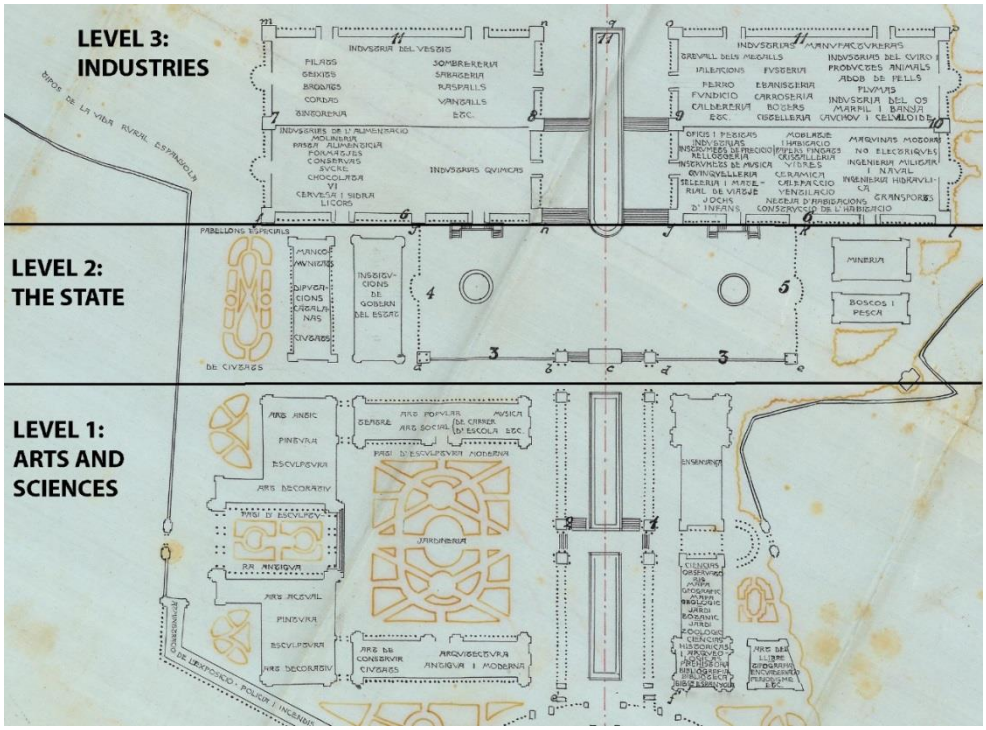


Figure 17. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, [Plànol de l'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona], detail of the Spanish Section with overimpressed levels, [1915], UC 252, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

Puig's displaying programme for the 1915 project was structured in three parts, each located at a different level. The first, on the ground level, was dedicated to the Arts and Sciences, as well as to the media that disseminate them: books, libraries, educational institutions, botanical and zoological gardens, etc. The second level, on the first step of the slope, focused on the State, represented through national, regional and municipal forms of government. Finally, the third level, higher up on the slope and just in front of the great Palace of Light, showcased diverse types of industry.

On the second level, dedicated to the Spanish State, there were two pavilions, one devoted to the 'State's Governing Institutions' and another that presented the different regional, provincial and municipal governments that constituted the State at the time. When approaching the regional and municipal spheres, the programme focuses on Catalan examples. Thus, we find a general section on the 'Mancomunidades' – federations of provinces or municipalities – and another one on the Catalan 'Diputaciones' – the provincial governments. Cities have a particular importance, as they appear in the second pavilion and also

have an open-air area, which according to the plan would accommodate 'Special Pavilions of Cities'. A display of the organisation of a State in an International Exposition was unusual. Paul Greenhalgh only identifies one similar example, that of the Soviet Pavilion in Paris 1937. On that occasion, there were 'tableau displays explaining the nature and extent of Soviet territories, natural resources, industry and the constitution of the State'.[314] The interest in the regional nature of the state was, however, not a novelty. In the early 1900s, French regionalists such as Maurice Barrès had vigorously complained about the centralism of the Expositions held in Paris, and as a result of this the State organised Expositions in Marseille in 1906 and 1922 with the aim of counterbalancing the 'national profile created for France by authorities' in the capital.[315] Storm has also identified a general tendency to display vernacular cultures in international expositions in interwar Europe, and has interpreted the 1929 Expositions in Barcelona and Seville – focussed on Ibero-America – along this line. Indeed, in Puig's representation the Spanish State is not displayed merely through its Madrid-based central institutions, but it is understood as a larger body with components at different regional and local levels. As in all the other sections of the Spanish Section, Puig's view is an all-encompassing one, with a global understanding of the Spanish liberal state that almost underlines its regional and local components.

On the next level, we find a very extensive and varied display of industries and manufactures. The latter are classified as cloth, food, chemical and what Puig calls 'manufacturing' industries, again echoing France's *Expositions Universelles*, which often displayed a combination of, among others, Fine Arts, ceramic, textiles, manufactured objects, food and drink.[316] In Puig's design, each category is exhaustively subdivided into different disciplines and specialisations. To provide an impression of the level of detail: the cloth section included spinning, weaving, embroidering, dyeing, and fabrication of ropes, hats, shoes, brushes, and fans. In turn, the 'manufacturing' section was formed by a mixture of ancient and modern methods of materials processing:

[314] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 131.
[315] Ibid., 119.
[316] Ibid., 115.

from metal alloys, rubber and celluloid making to wood, wicker and leather work which, as we shall see later, suggest a narrative of continuity between ancient Iberian cultures and modern Spanish regions.

Indeed, this display of manufacturing in Spain was not only diverse in its contents and in its timeframe, but also in its geography. This broad geographical scope, as well as the spirit behind the arts and crafts selection, is clearer in Puig's 1929 retrospective text. There, he recalls that he aimed to exhibit different types of Spanish leather 'culminating in the famous cordovan leather', and also cloths 'going from Cordovan Asian textiles to Catalan wools and printed textiles'.[317] In the particular case of textiles, Puig constructs a historical and geographical continuum between items that are in fact very varied, as these are different types of cloths produced in different parts of Spain in very different historical times. By 'Cordovan Asian textiles' Puig is most probably referring to medieval Andalusian embroideries in silk and gold, which reached special sophistication between the ninth and twelfth centuries, coinciding at its heyday with the Umayyad Caliphate of Córdoba (929-1031).[318] Islamic heritage played a contested role in the Spanish nation-building process,[319] but Andalusian textiles were valued among collectors and some of them had featured in international collections such as the Victoria and Albert Museum in London since the late nineteenth century. In turn, Catalan wool manufacture was prominent in the early modern period, especially in rural areas.[320] In the eighteenth century, printed textiles, also called 'indianes', gained importance, forming the basis for the nineteenth-century leading Catalan

317 'Els cuiros, que culminen en els cuiros cordovesos famosos; els teixits que van des dels teixits asiàtics de Còrdova, als teixits de llana i els estampats de Catalunya'. "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [3].
318 See Laura Rodríguez Peinado, "La producción textil en al-Andalus: origen y desarrollo", *Anales de Historia del Arte* 22, no. II (2013): 265–79; and Luis María Serrano-Piedecasas Fernández, "Elementos para una historia de la manufactura textil andalusí (siglos IX-XII)", *Studia historica. Historia medieval*, no. 4 (1986): 205–29.
319 See Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Islamic Archaeology and the Origin of the Spanish Nation", in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (Boulder San Francisco: Westview Press, 1996), 68–89.
320 Llorenç Ferrer i Alòs, "The Diverse Growth of 18th-Century Catalonia: Proto-Industrialisation?", *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012): 68–69. On proto-industry in early modern Catalonia, see also Julie Marfany, *Land, Proto-Industry and Population in Catalonia, C. 1680-1829: An Alternative Transition to Capitalism?* (Ashgate, 2012).

textile industry. They also transferred the axis of Catalan manufacture from the rural hinterland to the capital city of Barcelona.[321] Puig's narrative on textiles thus builds up a historical tradition of cloth making in Spain in which each type of cloth stands for a different historical period – in the tradition of nineteenth-century historicism.[322] This narrative also emphasizes the contribution of peripheral regions, namely Andalusia and Catalonia, to the making of a canon of Spanish clothing. And, last but not least, it connects internationally well-known ancient textiles with modern Catalan industries, thus contributing to internationally brand the latter.

This narrative of Spain as a body formed by a diversity of regions with distinct but connected historical traditions is not confined to the display of the textile industry, but informs the conceptualisation of the Spanish Section as a whole. As Puig explains in the 1929 letter, the objective of the Exposition was to display Spain 'with the variety of a State composed by different peoples with its complications'.[323] Here the use of the term 'peoples' to refer to each of Spain's regions is in line with the thinking of Domènech i Montaner, as we shall see later.

This diverse geographical scope merged with a chronological continuum also appears in Puig's retrospective discussion of the role that wine making would have had in the Exposition. He presents a narrative that connects ancient Iberian wines with contemporaneous cava.[324] More concretely, Puig mentions the wines from the Baetica, a former Roman province that would roughly

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321 The study of Catalan 'indianes' has recently raised great interest among economic and social historians. See especially Alejandro Sánchez Suárez, *Indianes, 1736-1847: els orígens de la Barcelona industrial* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2013).

322 Similarly to how Umbach read the development of architectural historicism parallel to the configuration of academic historicism, here Puig seems to ascribe a specific type of cloth making to each historical period. See Maiken Umbach, "Memory and Historicism: Reading Between the Lines of the Built Environment, Germany C. 1900", *Representations* 88 (2004): 26–54.

323 'Espanya amb tota sa varietat d'Estat compost de pobles diversos, amb ses complicacions […]'. "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [3]. The term 'poble' or 'people' was commonly used to refer to national groups regardless of their State status by such distant but influential figures as Karl Lamprecht and Pere Bosch i Gimpera.

324 '[…] els vins d'Espanya que van des dels antics de la Bètica o de la Layetania, famosos a Roma, fins a una elaboració de Champagne'. Ibid.

correspond nowadays to Andalusia, and the Laietània, which didn't properly exist as a place name but would refer to the land of the Laietani, the Iberian tribe living in the modern Barcelona metropolitan area. This is an interesting case of selective use of ancient toponyms. Although 'Hispania Baetica' was the denomination of a Roman province, the term 'Betis' would corrrespond, according to early twentieth-century archaeology, to the name of the Guadalquivir River in the pre-Roman era.[325] Interestingly, Puig choses to omit the name of the Roman province to which ancient Barcelona would belong, and uses the Iberian toponym instead. The Roman name of the province was 'Hispania Citerior', which is merely a Latin description of the geographical position of the region within the Iberian Peninsula and, unlike the Betica, has no connections with pre-Roman toponyms. There is thus a conscious option for pre-Roman, Iberian terminology that, as we shall see later, had further implications.

As with the previous cases of leather and textiles, Puig's selection of Iberian wines is not accidental. Puig regards them as prominent in their time – he says that they were 'famous in Rome' – and all of them have been the object of extensive research in modern historiography, thus somehow becoming paradigmatic of that particular culture and time period.[326] The other product mentioned by Puig in this winemaking narrative is cava, the name used for sparkling wine produced in Spain. He does not give details, but he was probably referring to modern Catalan cava, which had had a special role in the Catalan wine industry since the mid nineteenth century. The import of French champagne through Catalonia contributed to the region becoming the main distributor – and later on, producer – of sparkling wine in Spain. In the last third of the century, champagne started to be produced locally in Catalonia, with exports of Catalan sparkling wine being especially significant in the late

[325] See Adolf Schulten, *Tartessos: contribución a la historia antigua de Occidente* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1924); and Adolf Schulten, *Hispania: geografía, etnología, historia* (Barcelona: Académica, 1920).

[326] Some examples of recent studies on Baetica wines are found in Genaro Chic García, "El aceite y el vino de la Bética entre el prestigio y el mercado", *Anales de prehistoria y arqueología*, no. 27 (2011): 331–45; and Marta Prevosti and Antoni Martín i Oliveras, eds., *El vi Tarraconense I Laietà, Ahir I Avui: Actes Del Simpòsium*, Documenta 7 (Tarragona: Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica (ICAC), 2009).

1800s, due to the devastating effect of the phylloxera epidemic on French vineyards.[327] Therefore, Puig builds up a narrative that connects a very ancient, almost proto-historical, period of wine making, with the modern wine industry of his time. And, as with textiles, he employs examples taken from the borderland regions of Andalusia and Catalonia.

Another theme that Puig conceptualises as a diverse but connected continuum is Spanish History. He begins by saying that he wanted to display both 'sinister' and 'luminous' historical subjects.[328] Then he lists 'the Inquisition, the discovery and colonisation of America; the Catalan expedition to the East and the geographical maps of Mallorcan Jews; the civil wars and the still ongoing fight for freedom'.[329] The order of the elements in the enumeration suggests that the Inquisition and the discovery and colonisation of America belong to the 'sinister' historical subjects, whereas the Catalan expedition to the East and the geographical maps of Mallorcan Jews, listed after a semicolon, would belong to the second, 'luminous', group of topics. The last item of the list, 'the civil wars and the still ongoing fight for freedom', would at first sight belong again to the sinister side of History, although the mentioning of the 'ongoing fight for freedom' also seems a reference to the Catalan struggle for recognition. After this set of historical facts, Puig lists some intellectuals, pairing together Catalan-speaking and Spanish-speaking names. Thus, we have, on the one hand, the Mallorcan philosopher and writer Ramon Llull (1232/1233-1315/1316) and the Castillian writer Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) and, on the other, the two Renaissance men of letters Joan Lluís Vives, a Valencian philosopher (1493-1540), and the Castilian musician Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611).[330]

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[327] Francesc de P. Valls Junyent, "La indústria del cava. De la substitució d'importacions a la conquesta del mercat internacional", *Notes* 22 (2007): 106–107.

[328] '[…] aqueixes coses misterioses realitzades en la Història, sinistres unes, lluminoses altres'. "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [3].

[329] '[…] com la Inquisició, com el descobriment i la colonització d'Amèrica; com la expedició dels catalans a Orient i les cartes geogràfiques dels jueus mallorquins; com les guerres civils i la lluita per la llibertat que encara dura […]'. Ibid.

[330] '[…] com Ramon Llull i Cervantes; com Victoria i Lluís Vives'. Ibid. The list has some reminicenses of the gallery of sculptures in the nineteenth-century hall of the University of Barcelona, which also brings together figures from different Spanish regions and historical periods, and which is discussed in Chapter 1.

This peninsular diversity, matched with a narrative of continuity between pre-roman cultures and modern Spanish art, recurs in the display programme of the *Repertori iconogràfic*, the ambitious inventory in which Puig, Martorell and Cambó aimed at cataloguing and exhibiting 'all of Spain's art'. An unsigned and undated document with the title 'Repertori iconogràfic d'Espanya. Exposició de Barcelona' provides a detailed list of the content of the archive/display. The list includes artistic periods, typologies and authors classified in the following sections: 'Prehistory – Primitive Iberia – Phoenician colonies – Colonial Greek Cities – Hellenistic Period – Roman Hispania – Early Christian Art – Byzantine Art – Visigothic Art– Proto-*Mudéjar* Art –Mozarabic Art – Romanesque Art. First Period – Romanesque Art. Second Period – Gothic Art – Islamic Art – *Mudéjar* Art– Renaissance – Baroque Art – Neo-Classicism – Modern Art'.[331]

Each style has sub-lists detailing types of architecture, sculpture, painting and other artistic disciplines. The Renaissance and Baroque sections include names of painters, sculptors and architects like El Greco, Murillo, Herrera and Berruguete, as well as Velázquez, Zurbarán, Ribalta and Goya, who also appear in Puig's 1929 account of the project to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard.[332] But the section on 'primitive Iberia' is even more interesting. This is the only section in the list that includes names of specific places: it highlights the sculpture of the island of Eïvissa, the Lady of Elche (in Alicante), and the Bicha of Balazote and the Lady of Cerro de los Santos (both in Albacete), while Numantia, Sagunto, Tarragona, Girona, and Olèrdola appear as 'cities' ('conjunts de ciutats'). Puig's geography of Iberian Spain is again focussed on the periphery, this time on the Mediterranean: Numantia and Albacete belong to the centre of the Peninsula, but all the other six sites are located on the eastern coast.

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331 'Prehistòria – Ibèria primitiva – Colònies fenícies – Ciutats colonials gregues – Període hel·lenístic – Hispània romana – Art paleo-cristià – Art bizantí – Art visigòtic – Art proto-mudèjar – Art mossàrab – Art romànic. I Període – Art romànic. II Període – Art gòtic – Art musulmà – Art mudèjar – Renaixement – Art barroc – Neo-classicisme – Art modern'. "Repertori iconogràfic per la Exposició de Barcelona", n.d., UC 255, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

332 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [4].

Indeed, primitive Iberia provided Puig with an ideal space to project the notion of a diverse and periphery-led Spain that was in line with the political and academic thinking of the time. In *La nacionalitat catalana* (1906), Prat had identified the seed of the 'Catalan national spirit' in the 'Iberian ethnos', whose borders corresponded to those of the Catalan language, 'stretching from Murcia to the Rhone'. He drew a parallel between Imperial Rome and the modern Spanish State, arguing that:

> […] under the weight of Roman rule the spirit of the old nationalities remained strong, Roman unity existed only on the surface; deep down, all the different peoples lived on as they had always done […] when Rome's political power disappeared, these old forgotten peoples emerged into the light of History, each of them speaking their own language'[333]

Prat's ideas profoundly permeated the work of Bosch i Gimpera, who had just been named by Puig director of the Service of Archaeological Research in 1915, the same year that works on the *Repertori* began. Bosch developed a 'mosaic-of-peoples model' as the basis for his understanding of 'territorial structure in proto-history'.[334] As Díaz-Andreu and Cortadella have explained, Bosch introduced the culture-historical method for the study of archaeology to Spain that he had adopted during his years in Germany, and according to which it was possible to trace back the ethnic origin of current national groups. In his view, Spain was a conglomerate of different ethnic areas, which corresponded to historical regions like Catalonia, Aragon or Andalucía, and whose origins could be traced back into proto-history.[335] Parallel to this re-appreciation of the pre-Roman past, there were some explicitly political moves towards the unification of Spain and Portugal as a means to create a culturally

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[333] Cited in Gracia Alonso, "Archaeology and Nationalism: The Development of Archaeology in Catalonia in the Early Twentieth Century", 134.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Jordi Cortadella, "Success and Failure: Alternatives in the Institutionalisation of Pre- and Proto-History in Spain (Hernández-Pacheco, Obermaier, Bosch Gimpera)", in *The Beginnings of Academic Pre- and Protohistoric Archaeology (1830-1930) in a European Perspective*, ed. J. Callmer and et al. (Berlin: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2006), 295–305.

diverse State that revived 'a common Iberian spirit' – to use Miguel de Unamuno's words – that recognised the cultural and linguistic diversity of the peoples that formed it.[336] Arguably that 'common Iberian spirit' had much in common with Bosch's 'mosaic-of-peoples model', even if that connection has not received much attention yet. In Catalonia, the idea of a modern, re-united Iberia that was appreciative of the State's regional diversity had been a powerful political image since the late nineteenth century,[337] and by the 1910s it was also seen as a way to regenerate the Spanish State and grant both Catalonia and Spain the possibility of aspiring to 'more splendorous destinations' in the international context.[338] As Ucelay-Da Cal has argued, the Lliga's Iberianist project placed Catalonia as the indisputable leader of this regeneration and of the new State,[339] very much in line with Puig's highlighting of the innovative role of the Spanish periphery – and particularly of the Mediterranean coast – in his display design for the Exposition. Puig himself was well aware of the connection between pre-Roman archaeology and politics, as he showed in a 1932 review of one of Bosch's most important works, *Etnologia de la Península Ibèrica*. The historical context was obviously different: the Primo de Rivera regime, which had changed the course of the International Exposition, had just given way to the Second Spanish Republic, and thus Puig highlighted the 'current transcendence' of the 'complicated spider web of pre-roman culture in the Peninsula'. 'It would not be a difficult task', he argues, 'to distinguish in today's politics the Tartessian, who had laws in verse, from the tough and stubborn Celt, from the Iberian and from the cavemen'. Bosch's work, he

[336] Maximiliano Fuentes Codera, "Imperialismos e iberismos en España: perspectivas regeneradoras frente a la Gran Guerra", *Historia y Política* 33 (2015): 40.
[337] See Víctor Martínez-Gil, *El naixement de l'iberisme catalanista* (Curial, 1997), 29–77 especially. On the intersection between political Iberianism and sub-state political movements, see also Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, "Iberia Reborn: Portugal through the Lens of Catalan and Galician Nationalism (1850-1950)", in *Iberian Modalities: A Relational Approach to the Study of Culture in the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. Joan Ramon Resina (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).
[338] "Els parlamentaris regionalistes al País. Per Catalunya i l'Espanya Gran", *La Veu de Catalunya*, March 18, 1916; cited in Fuentes Codera, "Imperialismos e iberismos en España: perspectivas regeneradoras frente a la Gran Guerra", 41.
[339] Ucelay-Da Cal, *El Imperialismo catalán*, 726–732 especially. In fact, Ucelay talks of a Catalan 'intervencionism' in the rest of the State.

added, revealed 'a diverse Spain', where the 'differential fact' was 'prehistoric'.[340]

Puig's display design for the Exposition visualised the Lliga's political project to regenerate the Spanish State. With textiles, wines, historical figures, and art, he cast an image of Spain characterised by regional identities, a narrative of technological progression rooted in the past but connected to modern industry, and a 'peripheral' leadership. Its political reading was made explicit in his 1929 retrospective account of the project. There, Puig argues in a rather straightforward manner that the project of the Exposition was to serve a political objective, that is, to gain a government that, in the shape of a new federal state, respected Catalonia's diversity within Spain. Catalonia, he argues, 'loves its personality and longs for a system of government that will respect it in all its aspects'. That's why, with the idea of a 'new federal constitution for Spain' in mind, Cambó conceived an Exposition project to 'exhibit Spain in all its complexity, with all its unknown things and its ancient Art, which would be a discovery for Europe'.[341] Later he argues that this vision of Spain would also be 'unknown' to 'its own inhabitants'. He explicitly talks of a 'State composed by diverse peoples, with its complications, with its mysteries', a Spain 'yet to be known like the places that are explored in Asia'.[342]

Puig's words suggest that there was more to his project than 'merely' advocating a different state organisation and promoting Catalonia's leadership. His narrative was not only about leading the renovation of the State – even if

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[340] Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "P. Bosch i Gimpera. Etnologia de la Península Ibèrica. Barcelona: ed. Alpa, 1932 [Recensió]", *Oc. Revista de la renaissença des Païses d'Oc* 8–9 (1932): 382–383.

[341] 'És sabut que Catalunya estima sa personalitat i desitja un sistema de govern que la respecti en tots sos aspectes i que aquest problema es troba sota o sobre de tota qüestió; però aqueixa idea d'exhibir Espanya amb tota sa complexitat, amb totes ses velles coses inconegudes, amb son art antic que fóra una descoberta per Europa, tenia també el seu punt dolç polític, i l'idea sortí justament d'aquell qui pensant en una nova constitució federal d'Espanya, D. Francesc Cambó […] fou qui tingué aquesta visió de l'Exposició de Barcelona'. "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [1].

[342] 'Dintre aquest gran conjunt devia exhibir-s'hi principalment Espanya […]. Espanya amb tota sa varietat d'Estat compost de pobles diversos, amb ses complicacions, amb tots sos misteris avui encara desconeguda com en els llocs que s'exploren d'Asia. Espanya inèdita, mai vista per sos mateixos habitants.' Ibid., [3].

this was to be in the form of an Iberian Empire with a Catalan matrix, as Ucelay suggests. It was also about casting, shaping, that new Spain, but not by Catalanising the rest of the Peninsula, as the imperialistic argument contends – the 'moral conquest of the Spanish State', as Ucelay puts it[343] – but by using the diverse regional and historical traditions of the country as a repertoire that could then be re-combined and re-appropriated to create a new body. This new, Spanish body would be Catalan-led in the sense that it would have been imagined, and cast, in Catalonia. This is better seen by looking at Puig's architectural design for the Exposition.

4.3 Casting Spain in Architecture

Puig's architectural design for the Exposition has traditionally been described as neo-Baroque. This is mostly based on a series of vistas drawn by Puig in 1915, the most famous of which is the already discussed Figure 12 [page 102]. The architecture of the two pavilions that Puig actually built for the site, the Palace of Alfonso XIII and the Palace of Victoria Eugenia, has also had an impact on the definition of the Exposition's architectural style as neo-Baroque. Thus, in his 1985 book on the topic, Solà-Morales highlighted the Baroque influence in the staircases and other elements of the ensemble.[344] When the Exposition opened in 1929, the press described its architecture as being in the tradition of Spanish Baroque, Renaissance and Plateresque.[345] And in the letter addressed in the same year to Marcel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard, Puig also described his project as a 'composition inspired as much as possible in the themes of Spanish Renaissance and Baroque'.[346] These styles have been commonly interpreted as representatives of a Castile-based idea of

[343] Ucelay-Da Cal, *El Imperialismo catalán*, 726.
[344] *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*, 56.
[345] '[The Palau d'Alfons XIII] se sujeta en lo que respecta al orden arquitectónico a las tradiciones del arte barroco, hábilmente asociado a los detalles de las construcciones autóctonas de Cataluña'; and on the Palace of Light, the writer said: 'influido por el estilo Renacimiento español, predomina en él la horizontalidad discretamente acentuada por elementos decorativos plateresco's'. Cited in Ignasi de Solà-Morales i de Rubió, "L'arquitectura de l'Exposició: palaus i pavellons", in *L'Exposició internacional de Barcelona del 1929: arquitectura i arts decoratives* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1980), 4.
[346] "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [2].

Spanishness.[347] Can this be reconciled with Puig's alleged *Catalanista* agenda? In order to tackle this apparent paradox, the following section places Puig's architectural design for the Exposition in the wider context of his approach to Spain's historical architectures, and also considers the meaning and reception of Baroque and Renaissance in early-twentieth-century Catalonia.

4.3.1 Architecture and National Character

In Puig's theoretical work, Plateresque, Renaissance and Baroque are not always clearly distinguishable. Instead, he used the three labels almost interchangeably to refer to a broad period ranging between medieval – Romanesque and Gothic – and modern architecture. In the *Historia General del Arte* that he co-edited with Domènech in the late 1800s, he addressed Renaissance, Baroque and also Neoclassicism in one single chapter entitled 'Renaissance and derived modern schools'.[348] The chapter emphasizes the connection between Renaissance and Baroque, and the latter is understood as 'Michelangelan' architecture, encompassing both the works of Michelangelo and Bernini in the Vatican.[349]

The continuum between the three styles also resonates with his broader conception of the evolution of architectural schools in Spain from ancient to modern times. Puig sees a very clear cut distinction between a 'Catalan' and a 'Castilian' stream, emphasised by the fact that, according to him, 'architecture also serves to define people'. This is in fact the opening sentence of Puig's first major theoretical work on the topic, dated 1897. The text was first given as a lecture at the learned society Ateneu Barcelonès and later published in the

[347] On the reception of the style in early-twentieth-century Spain, see Hernández Cano, "«Solitarios refugios de efemérides viejas». Monumentos y ciudades históricas como símbolos nacionales en la prensa gráfica (1918-1930)."
[348] Ramon Graus also highlights that the chapter is very general and weak. Ramon Graus Rovira, "Modernització tècnica i arquitectura a Catalunya 1903-1929" 2012, 35.
[349] Lluís Domènech i Montaner and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, eds., *Historia General del Arte escrita e ilustrada en vista de los monumentos y de la mejores obras publicadas hasta el día* (Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1886), 866–867.

Catalan newspaper *La Renaixensa*.[350] Puig would revisit the topic almost 20 years later, in an article presented at a conference in Madrid in 1914 which was later published in French.[351] According to Ramon Graus, the correlation between Catalan and Castilian architectures and the two people's characters was in fact a 'common place' in architectural *Catalanista* sectors in the late nineteenth century, and the narrative had been presented by Puig's mentor, Domènech, in a text published by the *Butlletí de la Associació d'Excursions Catalana* in 1878-1879. Jeroni Martorell also drew on this idea in a 1906 article, in which, very much in line with Domènech and Puig, he claimed: 'Look at those Castilian cathedrals filled with ornamentation, exaggerated, with dazzling wealth of details; look at Catalan cathedrals, sober, of simple and refined lines. They do fit the character of the peoples who built them!'[352]

Indeed, in both the 1897 and the 1914 articles, Puig stresses the intimate relation between architecture and a people's character, mediated through place. Building on Umbach's analysis of the relationship of place and space with modernity, I understand the first as 'concrete' and 'authentic', yet also as the ground where vernacular modernities can be performed.[353] The close connection of the built environment and collective identities was commonplace in many architectural and cultural circles in the Europe of the time. Eric Storm has argued that German, French and Spanish cultural regionalists were heavily influenced by the ideas of Hippolyte Taine, who saw 'race, environment and moment' as the crucial factors behind any type of

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350 Puig i Cadafalch, "Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas. Conferencia llegida per Joseph Puig y Cadafalch en l'Ateneu Barcelonès el 31 de maig de 1897", 869.

351 Puig i Cadafalch, "L'Architecture en Espagne."

352 'Mirèu les catedrals castellanes farcides d'ornamentació, aparatoses, d'una riquèsa de detalls enlluernadora; mirèu les catedrals catalanes, sòbries, de lineas simples y refinades. ¡Com s'avenen ab el carácter dels pòbles que van construirles!' Jeroni Martorell, "Discurs d'en Geroni Martorell en la inauguració del Centre, a Sant Benet de Bages", *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de la Comarca de Bages* 2 (February 15, 1906): 30–32; see also Lluís Domènech i Montaner, "Carácters propis de l'Arquitectura catalana á través de diferentas épocas y estils artistichs", *Butlletí de la Associació d'Excursions Catalana* 1878–79 (1879): 82–85, 94–97; both cited in Graus Rovira, "Modernització tècnica i arquitectura a Catalunya 1903-1929", 160.

353 Umbach, "The Modernist Imagination of Place and the Politics of Regionalism: The Case of Puig i Cadafalch and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona", 81–82 esp.

cultural produce.[354] As an art historian, Puig was also influenced by Taine's positivist approach to national history writing, as we will see in Part 3. Spanish contemporaries such as the writers Azorín (1873-1967) and Ángel Ganivet (1865-1898), and also the architect Manuel Aníbal Álvarez (1850-1930) and the aforementioned art historian Vicente Lampérez y Romea – who collaborated in the Exposition's inventory of Spanish art – explicitly urged modern architects to pay attention to a place's climate, traditions and building techniques. According to Storm, they saw this as the only way to achieve a truthful and place-connected architecture, one that could be done in each particular place only, allegedly managing to escape contamination from 'foreign' modern developments.[355] In this respect, the VI National Conference of Architects celebrated in San Sebastián in 1915 was particularly crucial to the development of regionalist architecture in Spain.[356]

Nevertheless, views on the influence of both the natural and the human environment in the production of architecture had started to circulate in Catalonia in the late nineteenth century, before regionalist architecture became popular in Spain. In 1878, Domènech argued that architecture 'needed the energy of a productive idea, a moral environment in which to live, and a physical environment out of which to be formed'.[357] According to Ramon Graus, this idea had become almost commonplace during the Renaixença and was later reinforced in the early 1900s by figures like Puig and Folch i Torres.[358]

Puig's first contribution to the theorisation of the relationship between national character and the built environment dates from 1897. As outlined above, 'Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas'

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354 Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism*, 8.
355 Ibid., 156–158.
356 See Pedro Navascués Palacio, "Regionalismo y Arquitectura en España (1900-1930)", *Arquitectura y vivienda*, no. 3 (1985): 28–35. I am thankful to Fernando Álvarez Prozorovich for the reference.
357 'Lo monument arquitectònic […] necessita l'energia d'una idea productora, un medi moral en què viure i en darrer lloc un medi físic de què formar-se'. Lluís Domènech i Montaner, "En busca de una arquitectura nacional", *La Renaixensa: revista catalana de literatura, ciències i arts* I, no. 4 (February 28, 1878): 149.
358 Graus Rovira, "Modernització tècnica i arquitectura a Catalunya 1903-1929", 160.

was first delivered as a lecture at the Ateneu Barcelonès and later published in *La Renaixensa*. As the title indicates, in the text Puig highlights the differences between Catalan and Castilian architectures, and consequently, also those between the Catalan and the Castilian peoples. The 'dividing line' between the two types of architecture, he argues, 'is not a division in form or an accidental one, but an essential and very deep division, as if it came from the most intimate roots of the spirit'.[359] In his analysis, Puig offers a holistic interpretation in which architectural features resemble traces of character. After arguing that Castilian architecture and arts are essentially 'Semitic' and 'Arabic', he highlights their 'superficial' nature as they are based on ornamentation.[360] The same characteristic is then transferred to the 'Arabic'-like Castilian way of speaking, which, Puig argues, is also superficial as has the 'topic' and 'thought' 'disappear under the ornamentation'.[361] Conversely, Catalans speak 'briefly and directly' ('els catalans parlen ras i curt'), and their architecture and arts are based on structure rather than on ornamentation.[362]

Puig's scheme is also holistic when it comes to periodization: the two streams, the Castilian and the Catalan one, can be traced back to immemorial times, and can also be consistently seen through the different historical and artistic periods through to the modern times. Thus, Castilian architecture and spirit are heirs to the Semitic peoples, due to the influence of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, and are represented through a taste for ornamentation and a poor architectural structure. These are to be found, Puig says, in Andalusian palaces, in Plateresque, Renaissance and Baroque buildings, and also in the

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359 '[…] la frontera de mitjorn del art románich [és] la divisoria entre la arquitectura catalana y la castellana, la divisoria que no es de forma, que no es d'accident sino que es essencial fondíssima com venint de las arrels més intimas del esperit'. Puig i Cadafalch, "Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas. Conferencia llegida per Joseph Puig y Cadafalch en l'Ateneu Barcelonès el 31 de maig de 1897", 875.

360 'Veyeu una sala d'un palau arábicb, la sala de Justicia de la Alhambra, y la estructura es lo de menos. […] l'art no es lo sistema llógich que te elements principals y secundaris, sino aqueix ornament de parets y cúpulas […]. Lo conjunt no es casi res, ho es tot lo detall, lo superficial'. Ibid., 873.

361 'Las altras [creus processionals castellanes] 'm recordan certes oratorias ahont també 'l tema, 'l pensament desapareix sota 'ls adornos.' Ibid., 921.

362 '[La creu processional catalana] a mi 'm recorda 'ls nostres oradors qua tot just comensan acaban las paraulas, que parlan ras y curt.' Ibid., 920.

contemporaneous use of wood. In contrast, Catalonia is heir to the Greek and Roman – sometimes he calls it Arian – classic tradition which would be characterised by strong, stone-built structures, and austere surfaces. According to Puig, this can be traced through Romanesque and Gothic medieval architectures and up to modern building techniques.[363]

Puig's text is especially rich in attributes, which are often used to convey opposition between the two architectures – and characters. Table 2 shows the very broad scope of Puig's analysis. Part of the semantic field used here coincides with Puig's description of Catalan and non-Catalan peoples in his 1905 text 'A votar per l'exposició universal', in which he also discusses place-based identities – for instance, the categorisation of Castilians as 'peoples of the desert' ('poble del desert'), which also appears here. The distance between Catalan and Castilian forms of architecture and of character seems almost unbridgeable, to the point that, in his second contribution to the topic almost 20 years later, and drawing on the terminology of Iberian prehistoric archaeology, he denies the existence of an 'etnos hispanicum' or of a 'Spanish soul' that could work as a 'collective expression of the Iberian Peninsula'.[364]

[363] 'Lo primer ha estat 1'art dels pobles d'Europa: l'art grech, 1'art romá, 1'art románich y l'art gótich. Lo segon te son comensament en l'art d' aquell repeu de 1'Assia, centre de las més antigas civilisacions. […] un conjunt de rassas obehint un mateix esperit essencialmeot semític, l'esperit del Islam, se li deu en la Historia 1'haver sobreposat sobre arquitecturas y civilisació diferentas com de la India, de la Persia, del Egipte, de la Siria, del Nort d'Africa y d'Espanya; una arquitectura que 's distingeix pera una decoració expléndida que fa desapareixer sota d'ella tota idea de estructura, com si l'art fos aquest eterrn brodat, aqueix brodat casi sense un plá, sense 'l contrast de las grans massas.' Ibid., 873–874. Among examples of the latter, and next to the Alhambra, Puig quotes the 'Plateresque palaces' of the Infantado in Guadalajara, 'Renaissance palaces' like the Alcázar in Toledo or the University and the Palace of the Archbishop in Alcalá de Henares, and Baroque buildings such as the Palace of San Telmo and the interior of the cathedral of Granada and the Hospital at Fuencarral street in Madrid. Ibid., 918, 920. On wood and modern house-building, he says: 'En las casas de Madrid hi veuréu una carcassa de fusta recoberta de cordas y atapahida de guix tal com se feu la Albambra.' Ibid., 921.

[364] 'On se trompe en cherchant chez nous un etnos hispanicum, et plus encore, un âme espagnole, comme expression collective de la Peninsule Ibérique'. Puig i Cadafalch, "L'Architecture en Espagne", 636.

	CASTILIAN ARCHITECTURE AND CHARACTER		**CATALAN ARCHITECTURE CHARACTER**
GENERAL STRUCTURE	enfora estructura lletja i barroera estructura desapareix sota decoració		estructura tradueix a fora lo que l'edifici és per dintre fins als ossos fins a dintre de les pedres
APPEARANCE	superficial detall petit simulacre cosmètic arrebossat pintura planer coloraines luxoses enguixats llaceries ondulacions imatge	pell vestit guix recobert d'or esmaltat ornament núvols d'estalactites ric daurats fantàstic estrambòtic sobrecarregat exuberant no distingit	grans conjunts constructius grans ratlles [sense] detalls sense escultura superfície llisa pobrament treballada reduit concentrat
CHARACTER	sols de sentiment no investigador irreflexiu religiós llei moral fatalisme serietat casi mai riu		sentiment i idea raciocini raó científics investigació filosòfica reflexiva

PHILOSOPHY	rodeigs reiterats contínuum xarxes arabesc geomètric uniforme infinit	jerarquia de pensament (principal-secundari)
DISCOURSE	indefinit indecisió arbitrari difuminat diluit metàfores il·lògic boirós desdibuixament trituració	concissió decisió sense nubolositats
SOCIETY	harem paradís poble del desert somniadors esperit salvatge despreci de necessitats i treball material unificador conquistador dominador	guerrer primitiu oració i penitència pobles constructors
CHANGE	inmutable concepció entera, absoluta sense matissos	canvien i es transformen

SPEECH	oratòria veritat ofegada tou de paraules flors i violes comparacions símils imatges figures boira	parlen ras i curt veritat sincer cantallut sec aspre sever
HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS	semític poble d'Israel Àsia caldeo-assiri Egipte fenicis hebreus Islam plateresc renaixement castellà mossàrab	raça ària Europa grec romà romànic gòtic
CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS	tobes ceràmica tàpia carcassa de fusta recoberta de cordes enguixats llaceries tenda de liana no aprecia la casa	estructura romana pedres parets de maó voltes d'escala

VIEWS ON LANGUAGE	antipatia per altres idiomes èuskar, gallec i català: dialectes despreciables alemany i anglès aspres francès pobre italià afeminat	

Table 2. Names, adjectives and expressions used to describe the Castilian and the Catalan streams in Puig's 'Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas' (1897).

This poses two apparent paradoxes. If Semitic forms were so intrinsically linked to the Castilian character – and thus so detached from the Catalan spirit – why did Puig use Oriental decorative motives so intensely in his own architectural production? Why did he not choose neo-Romanesque instead to represent the spirit of modern Catalonia, as did for example his contemporary Josep Danés?[365] And if no 'etnos hispanicum' existed, as Puig wrote in 1914, why did he design only one year later a grand display of Spain that was to be held in a series of buildings with strong resonances of Castilian Plateresque, Renaissance and Baroque, as he himself admitted?

4.3.2 Disrupted Traditions and the Making of a New Spain

Puig's appropriation of architectural features that he elsewhere considers as material representations of the Castilian soul is best understood when read in conjunction with a text written by his mentor, Domènech i Montaner, in 1878. In the article 'En busca d'una arquitectura nacional' (In Search of a National Architecture), Domènech asked whether it was possible to develop a modern national architecture. Domènech's text has been often interpreted as a call to create a *Catalan* national architecture,[366] but the author's interest is actually in

[365] On Danés, see Joaquim M. Puigvert's seminal work, Joaquim M. Puigvert i Solà, *Josep Danés i Torras. Noucentisme i regionalisme arquitectònics* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008).

[366] See for example Cócola Gant, *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona*, 68–69; Abel Figueres and Joan Cusidó i Cabanes, eds., *El nacionalisme de l'art (de Domènech i Montaner a Aragay)*

discussing whether a modern *Spanish* national architecture is possible.[367] In 1878, and in Domènech's view, Catalonia was not regarded as a 'nation', but as a 'people'. Thus, he talks of 'the peoples that form the current Spanish nation'.[368] 'National' remained only attributed to the nation-state, Spain, even if this was perceived as fragmented and disunited. Like Puig, Domènech saw the Iberian Peninsula as a diverse territory, and that is why he wondered:

> Which are our common artistic traditions? Which is our common character? Which is the physical environment that we should consider as national? No common history, no common language, no common laws, customs and inclinations have formed the diverse Spanish character.[369]

(Barcelona: Llibres de l'Índex, 2004); Lluís Domènech Girbau, "En busca d'una arquitectura nacional", *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi*, no. 14 (2000): 299–303.

[367] Rohrer, for instance, supports this interpretation. See Rohrer, "Puig i Cadafalch: The Early Work", 20. Jacobson also contends that Domènech was concerned with the possibility of developing a Spanish – not Catalan – national architecture, but arguably his reading of whether this was actually possible is misguided. Jacobson argues that '[Domènech] contended that Spain needed to redress its lack of a unified architectural tradition, and called for a new movement that would blend the two great traditions of the medieval kingdoms of the peninsula. The first of these, present in central and southern Spain, was the 'Mudejar' style, which itself consisted of a combination of Christian Renaissance and Arabesque forms. The second was really two separate traditions, the Romanesque and Gothic, prominent in Catalonia and the north and east of the Iberian Peninsula'. While it is true that Domènech identifies these two different schools as the main inspirations of historicist, neo-medievalist Spanish architects in the nineteenth century, he actually strongly advises against blending them into a third one: 'Si no haguessin passat de tres á cuatre segles desde lo temps en que abdos estils se detingueren, si poguessim permaneixer aislats del moviment d'Europa, creyém que ells podrian constituhir dos tipos distints d'arquitectura nacional, un que tal volta podria aplicarse al mitj dia y centre d'Espanya y un altre que podriam adoptar los de la part oriental de nostra nació. Tal volta las dos podrian unirse y formar violentantse una tercera arquitectura; mes francament per raciocini y per sentiment creyem que tot lo camí que se fés en aquesta via no conduhiría á una era brillant d'arquitectura moderna.' Cf. Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888", 85; and Domènech i Montaner, "En busca de una arquitectura nacional", 158.

[368] '[…] los pobles que constitueixen la actual nació espanyola'. Domènech i Montaner, "En busca de una arquitectura nacional", 153.

[369] '¿Quinas son nostras tradicions artisticas comuns? ¿quin nostre comú caracter? ¿Quin medi fisich el que debem considerar com á nacional? Ni una mateixa historia, ni una mateixa llengua, ni iguals lleys, costums é inclinacions han format lo divers caracter espanyol.' Ibid.

Puig's view on the diversity of Spanish architectures is indebted to Domènech's. The genealogy of 'Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas' follows that of 'En busca de una arquitectura nacional'. Domènech also identified several schools of architecture in the country, although they were not Puig's two, but four: an Arabic tradition in the south, Romanesque in the north, Gothic in the territories of the former Crown of Aragon, and Renaissance in the places linked to the Austrian and Bourbon monarchies.[370] Less explicitly than Puig, he also traces these traditions back to antiquity, to the ancient civilizations of 'Chaldea, Assyria and Persia', to Egyptian and Greek temples, and to Roman architecture.[371] It is not surprising that Puig's discourse on historical and national architectures stems from Domènech's, as he was not only his disciple, but also his collaborator in an extensive history of universal art that was published in eight volumes from 1886 to 1897, the very same year Puig delivered his lecture 'Carácter…' at the Ateneu Barcelonès.[372]

Domènech's genealogy of Spanish architectures ends abruptly with the advent of industrialisation and the subsequent globalisation of culture. In the past, regional characteristics – 'the people's secular character', 'artistic traditions', and 'climate' – gave rise to 'distinct' forms of art, 'that is, with their own systems of construction and of ornamentation'. However, any attempts to create new forms of such place-based architectures would be in vain as, due to globalisation, those forms would rapidly travel to other countries with similar

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370 '[…] ha nascut lo predomini de tradicions artisticas generalment árabes en lo mitjdia, románicas en lo nort, ojivals ó góticas, com se diu vulgarment, en la antigua corona aragonesa y centre antich de Espanya y del renaixement en las poblacions á que va donar vida lo poder centralisador de las monarquia austríaca y borbónica'. Ibid., 153–154. Note that, unlike Puig, Domènech casts Gothic as the style of architecture typical of the Crown of Aragon, and sees Romanesque as a broader, 'northern', architectural phenomenon. This would of course have an impact on his selection for the Catalan medieval canon, as seen for example in his 'dream' for the renovation of the old city of Barcelona that was discussed in Part I. On the history of the competition between Romanesque Gothic to become Catalonia's national style, see the special issue "L'estil nacional: romànic o gòtic?", *L'Avenç: Revista d'Història* 276 (2003).

371 Domènech i Montaner, "En busca de una arquitectura nacional", 150.

372 Domènech i Montaner and Puig i Cadafalch, *Historia General del Arte escrita e ilustrada en vista de los monumentos y de la mejores obras publicadas hasta el día*. Domènech and Puig were responsable for the first three volumes, dedicated to architecture.

ideas and environments. 'The never-ending expansion of knowledge across borders', he continues, 'the powerful force of assimilation of modern instruction', and similar forms of political organisation, 'will nullify all efforts to create a national architecture'. In this scenario, place-based identities would only be able to constitute a 'gradation' to a global modern architecture.[373]

In Domènech's diagnosis, the continuity that joined place-based identities and their architectures has been interrupted by modernity. Therefore, Arabic forms of construction no longer represent the character of modern Castilians, and neither should Romanesque be considered a valid form to embody the soul of modern Catalans. Arguably, Domènech, Puig and other representatives of the 'Nova Arquitectura Catalana' used the forms of the past as a repertoire of *features without soul* that could be appropriated for a new purpose: to create a new form of architecture for a new identity.[374] After discarding different forms of historicism with which, according to Domènech, architects tried to create modern, 'national' architectures during the nineteenth century, he proposes to 'prepare' a 'new architecture' – what would later be known as 'Nova Arquitectura Catalana' – drawing inspiration from 'homeland traditions' – 'tradicions pàtries' – but without letting them be an obstacle towards modern knowledge.[375] He then mentions specific examples of useful resources to be drawn from 'classic' construction techniques, 'Arabic' surfaces and decorations, or Renaissance 'elegance', which should be combined with the

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373 'En una paraula la arquitectura dadas las condicions actuals de la societat moderna no pot conservar un carácter verament nacional. Lo esperit propi de una nació podrá modificar lo tipo general modern, podrá constituir una escola, una gradació, mes no un art distint ab sas condicions necessarias, es á dir ab un sistema propi de construcció ab sistema propi ornamental. La espansió continua de los coneixements á través de las fronteras, la poderosa forsa de assimilació de la instrucció moderna, la semblansa de organisació dels pobles anularán tots los esforcos pera crear una arquitectura nacional. […] Si se pogués crear una nova arquitectura en una nació responent á las necessitats del dia ben prompte s'estendria á los demes paysos civilisats que professan ideas y posseeixen medis semblants. Seria una arquitectura moderna mes no nacional.' Domènech i Montaner, "En busca de una arquitectura nacional", 153.

374 On the origins of the school and the impact on Puig's work, see Rohrer, "Puig i Cadafalch: The Early Work."

375 '¿Perque no cumplir francament ab nostra missió? ¿perque no preparar, ja que no poguem formarla, una nova arquitectura? Inspiremnos en las tradicions patrias; en bona hora, mes que aquestas no nos serveixin pera faltar á los coneixements que tenim ó podem adquirir.' Domènech i Montaner, "En busca de una arquitectura nacional", 159.

shapes imposed by 'new experiences and necessities'. Domènech is proposing an architecture that merges tradition and modernity, and to be sure this will not be a novelty to anyone familiar with mainstream interpretations of Catalan *Modernisme*. In Part I, Domènech's Castell dels Tres Dragons has been analysed along those lines. Nevertheless, the identity politics in place here does not easily fit into traditional interpretations of *Modernisme* as a re-imagination of the Catalan past, or of Domènech's early work as an embodiment of a Spanish Imperial identity.[376] Domènech's eclecticism – as he calls the style himself – did not only mobilise elements of the Catalan architectural past, but also others that corresponded to a broader Spanish – and European – geography. A taste for arabesques, for instance, may have been fashionable at the time, but also served a purpose that would soon become quite explicitly political. And this was not so much about celebrating Spanish national identity in Catalonia, but about creating a new *Catalan* version of that Spanish nation.

Puig's architectural project for the 1929 International Exposition put this into practice. Like Domènech – or even more so – he used Catalan and Castilian architectural traditions as a repertoire from which he could freely pick and choose to represent a modern, industrial and global Barcelona – this may explain why he fills his façades in the Eixample with arabesques – or a new, Catalan-led, Spanish State, as he does in his project for the Exposition. In 1990, Solà-Morales argued that from 1914, Puig's architecture showed 'an apparent indifference to express itself in a native, regional or particularist idiom'.[377] But we should not read this as a move away from his earlier, *Modernista* placed-based works, but rather as a culmination of a multilinguistic architecture that freely draws on the architectural repertoire of the past to

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[376] The narrative that sees Catalan *Modernisme* as the representation of a 'distinctive [Catalan] personality […] the concrete effort to re-discover a collective spirit and a culture' stems from Oriol Bohiga's seminal 1968 book *Arquitectura Modernista*, and has permeated research on the topic ever since. Judith Rohrer, to whom the quote in this footnote belongs, has challenged Bohiga's view as well as the meaning of *Modernisme* when applied to architecture in the unpublished article: Rohrer, "Arquitectura Modernista: What Was/Is It?" In turn, the 'celebratory' argument is presented in Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exposition of 1888."

[377] Solà-Morales, "...'Ciudad ordenada y monumental'... La arquitectura de Josep Puig i Cadafalch en la época de la Mancomunidad", 37.

respond to different modern objectives. Or, to use Solà-Morales' words, '[a] freedom that results in the casual use of the elements, in the juxtaposition and in the incorporation of pieces taken from any period of history as a collage made without too many constraints'.[378] Thus, those surface-based arabesques in the heart of Barcelona no longer echo the superficial souls of Andalusians and Castilians, since, as Domènech argued, the connection between the two had been disrupted due to industrialisation. Similarly, the Plateresque, Renaissance and Baroque that Puig uses for the pavilions of the Exposition no longer echo the Castile-based State that gave rise to them. Instead, Baroque could now mean something else: it could be recast as a peripheral style.

Renaissance and Baroque were displayed in the Spanish illustrated press of the time as the Spanish national architectural styles, with examples usually taken from Castilian cities like Salamanca, Ávila or Toledo, as well as from the pilgrimage centre Santiago de Compostela in Galicia.[379] Conversely, in his 1929 letter, Puig declares that Spanish Renaissance and Baroque are to be found in such geographically distant places as 'Salamanca, Santiago, Sevilla, València and Barcelona'.[380] In doing so, he echoes the view of Ricard Giralt Casadesús (1884-1970), one of the rehabilitators of Baroque during the *Noucentista* period, who wrote in 1918 that, even though the style had been 'despised' as 'decadent' in previous decades, he actually saw in it an 'immense variety' due to the 'individuality' of the artists that created it. Thus, according to Giralt, Baroque architectures in El Escorial (Madrid), Zaragoza, València, and Barcelona had almost nothing to do with each other.[381] The contrast between the Castile-

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[378] Ibid., 63.

[379] See Hernández Cano, "«Solitarios refugios de efemérides viejas». Monumentos y ciudades históricas como símbolos nacionales en la prensa gráfica (1918-1930)."

[380] 'Els iniciadors pensaren en un gran eix central amb unitat de composició inspirada en el possible en temes del Renaixement i de l'art barroc espanyol, adaptant-los als problemes d'una construcció provisional, un entremig entre la escenografia i la arquitectura. Qui conegui Salamanca, Santiago, Sevilla, València i Barcelona mateix, podrà apreciar com era ample i gran la pedrera d'on treure material.' "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Michel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard]", [1–2]. Note that Puig suggests that the design was initially proposed by a third party, which he calls 'the initiators'.

[381] Ricard Giralt Casadesús, "L'art barroc. L'odi al barroc i la seva rehabilitació", *Fulla Artística de l'Alt Empordà*, October 1918, 75–76. I am grateful to Joan Falgueras for the reference.

based Baroque, on the one hand, and the 'peripheral' canon of Puig's and Giralt's, on the other, is better seen in Figure 18.

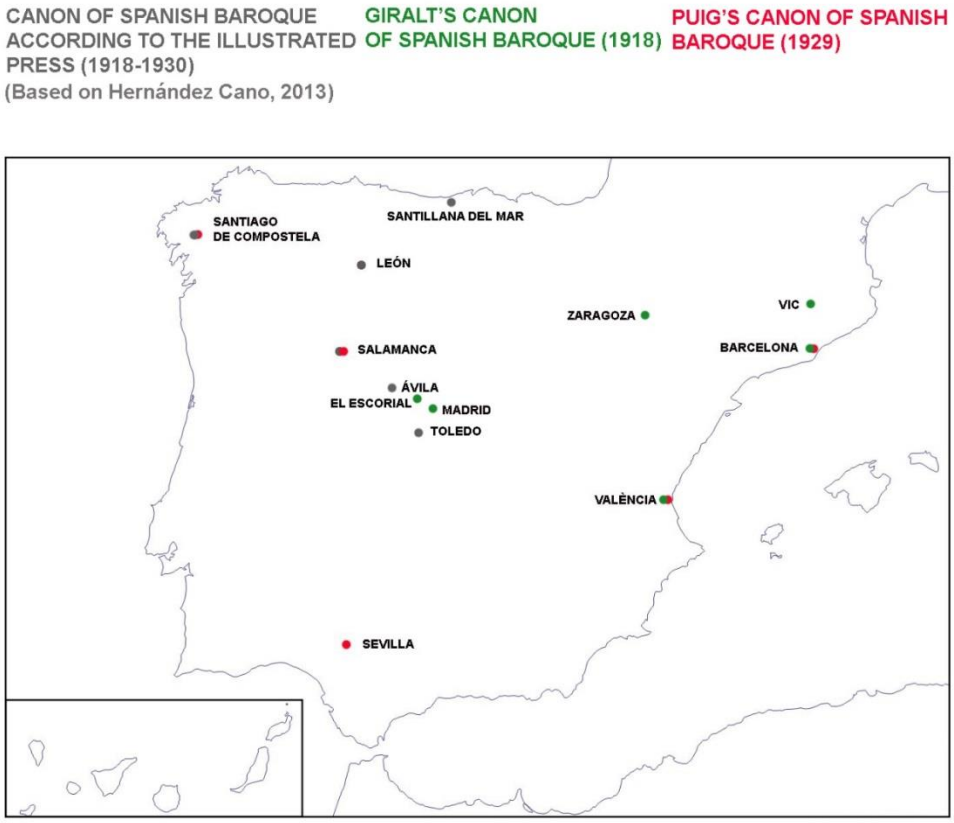


Figure 18. Puig's canon of Spanish Baroque vis a vis Giralt's and the illustrated press'.

Alongside Giralt, other thinkers saw the 'folk' aspect of Baroque ('barroc popular') as a style fitting the aesthetics and ideology of *Noucentisme* in the 1910s. In the eyes of Eugeni d'Ors, it represented the embodiment of a humble yet sophisticated Catalan soul – 'a little church, humble and homely, yet with a select Baroque taste'.[382] As this type of Baroque was disseminated across the Catalan territory, its aesthetics were regarded as suitable to convey the political and cultural programme of the *Mancomunitat* in different regions and social sectors. Thus, several projects of public architecture, such as the educational 'grups escolars' discussed in Part 1, adopted decorative motives

[382] '[…] una esglesieta, humil i casolana, però de selecte gust barroc'. Quote taken from *La ben plantada*, cited in Solà-Morales, "Sobre Noucentisme i Arquitectura. Notes per a una història d'Arquitectura Moderna a Catalunya (1900-1917)", 28.

stemming from 'folk Baroque' such as *sgraffiti* and tiles.[383] *Sgraffiti* can indeed be seen in the façades of the two pavilions that Puig built for the Exposition, but he was not so directly and explicitly involved in the rehabilitation of 'Baroque' as Giralt Casadesús, d'Ors or Puig Gairalt.

The 'classic' aspect of Baroque also stemmed from an aesthetic rebellion against the forms of *Modernisme*, labelled as excessive, foreign, or eclectic. The architect Ramon Puig Gairalt (1886-1937), one of the main representatives of the classicist renovation of architecture during *Noucentisme*, considered it 'a confusing mixture of foreign architectures'. However, in line with Rohrer's argument on the meaning of the term 'Modernisme' at the time, he does not include the work of Domènech, Puig and others in that despicable style. Instead, he considers Puig's architecture – also the early work that is commonly considered as markedly *Modernista* – as an example of 'our Baroque Renaissance': 'Look at his splendid forged irons, his mouldings and ornaments, his friezes, his majolica (the one at the Casa Garí, for example), his mosaics, etc., that is, all what tends to colour, the intonation of the building, everything is our Baroque Renaissance'.[384]

According to Solà-Morales, this classicism also influenced Puig's design for the Exposition, which he sees as the attempt to find an idiom for monumental architecture in the context of *Noucentisme* and the recent creation of the *Mancomunitat*.[385] Solà-Morales argues that the choice of Baroque as an idiom for this new monumental architecture is embedded within a taste for and promotion of architectural classicism in the Catalonia of the period. Later architects such as the aforementioned Puig Gairalt or Pelayo Martínez (1898-1978) would understand classicism as a means to reject eclecticism and to adopt more 'clear' historicist forms, drawing inspiration from Brunelleschian

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383 Alícia Suàrez and Mercè Vidal i Jansà, *Els arquitectes Antoni i Ramon Puig Gairalt: noucentisme i modernitat* (Barcelona: Curial; Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1993), 195.

384 'Mirad sus espléndidos hierros forjados, sus molduras y adornos, sus frisos, sus mayólicas (la de la casa Garí, por ejemplo), sus mosaicos, etc., es decir, todo cuanto tiende a dar color, la entonación del edificio, todo es de nuestro Renacimiento Barroco.' Cited in Ibid., 190.

385 Solà-Morales, *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929*, 61.

Florence, cinquecento Rome, or rococo France.[386] Nevertheless, the characterisation of *Modernisme* as a 'foreign' style should not be read as a rejection of European and cosmopolitan architecture, for architectural classicism was also a trend in Italy, northern Europe and the United States, and as such it was embraced by the cultural and political leaders of *Noucentisme* as a feature of cosmopolitanism.[387]

In this context, Puig proposed a canon of Renaissance and Baroque with a strong focus on the periphery and on vernacular identities – Galicia, Andalusia, and the ancient Crown of Aragon – that echoes his conceptualisation of Spanish textiles, wines and historical figures described earlier in this chapter. And it is also markedly eclectic, just like Domènech proposed in his text 'En busca de una arquitectura nacional'. When analysing the only two pavilions that Puig built for the site – which would later be known as Palace of Alfonso XIII and Palace of Victoria Eugenia in honour of the then Spanish King, Alfonso XIII, and his wife, Victoria Eugenia de Battenberg – Solà-Morales calls the combination of Corinthian columns, metallic lattice, and Baroque-like *sgraffiti* and portal a 'collage', adding that there was an 'eminently heterodox use of the classic idiom'.[388] The two pavilions were inaugurated on the occasion of the International Exposition of Furniture and Interior Design opened in Barcelona in December 1923, shortly before Puig's political defenestration. In his memoirs, Puig, then still the President of the *Mancomunitat*, acidly recalls how the inauguration of the Exposition made him aware of a change in the attitudes of the General and the King – who had explicitly supported the coup – towards Catalonia. Alfonso was, according to Puig, 'a gentle man, with a natural talent […] probably the smartest King in Europe'. Before the coup, he had shown an understanding of the Catalan question, which on the other hand had been aided by Puig's unmistakable belief in Catalonia's position as an integral part of the Spanish Crown. During a dinner in 1922, when Alfonso

386 Solà-Morales, "Sobre Noucentisme i Arquitectura. Notes per a una història d'Arquitectura Moderna a Catalunya (1900-1917)", 23.
387 Ibid., 27.
388 Solà-Morales i de Rubió, "L'arquitectura de l'Exposició: palaus i pavellons", 15–16. He goes further in suggesting that the interior of these works points towards rchitectural modernism insofar it is formed by a diaphanous space without hierarchies, that would then be subdivided according to specific display needs.

showed concern about the amount of Catalan flags that he had seen in Barcelona, Puig replied: 'Your Majesty, the Catalan flag is a quarter of the royal shield', and the meal ended with toasts from the King to the 'four Catalan provinces' and from Puig to 'A new Spain'.[389] During the opening of the Furniture Exposition, however, Alfonso showed his displeasure with the fact that most books and the labelling of the section planned by the *Mancomunitat* were in Catalan. Previously that same evening, Primo had allegedly told Puig that the *Catalanista* movement was a 'ghost' without any real rootedness in people's minds, and that the public use of the Catalan language should come to an end. Puig left the party shortly after, and allegedly 'never saw the King again'.[390]

4.4 Conclusion

World Fairs were very powerful mechanisms for the dissemination of 'messages of power', as Bennet calls them. In Puig's hands, that potential was maximised by his joint use of architecture and display to convey one single message. The programme that he designed – under the eye of Francesc Cambó, general curator of the event – was not finally realised, but the preparatory materials provide a unique insight into the Lliga's plans for the event. The focus of the Exposition was Spain; however, it was not a celebration of the Spanish State as it was, but the materialisation of Prat's and Cambó's political project for the country. It was the visualisation of a new Spain, imagined and shaped in Barcelona, a regenerated country with an unmistakable Catalan matrix. Puig *catalanised* the project in two different ways: on the one hand, by using Spanish historical architectures as a repertoire from which to build a 'new national architecture', in Domènech i Montaner's words; a new architecture for a new Spain conceived and cast in Catalonia. This new architecture was inspired by historical Baroque in a variety of ways: it was a Spanish Baroque recast as an eminently peripheral style, combined with the

[389] Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *Memòries*, ed. Núria Mañé and Josep Massot i Muntaner (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2003), 298–301.
[390] Ibid., 302–304.

nuances and signification of Catalan 'folk Baroque', and the search of a Classic idiom to fit in with the aesthetics of *Noucentisme* and the ethos of the *Mancomunitat*. But the source of the Catalan character of Puig's design for the Exposition also lay beneath the surface: in the linkage of the display of 'all of Spain's art' to an ambitious scientific inventory, with a specific – positivistic – methodology and a European flare. For Puig's scientific approach to art history was crucially shaped by his numerous exchanges with European – and also American – scholars.

PART 3: INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGES IN EUROPE AND BEYOND: DOING POLITICS THROUGH ACADEMIC RESEARCH (CIRCA 1920-1950)

In 1930 Puig published one of his major contributions to the history of Romanesque architecture. *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic* – which may be translated as 'Geography and the Origins of Early Romanesque Art' – places Catalan Romanesque in a vast and complex European context, from the Iberian Peninsula to Romania and through France, the Rhine Valley, the Low Countries, Italy, and the Balkans.[391] In doing so, Puig also gave shape to the concept of the *premier art roman* or the Romanesque art of the eleventh century – also named 'Lombard Romanesque'. In his view, the style originated in the Western Mediterranean and then spread towards the centre of Europe. Catalan Romanesque played a crucial role in this inception, and thus Catalonia appeared as an innovative, leading region within medieval Europe.

This conceptualisation of the *premier art roman* may be considered one of Puig's major contributions to international academic research, and also one that is still being used internationally among historians of medieval art. One example of this is the conference 'Le « premier art roman » cent ans après', held in France in 2009.[392] With contributions from and on Lombardy, Bourgogne, the Rhine and Meuse Valleys, Istria, Dalmatia, Belgium and Switzerland, it analysed the current validity of Puig's theory. There was only one Catalan contribution to the symposium – by the curator of the National Art Museum of Catalonia (MNAC) Jordi Camps – which to some extent illustrates the scope of the European influence of Puig's theory on the *premier art roman* vis a vis its relative

[391] Puig had previously presented his theory partially in works such as Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "La géographie générale et la chronologie du premier art roman", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 72, no. 1 (1928): 73–83.
[392] The conference proceedings can be found in Éliane Vergnolle and Sébastien Bully, eds., *Le «premier art roman» cent ans après: la construction entre Saône et Pô autour de l'an mil. Études comparatives* (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2012). The back cover presents Puig as 'l'inventeur du « premier art roman »'.

lack of popularity in Catalonia. Indeed, while *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* – his earlier, major work on the evolution of Romanesque architecture in Catalonia – was re-edited in a facsimile edition in 2001, *La geografia i els orígens* has never been reprinted.[393]

According to Barral i Altet, it was the French art historian Henri Focillon (1881-1943) who promoted Puig's theory abroad, especially after the publication of the French version of the book in 1935. Although some aspects were and continue to be disputed – especially with regards to his analysis of Ottonian churches[394] – Puig's conception of the evolution of the *premier art roman* was positively received in Europe and beyond, even before the publication of the French translation, as shown by a number of reviews in British and American journals. Thus, the anonymous reviewer of *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* considered that 'Señor Puig i Cadafalch may be warmly congratulated on the production of what is bound to remain the standard work on its subject for a long time to come', after praising the book for its 'method' and 'clarity' and 'the thoroughness with which he has investigated the origins and development of architecture in Europe'.[395] Why did Puig attempt such an ambitious project, which entailed studying the Romanesque architecture of diverse and distant European countries, and how was he able to bring it successfully to an end? Does this eminently *transnational* project engage with his configuration of a *national* Catalan identity? And why did he acquire such an international prestige, to the point of being promptly reviewed in British and

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393 Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Antoni de Falguera, and Josep Goday i Casals, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya: edició facsímil* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2001). On the influence of the book on modern Catalan culture, see Cabestany i Fort, "L'Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya."

394 Puig's contributions to Ottonian architecture were not, nevertheless, completely disregarded in his own time. Upon receiving his honorary doctorate from Freiburg University in 1924, he wished that his studies 'may contribute to clarify the History of Architecture in the lands of the Rhine, for they are united by a community of style during the eleventh century'. "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to the Rector of Freiburg University]", July 1924, UC 2101, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

395 "Review of La Geografia I Els Orígens Del Primer Art Romànic by J. Puig i Cadafalch", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 62 (1933): 49. Another review was published in 1931 by the American journal *Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance and Modern*. See Barral i Altet, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch, els Pirineus i l'arqueologia monumental romànica de la Catalunya Nord", 34.

American journals with a publication in Catalan? The third and last part of this thesis addresses these questions.

As is well known, Puig's engagement with Catalan Romanesque was not only limited to art history writing. He played a key role in the transfer of several pieces of mural paintings from the Pyrenees to Barcelona in the early 1900s and in the subsequent formation of the capital's museum of art, which would later become the National Art Museum of Catalonia.[396] In addition to this, as an architect he was very active in the restoration of Romanesque monuments, such as the monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses (1912-1917), the cathedral of La Seu d'Urgell (1915-1919) or the site of Ègara in Terrassa (1917-1940).[397] Several of his research papers on Romanesque architecture emanated from that practice as a restorer.[398]

Through these academic, museographic and architectural projects[399] – by Puig and others – Romanesque became a crucial feature of Catalonia's national identity in the early twentieth century, with many considering it the 'national style'. A fascination for Romanesque had originated in the late nineteenth century, with such differing figures as the federalist politician Valentí Almirall (1841-1904) and the priest and intellectual Josep Torras i Bages (1846-1916) seeing in its 'sobriety' the best representation of the Catalan character. Later, scholars such as Josep Pijoan (1881-1963) and Pierre Vilar (1906-2003), highlighted the 'modern' characteristics of the expressive mural paintings of

396 On the expedition to the Pyrenees and Puig's participation in the transfer of the mural paintings, see Santiago Alcolea i Blanch, ed., *La missió arqueològica del 1907 als Pirineus* (Barcelona: Fundació La Caixa. Obra Social; Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, 2008); Camps i Sòria, Pagès i Paretas, and Ylla-Català, *Puig i Cadafalch i la col·lecció de pintura romànica del MNAC*. On the formation of the National Art Museum of Catalonia (MNAC), see Eva March, "Gènesi i procés de formació de l'actualment denominat Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya: 1844-1915" (Universitat de Barcelona, 1998); Eva March, *Els museus d'art i arqueologia de Barcelona durant la dictadura de Primo de Rivera (1923-1930)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2011).

397 On Puig's interventions in historical monuments, see Alcoy i Pedrós and Beseran i Ramon, *Puig i Cadafalch i la restauració de monuments*.

398 Puig's other works on Romanesque include Josep Puig i Cadafalch and Pere Pujol, *Santa Maria de la Seu d'Urgell* (Barcelona: Taller d'arts gràfiques Henrich i Cª, S en C., 1918); and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *La Seu Visigòtica d'Egara* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1936).

399 The journal *L'Avenç* published a monographic issue on the role of Romanesque and Gothic as Catalonia's national styles: "L'estil nacional: romànic o gòtic?"

the Pyrenees, which had caught the attention of avant-garde artists like Picasso.[400] Vilar was in fact one of the first advocates of the 'modern' character of the Catalan nation-building process during the twentieth century.[401] Still, the revalorisation of Romanesque – and other forms of medieval culture – in modern Catalonia has often been seen as a form of medievalism, and its role in the formation of modern Catalan identity has traditionally been connected to the use of the past in the construction of modern national narratives.[402] Neverthelss, Puig's international correspondence suggests other readings of the role of Romanesque in the construction of a modern Catalan imagination. Umbach has argued that Puig tied his interest in Catalan Romanesque to 'an argument that was *structurally modern*' as he used the medieval not as a source of historical legitimacy or of aesthetic affiliation but as a sign of 'technological progress'. This was done by arguing that southern – and thus Catalonia's – vaulted stone ceilings were technologically superior to the flat wooden ceilings of Ottonian churches.[403] This last part of the thesis discusses another *structurally modern* aspect of Puig's engagement with Romanesque, tying it not to the history of the style itself but to the history of the way in which the knowledge of this style was built.

Firstly, his argument on the *premir art roman* allowed Puig to portray Catalonia as a leading, innovative region *within the European context*. He used that European context to build his *nationalistic* reading of Catalan historic architecture. To this end he needed to take his research out of Catalonia, both materially and methodologically. His argument could only be built by comparing Catalan Romanesque to the evolution of the style in other

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400 Ramon Grau i Fernández, "La formació nacional de Catalunya i l'art romànic: El mirall de totes les ortodòxies", *L' Avenç: Revista de història i cultura*, no. 276 (2003): 38–40. See also Barral i Altet, "L'estudi de l'art romànic català o la construcció d'una identitat nacional."

401 See Núñez Seixas, *Historiographical Approaches to Nationalism in Spain*, 41.

402 See, for instance, Poblador Muga, "El descubrimiento de la arquitectura medieval"; Barbara Borngässer, "Die mittelalterliche Kunst des Pyrenäenraums und die Selbstfindung Kataloniens", *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik* 17 (2004): 7–27.

403 Umbach, "The Modernist Imagination of Place and the Politics of Regionalism: The Case of Puig i Cadafalch and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona", 89–91. Emphasis in the original.

European regions, and by engaging with international debates on comparative art history. He did both things intensively, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

Secondly, his research and academic travels abroad allowed him to further develop a political interest in European peripheral nationalisms once his formal political career had come to an end. Chapter 6 brings together his earlier, 'theoretical' discussion of European peripheral nationalisms and his later academic engagement with that periphery in order to argue that his intense research activity and extensive international travels should be seen as a form of political engagement, and therefore as a culmination of his concerns as a formal politician.

Finally, my reading of Puig's international correspondence places his *nationalistic* art history writing in an eminently *transnational* context. Chapter 7 shows that, while being one of the key figures in the Catalan nation-building process, and contributing himself to *nationalistic* readings of architectural history, he participated intensively in international academic debates, and contributed to research done in other countries. So much so that a close analysis of his contacts with Romanian intellectuals reveals that Puig and other Catalan academics contributed, with their work, to the Romanian nation-building effort, in the same way as Romanian scholars such as Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940) and his disciple Constantin Marinescu (1891-1970) contributed to the construction of the myth of the medieval Crown of Aragon. The context and the practices that framed those *nationalistic* approaches to medieval history were thus eminently *transnational*.

Chapter 5: The History of Catalan Romanesque Abroad: Showcasing Catalonia in International Academia

This chapter analyses a sample of Puig's international correspondence in order to illustrate his numerous exchanges with international historians of medieval art, which crucially informed his conception of Catalan Romanesque. For reasons that will be subsequently exposed, his French contacts have been excluded. The resulting sample, which amounts to a third of the total of his non-French contacts, illuminates Puig's international engagement in a number of ways. On the one hand, it shows that most of the exchanges had an academic, art history nature, clearly overshadowing his other facets as an architect and politician. In addition to that, the letters reveal Puig's prestige among historians of medieval art abroad, as he received numerous academic enquiries. The chapter then shows the dissemination of Puig's work abroad through his personal exchanges of publications, and finally reflects on the role of Catalan and other minority languages in these exchanges.

Puig corresponded with a vast number of academics, architects, museum officers and other intellectuals around the world. His correspondence, held at the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, comprises over 1000 contacts.[404] Half of those (500) are international correspondents, with a clear predominance of French contacts, as shown in Table 3 and the visualisations in Figure 19.

Country	**Number of Correspondents**
France	+-330
United States	38
Italy	33
Germany	26
Belgium	19
Britain	17
Romania	13

[404] Most of the letters were identified and catalogued by the ANC, but there are still a number of non-identified senders (59) and recipients (92).

Switzerland	9
The Netherlands	5
Austria	4
Czechoslovakia	4
Greece	4
Portugal	4
Serbia	4
Norway	2
Sweden	2
Turkey	2
Armenia	1
Canada	1
Colombia	1
Cuba	1
Denmark	1
Luxembourg	1
Mexico	1
Monaco	1
Uruguay	1
Unknown	3
Subtotal of non-French international contacts	**199**

Table 3. Puig's contacts with international correspondents. Most of these countries reflect the country from which the letter was sent, but in some cases I have chosen to take into account the country of origin of the correspondent if that was significant or the country that the correspondent represented. This is the case, for example, of the secretary of the Cercle Intellectuel Arménien, which was based in Paris.

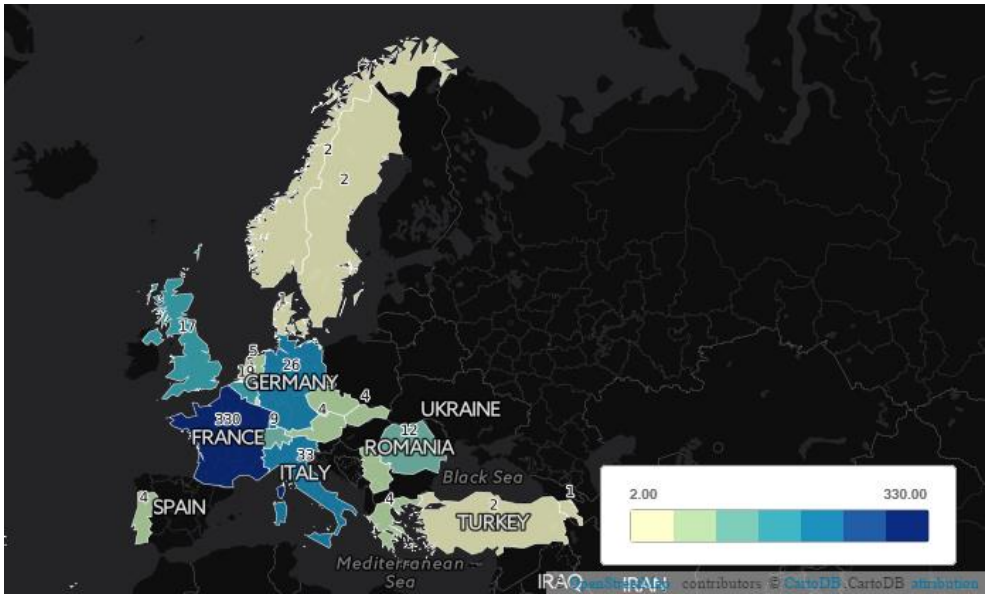


Figure 19. Visualisation of Puig's international correspondents in Europe. Software used: CartoDB.

Puig's contacts with France are the most well-known of his international exchanges. As Olivier Poisson and Antoni Pladevall i Font, among others, have shown, France played a crucial role not only in Puig's formation as an art historian and archaeologist, but also in the dissemination of his works on Catalan Romanesque in Europe.[405] Poisson, following Barral, identifies an influence of French archaeology already in Puig's first research article, dedicated to the medieval site of Ègara in Terrassa and published in 1889. Puig acknowledged the influence of the French historian Jean-August Brutails in the introduction to *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, claiming that his late-nineteenth-century works on the medieval art of the Roussillon constituted 'the first treaty of Catalan architecture'.[406] It is unclear, however, the extent to which Brutails' work, an archivist educated in the context of the École des Chartes, had on Puig's research, given the intrinsically comparative and, as we shall see later, 'positivistic' nature of his approach. Subsequently, Puig would regularly attend academic conferences in France, publish his work in French,

[405] Poisson, "La «carrera francesa» de Josep Puig i Cadafalch"; Pladevall i Font, "Puig i Cadafalch i la difusió de la coneixença de l'art romànic a Europa." Poisson's piece is acknowledgedly based on Xavier Barral i Altet, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch, historiador del arte medieval", in *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: la arquitectura entre la casa y la ciudad*, ed. Judith Rohrer and Ignasi de Solà-Morales (Barcelona: Fundació Caixa de Pensions, 1989), 65–89.
[406] Cited in Poisson, "La «carrera francesa» de Josep Puig i Cadafalch", 18.

and even receive French awards for his research, for example by the Institut de France on the occasion of the completion of his series of three volumes *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*. His engagement with the French academic context became especially intense during Primo's regime, during which he resided in Paris for as many as six years.

Whereas the French input was certainly significant, studying the international correspondence held in the archive allows us to draw a bigger and more complex picture. On the one hand, it shows the vast scope and diversity of his international exchanges: from cultural centres like France and Germany to more peripheral places like Scandinavia and southern-eastern Europe, together with a very significant engagement with, at the time, an emerging cultural and academic power like the United States. In order to provide a global understanding of the nature and significance of Puig's contacts with so many and so diverse personalities, this chapter analyses a sample of these materials. Excluding the French contacts due to the above-mentioned reasons, the sources analysed correspond to 65 single correspondents with family names starting from A to F, which equal to a third of the total 199. Next to this, his correspondence with Romanian intellectuals is analysed as a case study in the next two chapters.

5.1 Architects and Archaeologists versus Art Historians in Puig's International Correspondence

Only six of the 65 non-French contacts studied may be related to modern architecture or architectural practice, and only one has an archaeological nature, whereas as many as 62 correspond to historians, art historians and related academic institutions. Four of the six architects were based in the Low Countries, while two – probably the most interesting ones – were female Romanian practitioners.

During the early 1900s Puig corresponded with P. J. H. Cuypers (1827-1921), the famous Dutch architect, author of two major national architectural projects, the Rijksmuseum (1876–1885) and the Amsterdam Central Station

(1881–1889), and who shared with Puig an interest in medieval – and medievalist – architecture.[407] Engaging with that interest, Cuypers wrote to Puig in 1904 about his regrets over having missed a visit to Barcelona and its cathedral – which had, as noted elsewhere, a neo-Gothic façade – as well as Puig's own works, which he knew from photographs.[408] In a second letter, Cuypers thanks Puig for having sent an issue of the 'artistic magazine' *Forma* with images of Puig's Casa Macaya, a bourgeois residential house in the Barcelona Eixample completed in 1901 with a marked neo-Gothic style.[409] Cuypers was most probably referring to the first issue of the journal, published between 1904 and 1908 and directed by the art critic Miquel Utrillo (1862-1934). In that issue, Utrillo reviewed *L'œuvre de Puig y Cadafalch, architecte, 1896-1904*, a French recollection of Puig's architectural works of the previous eight years.[410] The article was eight pages long and included numerous photographic reproductions of Puig's buildings and interiors, such as the Casa Garí (1898-1900), the Casa Amatller (1898-1900) and the later demolished Casa Trinxet (1902-1904), together with several images of the aforementioned Casa Macaya. In his letter, Cuypers highlights a photograph of the house with the caption 'Entrada, escala y pati' ('Entrance, staircase and courtyard') [see Figure 20] and transmits his admiration, writing: 'The reproduction of your very remarkable works have all my sympathy and I give you my sincere compliment.'[411]

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[407] See Hetty Berens, ed., *P.J.H. Cuypers, 1827-1921: The Complete Works* (Rotterdam: Nai Publishers, 2007).

[408] "[Letter from P.J.H. Cuypers to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 21, 1904, UC 1259, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. I am grateful to Joan Falgueras Font for the help with the transcription of these letters.

[409] See Rohrer and Solà-Morales, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch*, 146–149.

[410] M. [Miquel Utrillo] U., "Publicacions rebudes. L'œuvre de Puig y Cadafalch, architecte", *Forma* 1 (1904): 103–14.

[411] 'La reproduction de vos œuvres très remarquables ont toutes mes sympathies et je vous fais mon sincère compliment.' "[Letter from P.J.H. Cuypers to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", June 20, 1904, UC 1259, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. In fact, Cuypers writes 'Zaguan, Patio y Escalera Casa Macaya', that is, a Spanish translation of the caption. The magazine *Forma* was published in Catalan, Spanish and French, so it seems that Puig sent the Spanish version to Cuypers.

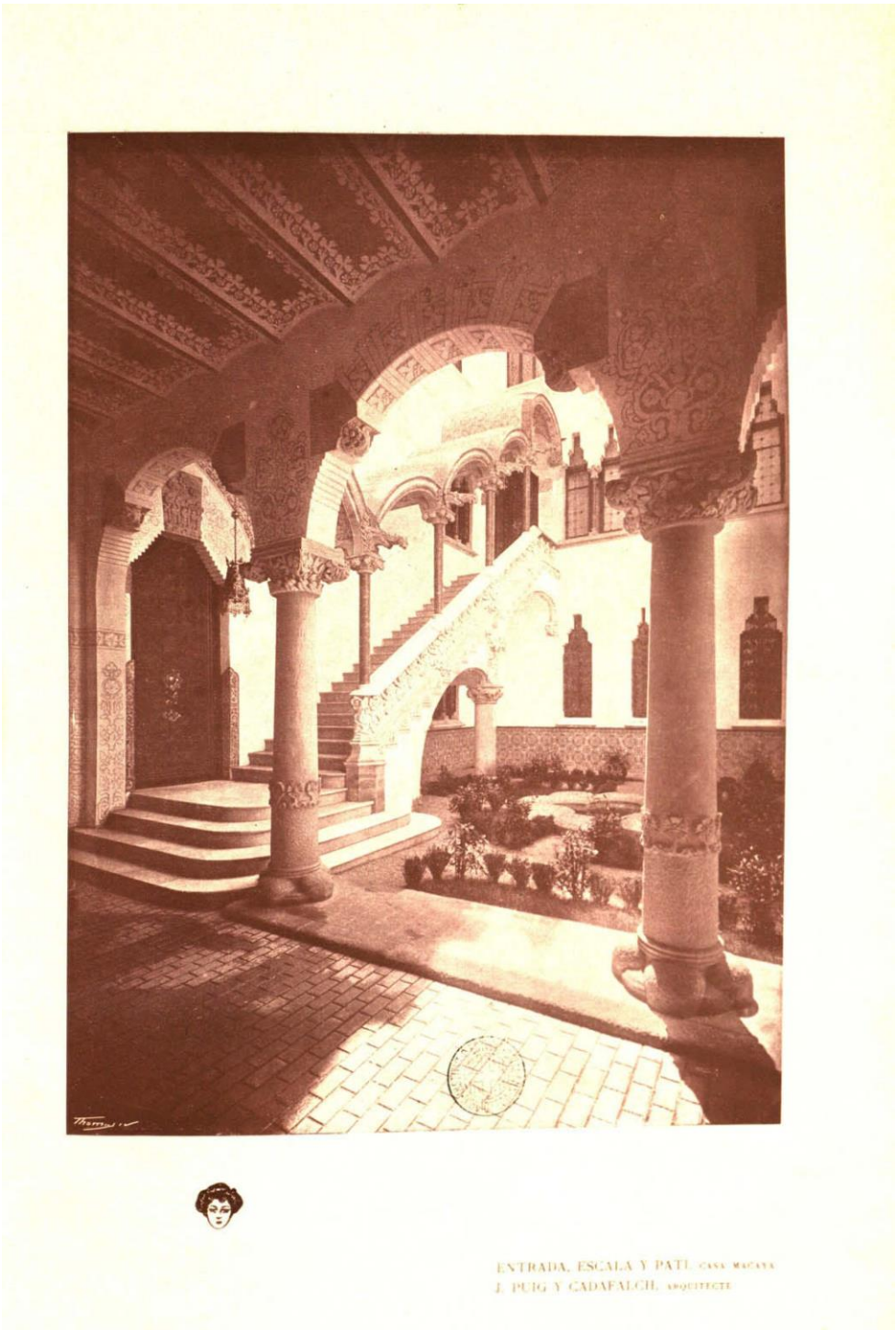


Figure 20. 'Entrada, escala y pati. Casa Macaya. J. Puig y Cadafalch, arquitecte' in U., M. [Miquel Utrillo]. "Publicacions rebudes. L'œuvre de Puig y Cadafalch, architecte." *Forma* 1 (1904): 103–14 (111).

Puig's contacts with Belgian architects were less renowned, and data about them are in fact very patchy. Throughout the 1920s, he had a long epistolary relationship with Louis Baude, author of several housing blocks built with an eclectic style in eastern Brussels at the turn of the twentieth century. They

discussed Baude's participation in the competition to build the Palace of Nations in Geneva – which was finally designed by a joined team of Swiss, French, Italian and Hungarian architects – as well as the ongoing works of the Barcelona International Exposition. Thanks to Baude, Puig became an honorary member of the Société centrale d'architecture de Belgique in 1920 and submitted a report of the Exposition works to the Société's journal, *L'Émulation*, in 1923, although it is unknown whether the piece was finally published or not.[412] He also seems to have had a long-standing friendship with the Belgian diplomat based in Barcelona C. Bastin, who contacted him in 1926 ('Je me permets – he writes – d'avoir recours à votre obligeance habituelle') seeking for advice on publications showing sketches or designs of Spanish villas, following the demand of a builder working in the Belgian Congo.[413] Another Belgian architect, Jan van Aubry, praised, in 1929, Puig's intervention in the monastery of Montserrat.[414]

Nevertheless, the richest exchange seems to have been with two female architects from Romania, Marica Cotescu and Maria Irineu. The two warmly regarded Puig as their 'master' and showed great admiration for his research and architectural work. Irineu even claimed: '[…] the reproductions of your works – dear Master – give me courage and wings'.[415]

Cotescu was a disciple of Petre Antonescu (1873-1965) who was, like Puig, also an urban planner and restorer of historical monuments. He was the author of several public buildings in a historicist, neo-Romanesque style, such as the Creţulescu palace in Bucharest (1902-1906) and the casino of the Palas hotel in Sinaia (1903). Upon receiving a copy of *La plaça de Catalunya* – Puig's

412 "[Correspondence between Josep Puig i Cadafalch and Louis Baude]", 1919-1928, UC 1119, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
413 "[Letter from C. Bastin to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 5, 1926, UC 1117, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
414 "[Letter from Jan van Aubry to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", October 24, 1929, UC 1102, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. On Puig's intervention in Montserrat, see Josep-Maria Garcia-Fuentes, "La construcció del Montserrat modern" (Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 2012), 319–360.
415 […] 'les reproductions de vos œuvres – cher Maitre – me donnent courage et élan'. "[Letter from Maria Irineu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 18, 1929, UC 1415, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

description of his project for the transformation of Barcelona's central square, which will be discussed later in this chapter – he praised it for its contribution to 'Catalan science'.[416] His disciple Maria Cotescu is considered one of the first Romanian female architects. Her theoretical production, for example for the magazine *Simetria*, was especially significant.[417] Although only Cotescu's letters, and not Puig's replies, are held in the archive, they suggest an intense discussion on the role of modern architecture vis a vis vernacular traditions. It was 1924, and Cotescu praised Spain's and Puig's architectural taste for 'ancient tradition', through which they can escape 'the ugliness of the "reinforced concrete" style'. In Romania, she regrets, 'the total absence of old secular monuments and of a national school of architecture have caused a mixture of the styles'. Thus, she continues, 'new constructions are either bad copies of classic Italian or French monuments, or reproductions of that dreadful modern German style', which causes 'inharmonious towns' and 'architectural disorientation'.[418] Cotescu was also one of the recipients of *La Plaça de Catalunya*, which will be discussed later on in this same chapter, and showed great interest in Puig's studies on Moldavian architecture, as we shall see in Chapter 7. In turn, Maria Irineu regarded the relationship between architectural tradition and modernity in a slightly different way, probably closer to Puig's own. 'I intensely look forward', she said, 'to wandering around the happy country where modern architecture is harmoniously linked to ancient traditions'.[419]

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416 "[Letter from Petre Antonescu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 20, 1931, UC 1092, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

417 Luminita Machedon and Ernie Scoffham, *Romanian Modernism: The Architecture of Bucharest, 1920-1940* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1999), 64,165.

418 'L'absence totale de vieux monuments laïques, comme source d'inspiration, et la manque d'une école nationale d'architecture, sont cause du mélange des styles, dans notre pays. A part quelques belles inspirations – qui comptent dans l'art roumain – nos nouvelles constructions sont, ou bien de mauvaises copies de monuments classiques italiens ou français, ou bien, des reproductions d'après cet affreux style allemand moderne. Et voilà pourquoi nos villes inharmonieuses sont représentatives de notre complète désorientation architectonique'. "[Letter from Marica Cotescu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", October 9, 1924, UC 1246, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. At the ANC, her name appears as 'Cotesen'.

419 'Avec quel ardent désir j'attende flâner dans cet heureux pays ou l'architecture moderne reste si harmonieusement lié aux traditions anciennes'. "[Letter from Maria Irineu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]."

Puig's role as an archaeologist has an even smaller presence in his international – non-French – correspondence. There is only one letter on the subject, from the Italian F. Emilio Conelli, who wrote to Puig in 1915 enquiring on the excavations of the Greco-Roman site of Empúries, in north-eastern Catalonia, which Puig directed between 1908 and 1923.[420] Incidentally, Conelli requests the address of the director of the excavations, ignoring the fact that the director was none other than Puig.[421] This shows that Puig and Conelli were probably not close acquaintances – as was in fact the case, as we shall see later, with many of the international scholars and professionals who contacted Puig with expert enquiries following the reading of one of his books or someone else's recommendation. In the letter, Conelli says that he knows Puig because of his work on the 'Palau de la Generalitat', and that he is looking forward to reading other works cited in Marcel-Auguste Dieulafoy's *Histoire générale de l'art: Espagne et Portugal* (1913). The first probably is 'El Palau de la Diputació General de Catalunya', a study of the seat of a medieval fiscal and governmental institution published in 1911 following archaeological excavations on the site.[422] This study seems to have had some impact in Italy as a second correspondent, the historian and archivist Riccardo Filangieri di Candida (1882-1959), also mentions it more than ten years later.[423] This is in fact the only work by Puig cited in Dieulafoy's book, more concretely in the bibliography on Spanish Gothic art and architecture.[424] This reinforces the idea that Conelli was only partially familiar with Puig's work.

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420 On Puig's role as a director of that excavation, see Carme Oliveras, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch i l'inici de les excavacions a Empúries a través dels diaris d'Emili Gandia", in *Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Empúries i l'Escala* (L'Escala: Ajuntament de l'Escala, 2001), 19–31.

421 "[Letter from F. Emilio Conelli to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 19, 1915, UC 1237, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

422 Josep Puig i Cadafalch and Joaquim Miret i Sans, "El Palau de La Diputació General de Catalunya", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari 1909-1910* III (1911): 385–480.

423 "[Letter from Riccardo Filangieri Di Candida to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 19, 1927, UC 1328, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

424 Marcel-Auguste Dieulafoy, *Histoire générale de l'art: Espagne et Portugal* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 218. Puig's architectural work appears in the chapter on nineteenth-century architecture, where he is presented, with Domènech, Sagnier and others, as a disciple of Gaudí. There, the Casa Macaya and the Casa Amatller are again highlighted – as in *L'œuvre de Puig y Cadafalch, architecte, 1896-1904* – as his most significant neo-Gothic realisations. Ibid., 310. In 1915, Puig reviewed Dieulafoy's book. He celebrated the publication of a complete history of Spanish art, but challenged the

5.2 Academic Enquiries and International Prestige

The sample also shows that Puig built a European – one could perhaps even say global – reputation as an academic expert, especially among historians of medieval art and architecture. As outlined earlier, art historians form the majority of Puig's non-French international contacts. It is also worth noting that Puig was not only contacted as an expert on Catalan – or Spanish – architecture, but also, very often, as a connoisseur of the evolution of Romanesque and other medieval styles across Europe. These exchanges also show, as we shall see, how the Catalan national question permeated Puig's international academic engagement. He helped to build Catalonia's international profile when he considered it relevant to do so, but at the same time he doesn't show much discontent when contacted as a 'Spanish' academic or as an expert in Spanish architecture. Thus, Catalan identity often plays a role in the exchanges: a shared Catalan history lies beneath his collaboration with Italian scholars, and justifies the publication of their work in Catalonia. Catalonia's own profile and status as a historical culture are also reinforced in conversations such as the one with the German Bodo Ebhardt. Other times, however, he does not underline Catalonia's singular character, such as in the conversation with the Swedish William Anderson, with whom he talks without problems of the 'south of France' when he is actually referring to the Catalan French county of the Roussillon and of the 'north of Spain' instead of Catalonia. In that sense, he seems to give signs of a 'dual patriotism' – to use Fradera's and Jacobson's term – in his international engagement.

These academic contacts had very diverse objectives. Table 4 shows the nature of Puig's exchanges with the 69 international historians and art historians – or academic institutions – from the sample of 65 single, non-French, correspondents. The labels used are not exclusive: a conversation dealing with

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author's interpretation of the evolution of Romanesque in the Iberian Peninsula. See Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Marcel Dieulafoy. Espagne et Portugal, vol. de la Histoire générale de l'Art. Ars una species mille.", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXIII-MCMXIV* V, no. 2 (1915): 961–62.

a publications exchange, for instance, may also relate, directly or indirectly, to a congress. In fact, many of these epistolary relationships originated in academic congresses. The table shows that the two main purposes of the letters analysed are the exchange of publications (a total of 21), on the one hand, and academic enquiries (11), on the other.

Context	**Number of exchanges**
Publication exchange	21
Enquiry	11
Congress	10
Lecturing	6
Organisation membership	5
Visit	5
Journal article	5
Modern architecture	4
Friends, personal content	4
Networking	2
Research collaboration	2
Research publicity	2
Art purchase mediation	2
Mentoring	2
Invitation to Academic Activity	2
Funding	1
Institutional	1
Book collaboration	1
Archaeology	1
Erudite conversation	1

Table 4. Context of Puig's international correspondence with non-French contacts.

Most of the academic enquiries he received were addressed by researchers who did not know him in person. Occasionally, Puig also used his network to pose questions, although, in the sample, the amount of enquiries received outweigh

those sent eight versus three.[425] The enquiries were received during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, the period during which Puig was more active in the European academic scene, when he extended his academic travels beyond France. Reflecting this, the queries come from a variety of countries: Britain, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and Romania.

Several of the enquiries emerge from a comparative approach to art history. As Barral identified, Puig belonged to a group of art historians who used the comparative method in their studies, led by Henri Focillon and including other France-based scholars such as the Lithuanian-born Jurgis Baltrušaitis, son (1903-1988) and Pierre Lavedan (1885-1982).[426] Focillon was, in turn, one of the main introducers of formalism in France, which based the study of art history on the comparation of forms, something which, as we will see, also played a prominent role in Puig's approach to Catalan Romanesque.[427] Nevertheless, Puig was part of a network of 'comparativistic' art historians that extended far beyond the French core. And, in line with his own interests on the dissemination of the *premier art roman* in Europe, many of the enquiries he received dealt with the evolution of styles and the paths of dissemination of artistic styles in Europe. Several included the exchange of photographs, which were a crucial tool for the comparison of artistic forms. Nonetheless, in the prologue to *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic*, Puig recalled how, in his exile during the Primo dictatorship, spending time in the 'immense photographic archives' of 'Strasbourg, Luxembourg, Bonn, Marburg, The Hague, Brussels, Zurich, and Rome', gave him 'peace' and allowed him to overcome the difficult times.[428]

Puig's correspondents aimed at solving doubts on their case studies by comparing them to Catalan or Spanish examples, trusting Puig on his expertise.

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[425] Not all of Puig's sent letters have been preserved, and that therefore the total amount of sent enquiries may be higher.
[426] See Barral i Altet, "Josep Puig i Cadafalch, historiador del arte medieval."
[427] In this regard, one of Focillon's most important works is Henri Focillon, *Vie des Formes* (Paris: Presses Universite de France, 1934); translated into English in Henri Focillon, *The Life of Forms in Art* (New York: Wittenborn, 1957).
[428] Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Pròleg a La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic", in *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: escrits d'arquitectura, art i política*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 207.

This is the case of Rudolf Berliner (1886-1967), a German curator who contacted Puig in 1922, while working at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, following the discovery of the foundations of an ancient oratory which resembled, according to Berliner, those of the Basilica of Elx, in the former Kingdom of Valencia.[429] Puig answered curtly to his enquiry on a series of vertical and horizontal lines informing him that the lines signalled the inscriptions of the ancient mosaics, but that they could not be further studied at the time as they had been covered after the excavation.[430] In a similar fashion, the Swedish art historian William Anderson (1879-1939) contacted Puig in November 1926. Anderson was a former office clerk who retrained as an art historian in 1909 after meeting Professor Johnny Roosval (1879-1965). Both Roosval and Puig had attended the Congrès d'histoire de l'art celebrated in Paris in 1921, which indicates that the contact may have been suggested to Anderson by his master.[431] Based in Lund, Anderson began to collaborate with Roosval in an art historical inventory of Swedish churches – *Sveriges Kyrkor, konsthistoriskt inventarium*, which has to date 234 volumes. In 1925 he finished his thesis on the Romanesque churches of Scania, the southernmost province of Sweden and home to a regionalist movement due to its former belonging to the Kingdom of Denmark. In 1926, while working at Lund University Art Museum, Anderson contacted Puig asking if he knew of any example of a very specific architectonic typology in Spain before the year 1200.[432] Puig must have answered promptly since Anderson thanked him for his response in January 1927.[433] From a further letter from Anderson, dated 10 April 1927, it can be deduced that Puig wrote to him again in March with a query and an offering of a publication exchange with the Institute of Catalan Studies. Anderson responded positively to the query on whether Swedish Romanesque had similarities with Cluniac architecture or architecture from the south of France,

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429 "[Letter from Rudolf Berliner to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 23, 1922, UC 1134, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
430 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Rudolf Berliner]", September 18, 1922, UC 1134, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
431 *Actes du Congrès d'histoire de l'art, organisé par la Société de l'histoire de l'art français, Paris, 26 septembre-5 octobre 1921* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1923), 236.
432 "[Letter from William Anderson to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", November 22, 1926, UC 1086, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
433 "[Letter from William Anderson to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 31, 1927, UC 1086, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

and added that Swedish medieval architecture was, in many cases, influenced by the north of Spain.[434] Puig's enquiry may have been in preparation of a research paper that he presented just a few years later, in 1933, at the 13th International Congress of Art History in Stockholm. There, he made a comparative study of the Romanesque lintel of Saint-Genis des Fontaines, in a Catalan-speaking region in the south of France, and several Danish altarpieces. The paper was entitled 'Le linteau de Saint-Genis des Fontaines et les retables du Danemark' and was presented in a panel on Nordic art, in which another Catalan, the curator of the Diocesan Museum of Barcelona Manuel Trens Ribas (1892-1976), also participated.[435]

In 1926, Puig also received a request from Bodo Ebhardt[436] (1865-1945), a key figure in German castle research during the first half of the twentieth century. Ebhardt started researching and restoring German medieval castles during the reign of Wilhelm II with a markedly political agenda, first contributing to the legitimation of German rule in places such as Alsace, and later on supporting the expansionist policy in Europe of the Third Reich.[437] The specialised journal – *Der Burgwart* – and learned society – the Vereinigung zur Erhaltung deutscher Burgen – he founded in 1899 played an important role in this. As Link explains, one of Ebhardt's key ideas was that the early medieval expansion of Germanic peoples across Europe entailed the Germanic nature of all European countries, and that medieval castle research could unveil this nature through the international comparison of architectural typologies. In some respects, Ebhardt's approach was similar to Puig's, insofar they both believed that

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434 "[Letter from William Anderson to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 10, 1927, UC 1086, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. The hand note reads 'Skånes romanska landskyrkor med breda västtor. Per William Anderson. N'hi ha tres vols publicats' ('Skånes romanska landskyrkor med breda västtor. By William Anderson. There are three published volumes'.)

435 "Programme XIIIe Congrès International d'histoire de l'art. Stockholm 4-7 setembre 1933", 1933, 15, UC 2549, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. Trens' paper was entitled 'Parallélisme chronologiques des autels scandinaves et catalans'.

436 In the archive's register and elsewhere he appears as Bodo 'Edhardt'. Sometimes he is also credited as Bodo 'Erhardt'.

437 This argument is presented in Fabian Link, "The Internationalism of German Castle Research: Bodo Ebhardt, His European Network, and the Construction of 'Castle Knowledge,'" *Public Archaeology* 8, no. 4 (2009): 325–50. See also Fabian Link, *Burgen und Burgenforschung im Nationalsozialismus: Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung 1933-1945* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 154–197.

architecture reflected national characters. But their international academic practice was markedly different. Ebhardt used an international network of scholars – like Puig – to gather information on medieval castles in different countries, but he did not actively collaborate with research communities outside the German-speaking world and did not publish in any language other than German.[438] In contrast, and as we shall see later, Puig cooperated extensively with scholars in various countries, participating in international publications, contributing to and revising the works of others, and publishing his work in various vernacular languages, such as French and Portuguese.[439]

In the 1920s, he began working on a large project on European fortresses – which was eventually published in two volumes in 1939 and 1958 – and wrote to Puig for advice on the Spanish side. Their correspondence is brief, and other data on their relationship is patchy, but nevertheless it is an interesting example of how Puig's Catalanist agenda permeated – sometimes – his international exchanges. In the first instance, Ebhardt sought for advice on photographers and visual representations of Spanish castles – especially floor plans – and also demanded Puig's collaboration in disseminating a questionnaire on Spanish castles.[440] Ebhardt's letter lacks any reference to or any acknowledgement of Spain's cultural and political diversity, and does not mention Catalonia. Puig corrects this in his answer, which deals almost exclusively with Catalonia. He gives him several data on military and civil architecture in Catalonia; suggests several sections of the second and third volumes of his work *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* and guides him specifically on where this can be found in Germany (in the National Library in Berlin, he says, and the most important 'archaeological societies'); and also recommends the contact of Jeroni Martorell, who was then the director of the Service for Monument Conservation of the Dipiutació de Barcelona, due to his work on Gothic castles. Puig's answer ends with a kind invitation to visit him in Barcelona, which, he says, should be interesting for his research, in reply to

438 Link, "The Internationalism of German Castle Research", 328–330.
439 For an example in Portuguese, see Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Sobrevivência da arte indigena pre-romana", *Boletím da Ación Nacional de Belas-Artes* XIV (1945): 13–21.
440 "[Letter from Bodo Ebhardt to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", September 17, 1926, UC 1298, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

Ebhardt's expressed interest of visiting Spain and its castles.[441] According to the Institute of Catalan Studies' journal, the visit did take place, in the year 1930, and with the purpose of studying 'ancient castles'.[442] I have not accessed any other data on Puig's and Ebhardt's relationship, but it seems reasonable to consider that, given Ebhardt's international prestige in establishing castle research as an archaeological sub-discipline, Puig may have been familiar with his work and his ethno-cultural approach. If this were true, his uncommonly belligerent answer – at other times, Puig does not seem angered at being contacted as an expert in Spanish, not Catalan, architecture – may be interpreted as an attempt to make Ebhardt aware of the ethnic diversity of the Spanish state, and of Catalonia's own singular status as an ancient culture.

Also in the 1920s, Puig was contacted by two different Italian scholars, Carlo Calzecchi (1886-1943) and Riccardo Filangieri di Candida (1882-1959), both working on the Castel Nuovo of Naples, which was the permanent residency of the humanist Catalan-Aragonese king Alfons V during the first half of the fifteenth century, at a time when the Kingdom of Naples was part of the Crown of Aragon. As would happen again in the case of Romanian intellectuals working together on the history of Catalonia in the Eastern Mediterranean, the study of the extension of the Castel Nuovo during the Quattrocento brought together the interests of both Italian architectural historians and Catalan medievalists remaking the history of the glorious Crown of Aragon. In Puig's correspondence with Calzecchi and Filangieri, the initial enquiry led to a long and fruitful intellectual relationship.

Carlo Calzecchi was an architect and public officer involved in the restoration of monuments in different Italian regions (Umbria, Puglia, Tuscany, Lombardy) until he became a *soprintendente* in Bologna in 1935. As a restorer, he

441 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Bodo Ebhardt]", n.d., UC 1298, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

442 Josep Puig i Cadafalch and Francesc Martorell i Trabal, "Memòria de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, donant compte dels treballs fets durant l'any 1930", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXVII-XXXI*, 1936, XIX. In 1934 Ebhardt published a book on the trip, entitled *Spanische Burgenfahrt 1930. Ein Reisebericht*.

favoured consolidation over extensive reconstruction of monuments.[443] He seems to have met Puig in Naples in the mid-1920s, briefly before the correspondence started. At that time, he worked in the restoration of the Castel Nuovo, following a fire in 1919. In March 1924, Calzecchi wrote with a request of photographs of Catalan monuments with the purpose of 'confronting' them with Italian ones and thus studying the Catalan influence on the Neapolitan Quattrocento. Besides that, he was particularly interested in the Baron Hall, a room with a star-shaped vault and one of the landmarks of the Aragonese renovation of the castle, carried out by the Majorcan architect Guillem Sagrera.[444] Soon after the first exchange, the publication of an article on the topic by Calzecchi was arranged. Puig justified this due to the interest of the building and Calzecchi's competency, which would result 'without any doubt in a very interesting piece of work and a very useful contribution to the study of Catalan Gothic architecture'.[445] Initially, Puig informed that the Institute of Catalan Studies had agreed to publish the piece 'once the political circumstances allow it' – in 1924, following Primo's coup, the activity of the Institut had been paralysed. Meanwhile, he says, he has been in contact with the *Gaseta de les Arts* (a *Noucentista* arts magazine founded that same year) 'in order to present the monument to the wider public'.[446] Finally, the article was published with an introduction by Puig in the also new architectural magazine *La Ciutat i la Casa* in 1925, and then briefly reviewed in the 1931 issue of the Institut's journal – the first one since Primo's coup.[447] After some silence on Puig's part, about which Calzecchi complained, the author received four copies of the issue in December 1926.[448] In his introduction, Puig emphasizes the link between the Castel Nuovo and the other territories of the Crown of Aragon,

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443 His thought is conveyed in Carlo Calzecchi, "Il restauro dei monumenti", *Le Arti* anno XXXII, serie III, no. a. I, fasc. 2 (1938); cited in Arianna Spinosa, *Piero Sanpaolesi: contributi alla cultura del restauro del Novecento* (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 2011), 20.

444 "[Letter from Carlo Calzecchi to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", May 30, 1924, UC 1183, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

445 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Carlo Calzecchi]", n.d.b, UC 2028, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

446 Ibid.

447 Higini Anglès i Pàmies, Josep Puig i Cadafalch, and Francesc Martorell i Trabal, "Bibliografia", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXI-XXVI*, 1931, 268.

448 See "[Letter from Carlo Calzecchi to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 10, 1926, UC 1183, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; and "[Letter from Carlo Calzecchi to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 1, 1926, UC 1183, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

highlighting the 'Catalan affiliation' of several of its elements and recalling the similarities between the Neapolitan Baron Hall and the Llotja and Cathedral in Mallorca, also by Sagrera.[449] He had already pointed out this connection in his correspondence with Calzecchi, suggesting that Sagrera may have used stone from the island in the Castel Nuovo.[450] Thus, it caused 'a great emotion' to 'us Catalan architects' to 'encounter in the middle of the city of Naples this souvenir of Alfons el Magnànim and the Sagreras, his collaborators'.[451]

Two years later, in 1927, and apparently unrelated to Calzecchi, another Italian historian and archiver, Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, wrote to Puig also in relation to the Castel Nuovo and its restoration. Filangieri had already published on the Aragonese input in the south of Italy, more concretely the chapter 'L'età aragonese' in the joint volume *Storia dell'Università di Napoli* (Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi editore, 1924). In his first letter, he recalls that Puig's contact had been suggested by Rome professor Adolfo Venturi, who also corresponded with Puig between 1921 and 1928 and who was already a reputed historian of Italian Renaissance.[452] Filangieri's demand is in fact quite similar to Calzecchi's, as he requests bibliography and images of fifteenth-century Catalan architecture in order to assess its influence in the south of Italy, as part of a monograph on the Castel Nuovo.[453] Puig's replies are not held in the archive, but a letter from Filangieri dated 3 March 1927 tells us that he did indeed respond with some bibliographic suggestions.[454] They remained in contact throughout 1927 and 1928 exchanging numerous publications, including an article on the Great Hall of the Castel Nuovo that Filangieri sent through the Catalan historian Ramon d'Alòs-Moner – who also plays a role in

[449] See Carlo Calzecchi, "Nous estudis sobre Castelnuovo i especialment sobre la gran sala del triomf", *La Ciutat i la Casa* 4 (1925): 4. 'Sala del triomf' is another name given to the Baron Hall.
[450] "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Carlo Calzecchi]", n.d.b.
[451] Calzecchi, "Nous estudis sobre Castelnuovo i especialment sobre la gran sala del triomf", 3, Introduction by Josep Puig i Cadafalch.
[452] I am grateful to Alina Navas for her help in the contextualisation of Venturi and other Italian correspondents.
[453] "[Letter from Riccardo Filangieri Di Candida to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 19, 1927.
[454] "[Letter from Riccardo Filangieri Di Candida to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 3, 1927, UC 1328, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

Puig's Romanian ventures.[455] The study of the influence of Catalan architecture in the south of Italy was finally published in 1930, with the title *Architettura e scultura catalana in Campania nel secolo XV*.[456] Shortly after that, the 1931 issue of the journal of the Institute of Catalan Studies included a piece by Filangieri on the restoration of the castle.[457] The introduction to the article mentions several other works on the topic that the historian had presented to the Institut. Although the correspondence does not make this explicit, it seems reasonable to think that Puig mediated in this case, as in many others, between the foreign scholar and the Institut. According to the anonymous introduction, Filangieri's approach to architectural restoration was different to Calzecchi's, as 'his constant and well directed concern' was 'the total isolation of the Castel Nuovo' and 'the return to its ancient magnificence'.[458] Filangieri became a correspondent member of the Institute of Catalan Studies – 'il nostro instituto', as he wrote – in 1935, the same year in which he participated in a joint volume on *L'architecture gothique civile en Catalogne* with Puig and other Catalan historians of architecture such as Adolf Florensa and Cèsar Martinell.[459] Filangieri also participated in the tribute volume dedicated to Puig in 1947 on his eightieth anniversary, and remained in touch with him until the end of the decade.[460]

Although most enquiries have a comparative – or at least transnational – nature, Puig was also contacted by international specialists on Spanish art. Probably the most important in the sample is Walter W. S. Cook (1888-1962), one of the first and most influential historians of Catalan medieval art in the

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455 "[Letter from Riccardo Filangieri Di Candida to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", November 28, 1928, UC 1328, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

456 See Francesc Fontbona de Vallescar, "Historiografia de l'art catalana", in *Història de la historiografia catalana*, ed. Albert Balcells (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004), 293.

457 Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, "Les obres de restauració del Castell Nou a Nàpols", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari 1921-1926*, 1931, 139–45.

458 Ibid., 139.

459 See Riccardo Filangieri di Candida et al., *L'architecture gothique civile en Catalogne* (Mataró: Impremta Minerva, 1935).

460 See Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, "La casa di Marino Marzano Principe di Rossano in Carnola", in *Miscel·lània Puig i Cadafalch: recull d'estudis d'arqueologia, d'història de l'art i d'història oferts a Josep Puig i Cadafalch per la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1947), 37–40.

United States. Cook introduced himself to Puig in the early 1920s as a PhD student, during a research stay in Barcelona, and remained in close contact until the mid-1950s, shortly before Puig's death. He was one of Puig's hosts during his American tour in the mid-1920s, and worked closely with other American pioneers of Hispanic medieval art history such as Chandler R. Post (1881-1959, who was also his dissertation supervisor), Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883-1933), and Walter Muir Whitehill (1905-1978), all of whom also corresponded intensively with Puig. The correspondence shows evidence of a close knit network across the Atlantic which also included some of Puig's most important contacts in France – Henri Focillon and his son-in-law Jurgis Baltrušaitis, both Romanesque specialists – and the Catalan Josep Gudiol i Ricart (1904-1985), one of Puig's close collaborators, who also worked with Cook in the United States during the 1940s. Gudiol i Ricart was the nephew of Josep Gudiol i Cunill (1872-1931), one of the members of the expedition that, with Puig, travelled to the Pyrenees in 1907 in a seminal moment in the making of a modern imagination of Catalonia, in order to explore and later transfer a series of Romanesque mural paintings to Barcelona.[461] Both Gudiol i Cunill and Gudiol i Ricart contributed to the Arxiu Mas, a photographic archive originally focussed on Catalonia's art and ethnography and initiated by the photographer Adolf Mas and which would grow to become one of the most important photographic collections in Catalonia, as already discussed in Part 2. Perhaps due to his close relationship to Gudiol i Ricart, Cook showed notable concern for the destiny of the archive during the Franco dictatorship in his letters to Puig, while recalling how important it had been – and continued to be – for his own research.[462] The significance of the Arxiu Mas in transnational

[461] On this matter, see Alcolea i Blanch, *La missió arqueològica del 1907 als Pirineus*. Francesca Español i Bertran, "El Pirineu desvetllat: viatges i descoberta del patrimoni medieval", *Annals del Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès* Annals 2010–11, no. 0 (2012): 13–36 offers a global approach to the "discovery" of the medieval art of the Pyrenees in the modern era. Antoni Ramon and Enric Granell, *Lluís Domènech i Montaner. Viatges per l'arquitectura romànica* (Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2007) focuses on Domènech's travels to the region, which predate Puig's expedition.

[462] As a matter of fact, the Arxiu Mas was finally purchased by Teresa Amatller, who was the daughter and heir to Antoni Amatller, the chocolate businessmen who commissioned one of Puig's most famous works, the Casa Amatller – recently restored and reopened as a museum – in the late 1890s. The Arxiu Mas is thus held, as a part of the Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, in Puig's Casa Amatller.

research on Spanish art, the cross-Atlantic network of art historians that brought medieval European art to the core of the American museum-building effort prior to the Second World War, as well as the role of the archive vis a vis that of the library in the making of modern narratives of national art, are only some of the paths for future research offered by the rich correspondence between Puig and his American colleagues. The limited scope of this dissertation, however, makes a focus on just a few aspects of Puig's relationship with Cook necessary.

Going back to the beginning, Cook met Puig as a doctoral student in August 1920, during a research visit to Barcelona. The contact seems to have been suggested by Chandler Post, his doctoral advisor at Harvard, and Cook claims to have obtained Puig's holiday address in Argentona through the Institut. He introduces himself as a Travelling Fellow of the Archaeological Institute of America, doing field work on – in his own words – the 'primitifs espagnols – sourtout catalans'. In this first letter, Cook seems to seek Puig's support to access a series of medieval altarpieces held in churches.[463] Although Puig's replies are not held in the archive, the numerous letters received from Cook account for their long academic and personal relationship, which included other visits to Barcelona (1929 and 1931) and the United States (1926), various publication exchanges, and academic discussions. In that sense, Puig seems to have been an important source of information on the Romanesque cloister of Sant Miquel de Cuixà, half of which had been exhibited at The Cloisters of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, since its sale in the early twentieth century.[464] But Puig – and his collaborators – were not only responsible for the transmission of knowledge on Catalan medieval art and architecture to the United States. They also seem to have brought with them a specific methodology, the photographic inventory of art and architecture, which had been one of the landmarks of the cultural policy of the *Mancomunitat* and a

[463] "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 8, 1920, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
[464] See, for example, "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 5, 1930, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; "[Postcard from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 6, 1930, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

constant interest of Puig's, as discussed in Part 2. In 1931 and during a six-month stay, Gudiol i Ricart organised the collection of photographs of Catalan and Spanish painting of the Frick Art Reference Library in New York. In Cook's words, it was 'very useful for us to have here the nephew of Mossèn Gudiol Vich [Josep Cunill and Gudiol]'. 'We now have in New York', he added, 'a magnificent series of photographs well classified for use by all students'.[465] Gudiol i Ricart would later play an important role in the establishment of the Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, the art foundation established by Teresa Amatller following the purchase of the Arxiu Mas. Cook had shown great concern on the fate of the Arxiu and praised the purchase as 'it will surely promote studies of Spanish and Catalan art'.[466] He was then very optimistic with regards to Gudiol i Ricart's plans for the Institut Amatller, which would become a 'living archive instead of a museum' – it must be taken into account that the original collections of photographs were now a few decades old. He showed his satisfaction on the fact that 'Miss Amatller and Pepe Gudiol [Josep Gudiol i Ricart], instead of creating just another museum, will reorganize the material acquired […] and will include the ones obtained from [Adolf] Mas, […] and will be able to make a good catalogue'.[467] Thus, in the early 1950s – thirty years after his first visit to Barcelona – Cook would still regard the Arxiu Mas as crucial to his own work. While arranging a research visit in preparation for a book on wooden Romanesque painting, he explained why it would suit him more to be based in Barcelona than in Madrid: 'the Amatller Institute of Hispanic Art, where there are so many Catalan

[465] '[…] de gran utilitat per nosaltres el tenir una temporada el nebot de mossèn Gudiol de Vich […] Ara tenim a New York una magnífica sèrie de fotografies ben classificades per a l'ús de tots els estudiants'. "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", May 15, 1931, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

[466] '[…] seguramente dará empuje a los estudios de arte español y catalán'. "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 22, 1943, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

[467] 'He tenido mucho gusto en saber de las actividades del Instituto Amatller […] que la Srta. Amatller y Pepe Gudiol [Josep Gudiol i Ricart] en vez de hacer un museo más reorganizarán el material adquirido para los nuevos archivos que incluirán los que han obtenido de Mas, […] y podrán hacer un buen catálogo'. "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 11, 1944, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

photographs and books and magazines, will be an ideal place for me, not Madrid, where there would be nothing for my work'.[468]

Another interesting epistolary exchange with an English-speaking international expert on Spanish art was the one with Bernard Bevan (1903-1995), a British diplomat and dilettante better known for his *History of Spanish Architecture*, published in 1938. Bevan's was one of the first attempts to write a chronologically wide volume on the topic, achieving notoriety accordingly. Bevan remained obscure, however, with very varied known occupations – following the publication of the book, he spent five years in Mexico as an amateur anthropologist, before being hired by the British foreign office during the Second World War, which, according to some, raises suspicions of him being a spy.[469] Between 1945 and 1948 he worked at the British consulate in Barcelona, and in light of their correspondence, he became good friends with Puig. Bevan also saw him as a reputed historian of Catalan medieval architecture, attested by the fact that he asked him to revise some chapters of the Spanish translation of his book, which would appear in 1950.[470] More specifically, he disagreed with several suggestions for corrections from his translator – Fernando Chueca Goitia (1911-2004), later a reputed architect and urban historian – with regards to the interaction between southern French and northern Catalan medieval architectures. Puig's opinion on the topic is considered decisive: 'only you can definitely confirm that the artistic stream continued northwards through France and not in the opposite direction'.[471] The question at stake had to do with the direction of the transmission of

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468 '[…] el Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico, donde hay tantas fotografías y libros y revistas catalanas, sería un sitio ideal para mí, y no Madrid, donde no habría nada para mi trabajo'. "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", February 23, 1952, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

469 On this question, see Ana Esteban Maluenda, "En busca de Bernard Bevan. Historia de un libro singular", in *Historia de la arquitectura española: del Imperio Romano a la Ilustración*, by Bernard Bevan, 2012, 357–76.

470 In exchange, Puig sent him the proofs of an – according to Bevan – 'excellent book on Visigoth architecture', which may be *Noves descobertes a la catedral d'Ègara*, published by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1948. "[Letter from Bernard Bevan to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 8, 1948, UC 1140, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

471 '[…] sólo usted puede confirmar definitivamente que la corriente artística siguió hacia el Norte a través de Francia y no en dirección contraria'. "[Letter from Bernard Bevan to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 7, 1947, UC 1140, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

particular architectural types across the Pyrenees, and therefore with Catalonia's place as a creator or receiver of those trends. This is, naturally, one of the main key points in Puig's conception of the evolution of early Romanesque architecture in medieval Europe. Puig's thought seems to have permeated Bevan's work also with regards to a sensitivity towards the Catalan language: another demand in the aforementioned letter was to make sure that Catalan names had been written correctly.

This interest in international artistic influences, which echoes Puig's interest in the role of Catalan Romanesque in the wider European context – and which, according to Esteban Maluenda, is one of the main virtues of Bevan's book – may also explain why the two got along well academically. Another sign that they belonged in the same academic milieu is the fact that Bevan's first trip to Spain, in 1924 was suggested by the aforementioned Henri Focillon,[472] one of the main advocates of formalism for the study of art history and a close acquaintance of Puig's.

Other briefs contacts were those with the Swiss J. R. Weber and with the Transylvanian architect based in Madrid Otto Czekelius (1895-1974). Although not much is known about Weber, his correspondence is still significant as this was a Swiss searching for advice on how to find information on a specific type of Romanesque churches in West Switzerland, showing that Puig was regarded as an expert even by local researchers in foreign countries. Puig seems to have recommended a book, which Weber says he will try to order.[473] As for Czekelius, in 1932, just after he published an article on Spanish synagogues,[474] he wrote to Puig enquiring on the bibliographical reference of Puig's work on the so-called Arab Baths in Girona. He probably referred to two articles published in 1915, following a brief research trip.[475] According to the letter,

[472] Esteban Maluenda, "En busca de Bernard Bevan. Historia de un libro singular", 357.
[473] "[Letter from J. R. Weber to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 17, 1923, UC 2108, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
[474] Otto Czekelius, "Antiguas sinagogas de España", *Arquitectura* XII (1931).
[475] Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Els Banys de Girona i la influència moresca a Catalunya", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXIII-MCMXIV* 1 (1915): 687–728; Josep Puig i

Puig's contact had been suggested by the Catalan Arabist then based in Madrid Josep Maria Millàs (1897-1970).[476]

Other times, it was Puig who used his international network in search of academic assistance. One example is John Bilson (1856-1943), a British architect who, like Puig, was active in monument restoration and also researched medieval architecture. Famous for his work on the vaults of Durham Cathedral, he has been considered 'the only English architectural historian of his generation to be genuinely revered abroad' and also responsible for bringing the gap between English and French architectural studies in the early twentieth century.[477] He and Puig met in the 1910s, probably at the Congrès Archéologique in France, which both attended regularly. In fact, in the 1923 letter that will be discussed, Puig complains about Bilson's absence in recent congresses. He was writing to him in search of information on a Reynard Fonoyll, an Englishman who, according to Catalan sources, worked in the construction of the cloister of the monastery of Santa Maria de Santes Creus in 1331.[478] Santes Creus, 100 kilometres south of Barcelona, is the resting place of Kings Pere III (1239-1285) and Jaume II (1267-1327) of Aragon, who expanded the Catalan-Aragonese Crown in Sicily and Sardinia. It was therefore an important Catalan *lieu de mémoire*, to use Pierre Nora's term,[479] although it remained semi-abandoned from 1835 – following an expropriation by the Spanish State in 1820 – and 1921, when it was declared a national monument by the same Spanish State.[480] It may therefore not be a coincidence that Puig started working on the architectural history of the building in 1922,[481]

Cadafalch, "Missió per estudiar els banys dits aràbics i el monestir de Sant Daniel, a Girona", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXIII-MCMXIV* 2 (1915): 866–70.

476 "[Letter from Otto Czekelius to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 5, 1932, UC 1260, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

477 Alexandrina Buchanan, "John Bilson and Anglo-Norman Architectural Studies", *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2012* 35 (2013): 111.

478 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to John Bilson]", March 16, 1923, UC 1145, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

479 Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*; English translation in Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*.

480 On this issue, see Marina Miquel i Vives and Isabel Ruiz, eds., *Santes Creus: de monestir a monument 1821-1921* (Tarragona: Centre d'Estudis del Gaià; Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació; Museu d'Història de Catalunya, 2008).

481 In the article that he published on the topic, in 1931, he explained that he came across the first documental evidence of Fonoyll's involvement in Santes Creus in

although his interests did not lie in the political significance of the monastery as a royal tomb. He was rather fascinated by the story of an 'English master' (*mestre anglès*) who was hired to complete the Gothic cloister of Santes Creus in 1331. Puig was therefore using his academic contacts in Britain to trace the history of an architectural journey between England and Catalonia in the mid fourteenth century. At the core of his interest in Fonoyll was the possibility of building an argument on the early implantation in Catalonia of English Gothic Flamboyant style, in particular through the 'reticulated arch', which only reached France in 1370 and Castile in the 1380s.[482] Puig saw great similarities between the north aisle of the Santes Creus cloister, built by Fonoyll between 1331 and 1340, and the cloister of Merton College in Oxford, began in 1310, and a church in Old Walsingham, Norfolk, which he knew thanks to Francis Bond's book *Gothic Architecture in England* (London, 1912).[483] Therefore, he argues, 'Master Fonoyll applies what he may have seen in his country before getting the contract at Sanes Creus'.[484] The discovery was quickly praised in the specialised press,[485] and the argument remained unchallenged until the 1980s, when Francesca Español attributed the Flamboyant style of the Catalan cloister to French craftsmen known to have worked there in the 1500s.[486] In any case, here Puig was contributing to his favourite argument of the innovative character of Catalan architecture, which he would also present in *La geografia i els orígens*. Bilson's reply is not included in the archive, but thanks to the 1931 article we know that he did get back to Puig with no historical data but a few linguistic remarks. After consulting with several English palaeographers, he writes, 'the eminent archaeologist Mr. John Bilson' informed that 'Fonoyll' was

1922. See Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Un mestre anglès contracta l'obra del claustre de Santes Creus", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXI-XXVI* VII (1931): 123.

482 Ibid., 127–129.

483 Ibid., 132–133.

484 'Mestre Fonoyll aplica el que hauria pogut veure ja al seu país abans de contractar-se al monestir de Santes Creus'. Ibid., 133.

485 F. Deshoulières, "Le maître anglais du cloître de Santes Creus", *Bulletin Monumental* XCI (1932): 300; cited in Francesca Español i Bertran, "Remarques a l'activitat de mestre Fonoll i una revisió del 'Flamíger' de Santes Creus", *D'Art* 11 (1985): 123.

486 Español i Bertran, "Remarques a l'activitat de mestre Fonoll i una revisió del 'Flamíger' de Santes Creus"; cited in Michalis Olympios, "Looking Anew at the Curvilinear Tracery of the Bellapais Abbey Cloister", *Cahiers Du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 43 (2013): 415–416.

not an English surname, although it may have been a Latin maladaptation of 'Fauvel' or of a name derived from 'Funnel'.[487]

5.3 Publication Exchanges and the Use of Catalan as a Language for Transnational Research

An examination of Puig's publication exchanges through his correspondence reveals that Puig closely tailored his sent publications to the correspondent's interests and background – the wide scope of his own work certainly aided in this – except for one case: the booklet *La Plaça de Catalunya* with his unaccomplished project for the centre of Barcelona, at the juncture of the old and the new towns.[488] *La Plaça de Catalunya* is a *rara avis* in Puig's international engagement not only because it is the only volume that he sent to more than one or two colleagues – the correspondence shows evidence of at least five international shipments – but also because it brings urban planning to the forefront of a conversation that, as has been explained, was concerned almost exclusively with art and architectural history.

The five destinations of *La Plaça de Catalunya* contrast with the as many as fourteen other works that Puig sent to only a maximum of three – in the case of his major work *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* – different correspondents. Next to those, there are a number of acknowledgments of receipt of unidentified books by several other contacts.

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[487] 'El nom Fonoyll no sembla fàcil [que] sigui identificat a Anglaterra, i potser sigui això impossible, ens diu l'eminent arqueòleg Mr. John Bilson, ja que en la forma en què és escrit en el document català no és certament un cognom anglès, i evidentment sa ortografia havia estat estrafeta'. And, in a footnote, he adds: 'Segons comunicació de Mr. Bilson, a parer dels paleògrafs anglesos consultats és possible que la *n* del nom Fonoyll sigui *v*, car és sovint impossible distingir ambdues lletres. Si es llegís *Fovoyll*, potser podria representar *Fauvel*, el nom d'una família del comtat de Westmorland, de la que en aquesta època (1345) un de nom Joan era prior a Ecclesfield. És possible assimilar el nom *Fonoyll* a *Funnel*, que pot també esdevenir cognom'. Puig i Cadafalch, "Un mestre anglès contracta l'obra del claustre de Santes Creus", 126.

[488] Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *La Plaça de Catalunya. Comentaris, Projectes, Láminas.* (Barcelona: Llibreria Catalònia, 1927).

The shipments which can be identified matched, as has been outlined, the recipients' interests. The historian of Catalan Romanesque art, William W. S. Cook, received Puig's two major works on Catalan Romanesque architecture. In 1931 Puig sent him *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic* – published just one year earlier, in 1930 – which Cook referred to – in a perfect Catalan – as 'your magnificent last work'. 'This is an extraordinarily useful, long awaited, book', he writes, 'that fills an immense gap in the archaeological studies of Europe. […] It has a great value for my own work'.[489] Later on, between 1944 and 1952, Cook insistently tried to get hold of *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*.[490] In 1944 he failed to have it sent from a bookseller in Barcelona due to the World War.[491] He then tried to find it second hand in Puig's circle, while asking and subsequently waiting for a new edition of the whole work, which, according to his letters, Puig was working on.[492] He regarded an eventual second edition of *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* as highly useful both for him and his 'disciples',[493] while claiming, as late as 1952, that it was a very important piece of work and that therefore it needed to be re-edited.[494] In the end, though, Puig was only able to send a 'second edition of the first part of the first volume',[495] which most probably was the volume published in 1934 with the title *L'arquitectura romana a Catalunya*. The first volume of *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* was also sent to the Italian architect and historian Antonio Canestrelli, who published extensively on Romanesque architecture in Siena –

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489 'El seu magnífic darrer treball titulat *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic* […] [é]s un llibre d'una utilitat extraordinària, esperat des de molt temps i que ve a omplir un buit immens en els estudis arqueològics d'Europa. […] És de gran valor pels meus treballs.' "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", May 15, 1931. The book's full reference is Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1930).

490 The book's full reference is Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Antoni de Falguera, and Josep Goday i Casals, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1909).

491 "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", March 1, 1944, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

492 "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 7, 1946, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 11, 1944; "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", June 18, 1946, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

493 "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", March 28, 1948, UC 1239, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

494 'Es un trabajo muy importante y debemos tener otra edición'. "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", February 23, 1952.

495 "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", March 28, 1948.

for example, *Architettura romanica nel territorio senese* (1914) and *Campanili medievali nel territorio senese* (1915). In 1912, Canestrelli highly praised the first volume of the series, arguing that coming across a book like that was not only 'an intellectual celebration' but also 'a real consolation to see completed' a work that 'popularise[s] the knowledge and the analysis of ancient monuments'.[496] The three original volumes of the series were also sent to the British John Bilson, very shortly after each volume appeared: the first one in 1910 – it had been published only in 1909 – and the second and the third ones – published in 1911 and 1918 – in 1923.[497] Bilson, who, as has been mentioned, was famous for his work on Durham Cathedral, built in Normand Romanesque style, also received Puig's contribution to the study of Catalonia's only standing Romanesque cathedral, found in the Pyrenean town of La Seu d'Urgell.[498] But Bilson also had an expertise – as a restorer – in English Gothic architecture, and accordingly Puig sent him a 1923 article on the transfer of northern Gothic into Catalonia.[499]

In a similar fashion, his Italian contacts Riccardo Filangieri di Candida and Carlo Calzecchi, both of whom were interested in the influence of Catalan Gothic in the Naples area, also received publications on a similar topic. Filangieri also got a copy of the 1923 piece on the transfer of northern Gothic into Catalonia,[500] and Puig expressed his intention of sending Calzecchi his

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496 'Credano, che quando capita la fortuna di incontrare un libro come il loro è non solo una festa intellettuale ma anche una vera consolazione nel veder compiuta l'opera buona di divulgare la conoscenza e l'analisi di antichi monumento.' "[Letter from Antonio Canestrelli to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 27, 1912, UC 1193, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

497 "[Letter from John Bilson to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 21, 1910, UC 1145, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; "[Letter from John Bilson to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", March 10, 1923, UC 1145, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to John Bilson]."

498 "[Letter from John Bilson to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", August 22, 1918, UC 1145, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. The article's full reference is Puig i Cadafalch and Pujol, *Santa Maria de la Seu d'Urgell*.

499 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to John Bilson]." The article's full reference is Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "El problema de la transformació de la catedral del Nord importada a Catalunya. Contribució a l'estudi de l'arquitectura gòtica meridional.", in *Miscel·lània Prat de la Riba*, vol. 1 ([Barcelona]: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1923).

500 "[Letter from Riccardo Filangieri Di Candida to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", November 18, 1927, UC 1328, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

1911 study of the Gothic part of the Diputació del General[501] – a book that Filangieri already had. Filangieri also received two works on different topics: a study of the implementation of the Franciscans in Catalonia and, twenty years later, a piece on the early medieval and Romanesque site of Ègara in Terrassa.[502]

Likewise, the publications sent to the Dutch P.J.H. Cuypers, the Swiss Marguerite van Berchem, and the Portuguese Adolfo Faria de Castro also follow the same pattern. As has already been mentioned, the Dutch architect received a piece related to Puig's architectural practice, an issue of the magazine *Forma* with an article on his *Modernista* architecture.[503] Van Berchem (1892-1984) was a Swiss art historian specialised in early medieval Oriental mosaics, but Puig sent her an article that would have been of her interest due to its geographical relation to her country of origin. The piece was on the dissemination of the *premier art roman* in the Meuse and Rhine valleys, and it stemmed from *La geografia i els orígens*. There was a reference to the *Pays-Bas* in the title but the scope was broader, encompassing also south-western Germany and Switzerland.[504] Edward W. Forbes (1873-1969), an American art historian and the director of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University, where he lectured on the *premier art roman* in 1926, also received a copy of the article on the Pays-Bas, plus two pieces on classical archaeology: one on the excavations of Empúries and another on the early Christian necropolis of Tarragona.[505]

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501 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Carlo Calzecchi]", n.d.a, UC 2028, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. The article's full reference is Puig i Cadafalch and Miret i Sans, "El Palau de La Diputació General de Catalunya."

502 "[Letter from Riccardo Filangieri Di Candida to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", November 28, 1928; Filangieri di Candida, "La casa di Marino Marzano Principe di Rossano in Carnola." The works' full references are Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *L'Església franciscana a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Editorial Franciscana, 1928); and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, *Noves descobertes a la catedral d'Egara* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1948).

503 "[Letter from P.J.H. Cuypers to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", June 20, 1904.

504 "[Letter from Marguerite van Berchem to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", n.d., UC 1130, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. The article's full reference is Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Le premier art roman dans les anciens Pays-Bas", *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 2 (1932): 214–30.

505 See "[Letter from Edward Waldo Forbes to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", June 12, 1932, UC 1342, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. In the letter, the articles are wrongfully cited using the headline of the journal's section – 'Arqueologia grega i romana' and 'Període paleocristià' – instead of the titles. The correct references are: Josep Puig i

And Faria de Castro (1904-?), a Portuguese art historian and critic, got a selection of articles on the influence of Byzantine architecture in the Iberian Peninsula.[506]

Most of Puig's international correspondence was written in French, although he often received and replied to letters in Italian, English and, to a lesser extent, German. Two letters in German he received from Bodo Ebhardt and the Swedish William Anderson have a few words translated into Catalan at the top of each line, which suggests that Puig only may have only had doubts with a few terms.[507]

Puig could communicate in a wide variety of languages, but his correspondence also reveals the regular use of Catalan in his international exchanges. Although he had several publications in French, he did not hesitate to send many of his Catalan works instead, even if the recipient expressed a difficulty in understanding the language. In turn, he also received books in languages he presumably could not read, such as Swedish or Modern Greek. Puig's exchanges with the Swedish Anderson have already been discussed, and Georgios Sotiriou, director of the Byzantine Museum of Athens, sent him two books in Greek in 1925.[508] The intensity of such exchanges with other 'peripheral' academics suggests a use of such exchanges as a tool to strengthen minority languages with an otherwise smaller presence in the academic and cultural centres of Paris, London and Berlin. This may explain why the Romanian Hispanist Al. Popescu-Telega (born Alexandru Popescu, 1889-1970) was so glad to recall that, during the closing banquet of the Bucharest

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Cadafalch, "Les excavacions d'Empúries", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXI-XXVI* VII (1931): 81–84; and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Necròpolis cristiana de Tarragona", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXI-XXVI* VII (1931): 104–9.

506 "[Letter from Adolfo Faria de Castro to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 5, 1952, UC 1313, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

507 "[Letter from Bodo Ebhardt to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]"; "[Letter from William Anderson to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 31, 1927.

508 "[Letter from Georges A. Sotiriou to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", February 14, 1925, UC 1732, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. Helene Euclides – who was a member of the Society of the Friends of the National Archaeological Museum in Greece – enquired if Puig would be interested in receiving publications even if they were written in Greek. See "[Letter from Helene Euclides to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 15, 1925, UC 1309, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

congress, in 1924, Puig and the local delegates were able to communicate using Catalan and Romanian, as 'Catalan is so easy and close to our language'.[509]

Next to those, we also find a number of letters written in Catalan by international scholars who had learned the language, such as the American Walter W. S. Cook. As has been already mentioned, Cook wrote to Puig in Catalan several times in 1931, during and shortly after Gudiol i Ricart's visit to New York, where, in his words, they were 'working in Catalan things'.[510] In the 1940s, he went back to Spanish regretting to have 'forgotten most of my Catalan'.[511] British Hispanists, such as the aforementioned Bernard Bevan and William Entwistle (1896-1952), a Cervantes expert who held a chair at Oxford, also corresponded with Puig in a perfect Catalan.[512] Others received publications in Catalan even if they did not speak the language. To name just a few, the booklet *La plaça de Catalunya* – sent five times abroad – as well as the three volumes of *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* and the article 'El problema de la transformació de la catedral del Nord importada a Catalunya', shipped to Sweden, Romania, the United States, Britain, and Italy, were all published in Catalan. For a Romance speaker like the Italian Antonio Canestrelli this was not a major problem, claiming that his knowledge of that 'Latin sister of our [language]' was enough to allow him to understand an art book, although he regretted he did not have 'the necessary literary practice to write [in Catalan]'.[513] In turn, the English John Bilson claimed to have studied *L'arquitectura romànica* as much as his poor knowledge of Catalan allowed him, while the Romanian

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509 Cited in Xavier Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (II)", *Haidé. Estudis Maragallians. Butlletí de l'Arxiu Joan Maragall* 2 (2013): 125. Popescu added his birthplace, Telega, to his professional surname. He was a renowned Hispanist, lectured in Europe during the 1930s and became a member of the Department of Spanish Language and Literature at the University of Bucharest in 1939. In 1949 he was appointed correspondent member of the Real Academia Española ('Spanish Royal Academy').

510 'Treballant en coses catalanes'. "[Postcard from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]."

511 'Siento mucho que he olvidado mucho de mi catalán'. "[Letter from Walter W. S. Cook to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", June 18, 1946.

512 "[Correspondence between William Entwistle and Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", 1939, UC 1867, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

513 'Mi scusino se non rispondo nella loro bella lingua, perché se in essa, sorella latina della nostra, comprendo abbastanza un libro d'arte, non ho di essa la necessaria pratica letteraria per scrivere.' "[Letter from Antonio Canestrelli to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]."

engineer C. Salz and the Belgian viscount Amaury de Ghellinck (1851-1919) – who was also the President of the Académie Royale de Belgique – expressed their intention to read the books despite their lack of familiarity with the language. 'But', the latter warned 'I cannot guarantee that I will understand everything, as I am unfortunately not very familiar with this beautiful language, so harmonious, and I deeply regret now not to have learned it in my youth'.[514]

5.4 Conclusion

The analysis of Puig's correspondence reveals the vast network of exchanges he braided with art historians – and some architects – from all over Europe as well as the United States. This changes the picture of his international engagement in lieu up to the present moment. As is well known, France had certainly a central role in his early formation as an archaeologist – a name usually employed at the time to refer to the study of historical architecture – as well as in the international dissemination of his *oeuvre*. Nevertheless, especially in the years of preparation of *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic*, his contacts prominently surpassed the scope of France, reaching both core and peripheral research environments such as Britain, Germany, the United States, Sweden, the Netherlands, and the Balkans. Meanwhile, he built up a notable reputation as a *connoisseur* of early Romanesque architecture, receiving enquiries from the most varied geographies and participating in a global conversation on the similarity and differences of architectural forms across Europe. These exchanges not only formed the base for the aforementioned opus magna on the origins and dissemination of the *premier art roman*, but also allowed him to build a profile of Catalan as a language that could be well used in publications exchange – along other minority languages such as Swedish and Modern Greek – among international correspondents. Indeed, his academic engagement with scholars also had a political reading, which is the subject of the next chapter.

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514 'Mais je ne réponds pas de tout comprendre, car je ne suis malheureusement pas très familiarisé avec cette belle langue, si harmonieuse, et je regrette bien maintenant ne pas l'avoir apprise dans ma jeunesse'. "[Letter from Vte. Ghellinck to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", June 9, 1909, UC 1365, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. See also "[Letter from C. Salz to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 8, 1931, UC 1691, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

Chapter 6: From Periphery to Periphery (1): Catalan Nationalism in the European Context

From all of Puig's international contacts, those with scholars and professionals in Europe's borderlands are the ones that better illustrate the ways in which these academic ventures may also be conceived as a form of political engagement. Arguably, they stem from an earlier interest in European nationalisms, with a particular attention paid to countries that had either been recently created or were fighting for political recognition. While some have argued that Puig focussed on academic work in the 1920s as a result of the termination of his political career after Primo's coup,[515] and that the two correspond to two different aspects of his activity, I argue that his intense research activity and extensive international travels may also be read as a form of political engagement.

Puig's engagement with European nationalist movements follows several well established patterns, echoing cases that were – to different extents – widely used by other politicians and intellectuals in defence of Catalonia's own quest for autonomy. It cannot be argued that he is *original* in any way in his choice of sympathies; however his approach to the European framework is still significant for two reasons. On the one hand, Puig blends models from very different political spectrums: from the recurrent international models mobilised by his fellow members at the Lliga Regionalista, to others more commonly branded by the political left. The second particularity is that he was one of the first to systematically use the European framework to contextualise his defence of Catalan autonomy.

Expressions of solidarity or admiration with nationalist movements in Europe were common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, usually in the form of manifestos or articles published in the press. From the 1910s onwards, the amount and frequency of the references to other nationalities aspiring to further autonomy or independence increased notably both in the

[515] See, for instance, Poisson, "La «carrera francesa» de Josep Puig i Cadafalch", 20.

Catalan press and in public speeches, as can be seen in the exhaustive account of the mobilisation of the European context by Catalan activists carried out by Joan-Carles Ferrer i Pont.[516] That time also saw the publication of major works such as *Història dels moviments nacionalistes* by Rovira i Virgili, a comprehensive history of nationalist movements in Europe in three different volumes. Puig's mobilisation of the European context predates this boom, as most of the texts and speeches in which he talks about the issue date from the early 1900s: a chapter of his memoirs on the victory of the Catalanist coalition in the Barcelona municipal elections of 1905;[517] a speech given, as an MP, at the Spanish Congress of Deputies in 1907;[518] and an article on his participation, in 1912, in the 'Premier Congrès Universel des Nationalités'.[519]

6.1 Precedents: Messages of Solidarity in the late 1800s

Puig was neither the very first nor the only Catalan intellectual interested in the European context. Other prominent figures in this trend were Sebastià Farners – a collaborator of *La Renaixensa* in the late nineteenth century – who had a special interest in Bohemia and Ireland; and Narcís Verdaguer i Callís, who began a series on international nationalist movements in *La Veu de Catalunya* in 1891. In 1904, Domènec Martí i Julià (1861-1917) also addressed the question extensively in a speech that he gave at the assembly of the Unió Catalanista.[520]

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516 Joan-Carles Ferrer i Pont, "Catalunya i altres pobles d'Europa", in *Nosaltres sols: la revolta irlandesa a Catalunya (1920-1923)* (Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2007), 169–219.

517 Before his death, Puig planned to write his memoirs, set a table of contents and completed several chapters. In the folder with all the materials for the memoirs that he left, and which is currently held at the ANC, there are several pieces that were not originally included in the table of contents but that were published with the rest in a 2003 edition of the memoirs. This is the case of 'La Solidaritat', which I use in this chapter and which can be found in "Escrits de les memòries de Josep Puig i Cadafalch", n.d., UC 88, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; and Puig i Cadafalch, *Memòries*, 117–123. For the purpose of clarity and access, I cite from the published version of the piece.

518 "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", *Diario de las sesiones de Cortes. Congreso de los Diputados* 33 (June 22, 1907): 679–85.

519 Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "El Congrés de Les Nacionalitats", *La Veu de Catalunya*, July 16, 1912, 3.

520 Ferrer i Pont, "Catalunya i altres pobles d'Europa", 169–172.

Building on this school of thought, in a 1907 speech to the Spanish Congress of Deputies, Puig argued that the unity of Castile and Catalonia during the Early Modern period had been as superficial as that of Sweden and Norway: 'We should not speak of a bound unity […]; at the time there was no bound, and I shall proof that by indicating that there was no common organism other than a personal, royal, union, like the one that until recently existed between Sweden and Norway'.[521] With this comparison, Puig pretended to challenge the idea of an ever-standing Spanish unity, while pointing out that the particular status of Catalonia within Spain was shared by other European countries. Later in the speech he mentions several regions that were scenarios of cultural and/or political discomfort in the States they belonged to, such as *le Midi* in Southern France, Sicily and Naples, Hungary, Bohemia, Finland, Flanders, Ireland, or the Greek territories still under Ottoman rule.[522] Expressing solidarity with other recently emerged or emerging European countries was a strategy employed by several Catalan intellectuals and politicians since the late nineteenth century, who often used such addresses to internationally showcase Catalonia's own demand for autonomy. Such messages were not uncommon in nineteenth-century Europe, being used by groups and individuals alike and towards different aims. For instance, Victor Hugo sent a solidarity address to European anticlericals gathered in Naples in 1869 to protest against the first Vatican Council, and liberal committees accross the continent sent messages of solidarity to the German Liberals fighting the Catholic Church in the 1870s.[523] In Catalonia, the cross–political organisation Unió Catalanista (Catalanist Union) sent written messages of support, from the late 1890s onwards, to the Greeks in Crete – under Ottoman rule at the time – (1897), to the Finns in the Russian Empire (1899) and even to the Boer Republic of Transvaal in South Africa (1900). Prior to that, a message promoted by the newspaper *L'Arc de Sant Martí* in support of the Irish fight for Home Rule (1886) had reached

[521] 'No hay que decir aquello de la unidad hilvanada […]; en aquellos momentos no había ni hilvanes, y os lo demostraré indicándoos que no existía entonces más organismo común que una unión personal, real, por el estilo del ha poco existente entre Suecia y Noruega'. "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", 680.
[522] Ibid., 682.
[523] Wolfram Kaiser, "Transnational Mobilization and Cultural Representation: Political Transfer in an Age of Proto-Globalization, Democratization and Nationalism 1848–1914", *European Review of History: Revue Européenne D'histoire* 12, no. 2 (2005): 412.

6,000 signatories, ranging from the cultural and economic elites to salaried workers.[524] Most messages were nominally addressed to political leaders – the Irish nationalist Charles Stewart Parnell, King George I in Greece, the President of the Transvaal Republic Paul Kruger. This is significant as, at the time, Catalonia did not have formal political institutions – although the Unió Catalanista, the promoter of the messages, arguably attempted to. In contrast to this, the message to Finland was generally addressed to 'the Finns'.[525]

These written messages of solidarity were published by several media and had a notable impact on the *Catalanista* movement. The message to the King of Greece, for instance, was co-signed by 28 organisations and published by eighteen different magazines, and was delivered to the Greek consul in Barcelona in a ceremony that included singing by the Orfeó Català choir. A few years later, the message to the Finns was supported by twenty organisations and fifteen newspapers. Nevertheless, the impact that those messages had abroad has been scarcely studied. Some have mentioned evidence of efforts being made to translate and publish the letter to the Finns in Finland.[526] It is unknown whether this actually happened or not, but in the course of this research the message to the Transvaal Republic has been found published in Swedish in the major Helsinki newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet*.[527] It was in December 1900, and the Catalan message of solidarity was included in a larger section dedicated to the Boer conflict. This is significant for various

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[524] The following section is largely based on Albert Balcells, "Catalanism and National Emancipation Movements in the Rest of Europe between 1885 and 1939", *Catalan Historical Review* 6 (2013): 87–89.

[525] See Jordi Llorens i Vila, *Catalanisme i moviments nacionalistes contemporanis (1885-1901): missatges a Irlanda, Creta i Finlàndia* (Barcelona: Dalmau, 1988), 64–66.

[526] Balcells, "Catalanism and National Emancipation Movements in the Rest of Europe between 1885 and 1939", 88.

[527] "En adress till Krüger [An Address to Krüger]", *Hufvudstadsbladet*, December 10, 1900. *Hufvudstadsbladet* was a Swedish-speaking newspaper, but that should not be read as an alignment with anti-Finnish positions. Swedish was not only Finland's second language but also a prominent language of intellectual production in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. During the time Finland remained under Russian rule – until 1918 – both Swedish and Finnish speaking cultural spheres participated in the defence of Finnish culture and of Finnish autonomy. See Nygård and Strang, "Facing Asymmetry – Nordic Intellectuals and Center-Periphery Dynamics in European Cultural Space." On the impact of Finish nationalism in Catalonia, see also Joan-Carles Ferrer i Pont, *Nosaltres sols: la revolta irlandesa a Catalunya (1920-1923)* (Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2007), 176–178.

reasons: on the one hand, it shows that these messages of solidarity did have some impact beyond Catalonia. But more crucially, they also had an impact beyond the countries they specifically referred to, as, by being published in Helsinki, the Catalan message to the Boers had a European resonance. This also makes it plausible to argue that the message to the Finns may have in fact reached Finnish newspapers, and that the contact between the Unió Catalanista and the editors of *Hufvudstadsbladet* may have become solid enough to enable the publication, the following year, of the message to the Transvaal republic. Ultimately, the publication of a message addressed by the Unió Catalanista to the South-African Republic of Transvaal in a Finnish milieu accounts for a broader dissemination of these solidarity messages than has traditionally been acknowledged.

International politics played a major role in the works of some of Catalonia's most important political thinkers also beyond those expressions of 'solidarity'. As Enric Ucelay has shown, Prussia and the newly created Germanic Empire were crucial in Prat de la Riba's configuration of the role of modern Catalonia in regenerating the Spanish State.[528] Other influences stemmed from Irish Parliamentarism, from the dual monarchy of Austria–Hungary, and later on also from the Soviet approach to national minorities.[529] In fact, the discussion of the rights of these minorities during peace conversations following the First World War marked a shift in the approach of Catalanist actors to nationalist movements within Europe. Until then, those movements had been used rhetorically and theoretically, as political models or to sustain discourses on the right of Catalonia to access autonomy. However, from 1918 onwards, Catalanist actors took action and participated in European forums discussing the question of national minorities, such as the League of Nations and, more successfully, the Congress of European Nationalities. They used these organisations and the new framework of protection of national minorities emerging from the peace treaties to attempt to enforce a change in Spain's

[528] Ucelay-Da Cal, *El Imperialismo catalán*, 194–199.
[529] Ucelay-Da Cal, "El Mirall de Catalunya"; Balcells, "Catalanism and National Emancipation Movements in the Rest of Europe between 1885 and 1939", 97–102.

approach to the Catalan question.[530] This was eventually achieved with the granting of a Statute of Autonomy in 1932.

6.2 Discussing Nationalism in Europe's borderlands circa 1905-1920

Puig's own engagement with the European scenario follows a similar scheme, but with significant particularities. As we shall see in detail in the following pages, during the early 1900s, and up to the Primo de Rivera's coup in 1923, he used his knowledge of the European context – in particular of nationalist movements – to frame and justify his request of Catalonia being granted special recognition. He also participated in a pre-First World War international meeting, the 'Premier Congrès Universel des Nationalités' of 1912. After the 1923 coup – which, as has been already explained, caused his deposition as President of the *Mancomunitat* – and parallel to appeals to the League of Nations and participation in the Congress of European Nationalities by Catalan activists such as Joan Estelrich and Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer in the mid-1920s,[531] he began to travel to many of the newly created countries he used to refer to in his speeches during the previous decade. He visited Romania in 1924, Serbia in 1927, Norway in 1928, and Greece – including a trip to Istanbul – in 1930. However, he did not participate in political forums, but academic ones: he travelled to attend international conferences, pursue research trips, and also became part of a very broad community of art historians, as has been described in Chapter 5. Between 1906 and 1922 he had already been a regular participant in Archaeology and Art History congresses, mostly in France and occasionally in Italy. But from 1923 onwards he began to participate in academic events in a much wider variety of countries, from southeastern Europe and Scandinavia to Britain and the United States. According to Maufroy, the congresses of Byzantine Studies that Puig attended

[530] This has been discussed extensively in Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme: el catalanisme polític i la qüestió de les minories nacionals a Europa (1914-1936)* (Catarroja; València: Afers; Universitat de València, 2010).
[531] Balcells, "Catalanism and National Emancipation Movements in the Rest of Europe between 1885 and 1939", 94–95.

in the Balkans may be also read as diplomatic events, and the attendance, behaviour and even the research thesis of the delegates were closely watched. This diplomatic aspect seems to have especially visible in French and German scholars, who celebrated fraternity during the Belgrade and Athens congresses of 1927 and 1930, after the Germans had been excluded from the first gathering – Bucharest 1924 – following a resolution from the Conseil International de Recherches.[532] The previously mentioned *Catalanista* attempts to participate actively in post-war political forums and to inscribe Catalonia in discussions on national minorities have also been considered a form of proto–diplomacy.[533] Building on this, this chapter will develop the argument that Puig's intellectual contribution to the international community of art historians should also be read as a form of proto-diplomacy.

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In the aforementioned 1907 speech to the Spanish Congress, Puig uses Sweden's and Norway's recent history to draw a parallel with the past relationship between Castile and Catalonia.[534] In the past, he says, nothing other than a personal, royal unity existed between the two. The personal and royal unity he is referring to is most probably the marriage of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon in the late fifteenth century, which unified Castile and Aragon under a common crown, but preserved each region's own institutions and laws.[535] He sees this union similar to that of Sweden and Norway, which were united under a single monarch at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[536] The two countries had been peacefully separated just two years earlier, in 1905, which caused the admiration of Catalanists from various political strands. The historian and federalist politician Rovira i Virgili

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[532] Sandrine Maufroy, "Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines: entre nationalisme scientifique et construction internationale d'une discipline", *Revue germanique internationale*, no. 12 (2010): 232–233.
[533] Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme*, 82–90.
[534] "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", 680.
[535] On the unification of the Castile and Aragon crowns, see Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez, *La España de los Reyes Católicos: la unificación territorial y el reinado (siglos XIV-XV)* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2004).
[536] On the union between Sweden and Norway, see Hildor Arnold Barton, *Sweden and Visions of Norway: Politics and Culture, 1814-1905* (SIU Press, 2003).

praised the peaceful separation in a text presented to *El Poble Català* in 1905.[537] The same periodical published another article by Eugeni d'Ors in which he talked of the 'highly exemplary lesson that Norway dictates nowadays to all the peoples of the earth'.[538] Ors used the Norwegian case to elaborate a theory of imperialism as the means through which nations fighting for independence or autonomy could contribute to regenerate their broader political context, drawing a parallel between the role of Norway in a hypothetical Scandinavian commonwealth and that of Catalonia in Spain.[539] The same argument would be put forward just one year later in *La nacionalitat catalana*. There, Prat does not take Norway as a model, but Prussia, a country that had not gained independence but rather led the process of unification of the broader German Empire.[540] In spite of that difference, and of the fact that Prussia could hardly be described as an 'emerging' country like Catalonia, both Ors and Prat saw Norway and Prussia as regenerators of their broader territory. And as has already been discussed in Part 2, the Lliga envisaged a similar role for Catalonia as the leading agent of the regeneration of the Spanish State. Significantly, Prussia is also mentioned in Puig's 1907 speech, in which it is cited as a 'model of unification': 'And what about this current movement of Prussia that has been cited as an example of unification?'[541]

While sharing some of the Lliga Regionalista's international models, Puig's engagement with the European context also finds parallels in a more varied political spectrum. Thus, many of the countries he mentions were typically cited as examples of nationalist movements in more leftist environments. In his 1907 speech, he talks of the Czechs, the Flemish, the Finns, the Hungarians, the Serbs, the Greeks in Crete, and the Irish, all of which appeared a few years later in the *Història dels moviments nacionalistes* (1912-1914) by Rovira i

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537 Ucelay-Da Cal, "El Mirall de Catalunya", 217.
538 '[…] altíssima lliçó exemplar que en aquests moments dicta Noruega als pobles de la terra tota'. Eugeni d'Ors, "Noruega imperialista", *El Poble Català*, June 17, 1905.
539 Oscar Costa Ruibal, *L'imaginari imperial: el Noucentisme català i la política internacional* (Editorial Alpha, 2002), 43–46.
540 Ucelay-Da Cal, "El Mirall de Catalunya", 216.
541 '¿Y ese movimiento actual de Prusia que se ha citado como ejemplo de unificación?' "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", 682.

Virgili.[542] Like Rovira i Virgili, Puig recalls those cases as examples of other nationalist movements:

> The problem of Belgium and Holland, the problem of Sweden and Norway, the Austro-Hungarian problem, the same problem of *tcheque* people; the issue between Walloons and flamants in Belgium; the issue between Finland and Russia; prove that there is no nation in Europe that does not have this nationalist problem, nor is there any part of the world where it does not arise.[543]

He also praises the granting of a 'Constitution' to Ireland by the British Empire, which 'we would well like for ourselves': 'England, the mighty British Empire, is preparing these days a Constitution for Ireland that we would really like for ourselves […] and which is equivalent to an Act of integral autonomy'.[544] Although Irish Home Rule was not actually offered until 1914, in February 1907 the Spanish press presented the question of an Irish Constitution as one of the main topics the British Parliament would have to deal with in the upcoming year.[545] In a similar way, in the fall of 1906 the Catalan newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya* recalled the sympathies of the then British Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman for the Irish cause and gave voice to 'consistent' rumours that the following year, and thanks to the

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[542] Balcells, "Catalanism and National Emancipation Movements in the Rest of Europe between 1885 and 1939", 91.

[543] 'El problema de Bélgica y Holanda, el problema de Suecia y Noruega, el problema austro-húngaro, el mismo problema del pueblo tcheque, la cuestión entre walones y flamants en Bélgica; la cuestión entre Finlandia y Rusia prueban que en Europa no hay acaso Nación que no tenga este problema nacionalista, ni hay parte del mundo donde no surja.' "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", 682. Note that Puig speaks of the 'tchèque' people, in French, instead of using the Spanish 'checo'. According to Joan-Carles Ferrer i Pont, the Czech was, after the Irish, the cause the aroused the most sympathies in Catalonia, due to the shared literary and linguistic origins of both movements. See Ferrer i Pont, *Nosaltres sols*, 184–186.

[544] 'Inglaterra, el poderoso Imperio británico, está dictando estos días una Constitución para Irlanda, que bien quisiéramos para nosotros […] y que equivale a una Carta de integral autonomía.' "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", 682.

[545] 'Entre las cuestiones que más han de apasionar los ánimos, figuran las reformas en materia de enseñanza, el derecho de sufragio para las mujeres y la Constitución de Irlanda, asunto este último que interesa sobremanera a los miembros nacionalistas del Parlamento.' W.A.C., "Ecos de Londres", *ABC*, February 6, 1907, 5.

efforts of northern-Irish MP James Bryce, administrative and financial Home Rule may be granted.[546]

In the same 1907 speech Puig shows awareness of the double-sided nature of nationalism as he addresses the Greek question, claiming that the Greek nationalist movement is 'secessionist with regards to Turkey, but aggregative with respect to the Greek countries, with respect to continental Greece and Crete'.[547] While he retained a general sympathy towards the Greek cause, he also expressed solidarity with the reformist 'Young Turks' of Mustafa Kemal. In 1905, Puig's piece 'Let's vote for the Universal Exposition' was followed by the victory of a Catalanista coalition in the Barcelona municipal election. The satirical magazine *Cu-cut!* published a cartoon comparing the victory of the coalition to the Spanish military losses in Cuba and elsewhere, and this caused a violent reaction from the militaries, who attacked the office of *Cu-cut!* – and *La Veu de Catalunya* – in what later came to be known as 'Fets del Cu-Cut!' ('Cu-Cut! events').[548] Following the events, Puig travelled to Paris 'to give an European dimension' to their 'indignation', shortly before the creation of 'Solidaritat Catalana', a coalition of *Catalanista* parties united after the Cu-Cut! events. In Paris, Puig had the chance to draw a parallel between the recent events in Catalonia and the situation of the 'young Turks, Serbs and Bulgarians', which appeared 'exemplary' to him after having 'gained freedom, or at least a new regime'.[549] The 'Young Turks' – to which Puig explicitly refers – were a political organisation in early-twentieth-century Turkey, led by

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546 "L'autonomia a Irlanda", *La Veu de Catalunya*, September 1, 1906, 1. On the reception of Irish indepedence in Catalonia, see the monograph Ferrer i Pont, *Nosaltres sols*.

547 '¿Y el movimiento nacionalista griego, ese movimiento panhelénico de secesión respecto de Turquía, y de agregación respecto a los países griegos, respecto a la Grecia continental y Creta?' "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", 682.

548 On the *Cu-cut* events, see Rhiannon McGlade, "The 'fets de Cu-Cut!' Cartooning Controversy in Catalonia", *Romance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2015): 199–211; Jordi Casassas et al., eds., *Els Fets del Cu-cut!, cent anys després* (Barcelona: Centre d'Història Contemporània de Catalunya, 2006).

549 '[…] vaig anar cap a París per a donar estat europeu a la nostra indignació. Els pobles que ara han assolit la llibertat, o almenys un nou règim, tenien a París llur petit periòdic i llur organització. Els joves turcs, els serbis, els búlgars, me'n mostraren exemplars amb llurs pàgines plenes d'homes penjats i de viles cremades'. Puig i Cadafalch, *Memòries*, 119.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), who fought for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire. Two 'Congresses of Ottoman Opposition' were held in 1902 and 1907 in Paris, where, according to Puig, they also had 'a small periodical and an organisation'. He then goes on with the comparison recalling the 'emotion' felt in Barcelona after the 1905 victory, which 'reproduced in Spain the facts that we read about Bulgaria and Serbia'.[550] Indeed, the nationalistic drive of the government of Nikola P. Pašić in Serbia reached the Catalan press in the same year of 1905, and the sympathies for the Serbian cause would increase prominently upon the outbreak of the First World War.[551]

In contrast to that, a 1930 journey to Istanbul gave him the chance to denounce the 'pressure' of the Turkish army and to portray the Greek settlements in Turkey as the true convenors of the legacy of the Byzantine Empire:

> The Turkish pressure is felt everywhere like an occupation army on an enemy country. The defeated Greek nationalism hides, but I have listened to liturgical hymns from the time of the Byzantine Empire in a Greek monastery on the Island of Princes, especially the triumphal hymn of the entry of the Emperor in Hagia Sophia.[552]

Other times he drew parallels with movements that may considered regionalist, thus crossing the region-nation divide. In 1917, after affirming that 'the present legal state of teaching in Catalonia is one of oppression and assimilation', he traced similarities with other linguistically 'prosecuted' regions such as Alsace-Loraine: 'Finally there are countries like the Alsace-Lorraine, which have the

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[550] 'L'emoció de Barcelona fou extraordinària. Era la reproducció a Espanya dels fets que llegíem de Bulgària o de Sèrbia'. Ibid., 118.

[551] See Jordi Casassas, "Efectes sobre el catalanisme polític dels fets del Cu-cut!", in *Els Fets del Cu-cut!: taula rodona organitzada pel Centre d'Història Contemporània de Catalunya el 24 de novembre de 2005*, ed. Jordi Casassas et al. (Barcelona: Centre d'Història Contemporània de Catalunya, 2006), 14; Ferrer i Pont, *Nosaltres sols*, 186–188.

[552] 'Es sent allí pertot la pressió turca com un exèrcit d'ocupació sobre un país enemic. El nacionalisme grec, com a vençut, s'amaga, però en un monestir grec de l'Illa dels Prínceps m'han cantat himnes litúrgics del temps de l'Imperi bizantí, sobretot l'himne triomfal de l'entrada de l'emperador a Santa Sofia'. Puig i Cadafalch, *Memòries*, 353.

prohibition of using any language other than the official one in schools […] which are cruelly persecuted'.[553] Earlier on, in 1907, he had also presented parallels with the Midi in Southern France, and Sicily and Naples in the recently reunified Italy. On France, he recalls some turbulence between the 'peoples of the Midi', he says, and those of the north. He may be referring to the wine protests that escalated in 1907 with over 100,000 demonstrators in Béziers, and which were severely repressed by the then Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau.[554] The protests, just like with the miners in the north, had a prominent social tone, but Puig sees in them 'a regional background'. About Italy, he argues that, even though the country is nowadays often presented as the 'prototype' of 'unified nations', he has 'proof' that Sicilians and Neapolitans have political aspirations based on their distinct ethnicity, literature, theatre and language.[555] French regionalism, and particularly Occitanism, had been an inspiration to Catalan nationalists since the nineteenth century. Some have argued that Catalanists had already lost interest in the Occitanist cause in the late nineteenth century, although the influence of French regionalist writers such as Charles Maurras and Georges Barrès – and with them of organicist conceptions on the region-nation equation – in early-twentieth-century Catalan intellectuals has also been shown.[556]

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553 'Hi ha finalment països com […] l'Alsàcia-Lorena, que tenen privat l'ús d'altre llenguatge que l'oficial en les escoles […] i aquestes són cruelment perseguides'. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "L'obra cultural de la Diputació de Barcelona i de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya", *La Veu de Catalunya*, March 6, 1917, Suplement.

554 See Leo A. Loubère, *Radicalism in Mediterranean France: Its Rise and Decline, 1848-1914* (SUNY Press, 1974), 181–195.

555 'De Francia no hay para qué hablar, porque en estos mismos días vemos en las páginas de los diarios la reseña de turbulencias ocurridas allí que tienen un fondo regional, estando de una parte los pueblos del Mediodía, y de otra los del Norte. […] Y, ¿qué he de decir yo de esa Italia que todos los días se muestra como el prototipo de Naciones unificadas? Yo tengo la nota de un Tratado del Vizconde d'Avenel, en el cual se demuestran las variantes étnicas y de aspiraciones políticas de los sicilianos y napolitanos traslucidas por una literatura y un teatro característicos, y por un idioma propio y diferente de los de los pueblos del centro y del norte de la península italiana.' "[Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona]", 682.

556 Cf. Balcells, "Catalanism and National Emancipation Movements in the Rest of Europe between 1885 and 1939", 86; Pla, Xavier, ed. *Maurras a Catalunya: elements per a un debat*. Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2012. See also Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, "Maurice Barrès y España", *Historia Contemporánea*, no. 34 (2007): 201–24.

Like Alsace-Lorraine, Puig also considered the Polish territories under Russian and German rule to be linguistically opressed. Conversely, he praised the 'partial freedom' enjoyed in this respect in Finland and in Austrian Poland, and, to a lesser extent, in Ireland.[557] Disgregated Poland – as well as the already mentioned Alsace-Lorraine, Finland and Ireland – were also in Rovira i Virgili's catalogue of European nationalisms. As were Lithuania, the Ukraine and the other nations under Russian – and Austrian – domain that Puig mentions in his account of the 'Premier Congrès Universel des Nationalités', celebrated in Paris in 1912:

> The fact is that there are countless people in Europe who are not satisfied with the current political regisme. The question has been raised everywhere, from Russia with the Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Finnish nations, to the small nations Balkan; Catalans know very well, Galicia knows, the Basque lands know.[558]

Celebrated for the first time in Paris in 1912, the meeting was promoted by a French journalist, Jean Pélisser (1883-1939), close to the French political central-left, and Juozas Gabrys-Paršaitis (1880-1951), a promoter of Lithuanian independence and director of the Lausanne-based 'Lithuanian Information Bureau'.[559] They also had the collaboration of the historian Charles Seignobos

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[557] 'Hi ha pobles que tenen una llibertat parcial en l'ensenyança. Finlàndia, la Polònia austríaca tenen el dret d'usar el seu llenguatge a les escoles; poden organitzar-les lliurement seguint la finalitat pedagògica que els plagui, amb petites restriccions, com l'obligació d'ensenyar l'idioma rus o alemany respectivament. Altres tenen una certa tolerància per a les escoles privades, o bé permeten en les oficials l'ensenyança de la doctrina cristiana en el llenguatge del país, però totes les ensenyances de l'Estat són en una llengua imposada. Aquest és el cas d'Irlanda. Hi ha finalment països com la Polònia russa, la Polònia alemanya, l'Alsàcia-Lorena, que tenen privat l'ús d'altre llenguatge que l'oficial en les escoles, tant públiques com privades, i aquestes són cruelment perseguides'. Puig i Cadafalch, "L'obra cultural de la Diputació de Barcelona i de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya", Suplement.

[558] 'El fet és que hi ha a Europa una infinitat de pobles a qui no satisfà el regisme polític actual. La qüestió està plantejada pertot, des de Rússia amb les nacions polonesa, lituana, ucraniana i finlandesa, fins a les petites nacions dels Balcans; ho sabem ben bé els catalans, ho sap Galícia, ho saben les terres basques'. Puig i Cadafalch, "El Congrés de Les Nacionalitats."

[559] D. R. Watson, "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central Des Nationalités, 1912-1919", *The English Historical Review* 110, no. 439 (1995): 1195; Alfred Erich Senn, *The Great Powers. Lithuania and the Vilna Question, 1920-1928* (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1966), 8.

(1854-1942), who claimed that the leaders of sub-state European nationalisms – explicitly mentioning the 'annexes' of 'two old States where the desire for autonomy has been identified: Ireland and Catalonia' – should meet in Paris to reach an European audience.[560] Pélisser had become acquainted with the Catalan autonomist movement in 1909, when he visited Barcelona to interview the anarchist leader Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia on the day before his execution.[561] In spite of their different political affiliation, Pélisser seems to have been befriended with Cambó, and later on the Barcelona delegation of the Office des Nationalités was mostly integrated by members of the Lliga.[562] Nevertheless, Puig seems to have been the only Catalan to attend the 'Congrès' in the summer of 1912. The account he made of it on the pages of *La Veu de Catalunya* conveys the austerity of the event. He explains that nobody in the venue – the École des hautes études en sciences sociales – knew what or where the Congrès was, but he highlights that this should not by any means be taken as indicative of the importance of the event. In his article, Puig also considers nationalism an international concern, since many of the participants in the Paris meeting were not members of oppressed nations but rather people interested in nationalism because of their 'internationalism and universal pacifism'.[563]

Unlike other Catalanista leaders, Puig did not participate in the international forums that, following the Great War, attempted to find a solution to the problem of minorities in Europe, and which became a favourite milieu for Catalanista activists to showcase their cause.[564] However, he found in international congresses and other research environments a place in which to

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[560] Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme*, 57.
[561] Watson, "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central Des Nationalités, 1912-1919", 1995. Puig wrote that Pélissier 'knew Barcelona and spoke of it with the enthusiasm of those who have visited it'. Puig i Cadafalch, "El Congrés de Les Nacionalitats."
[562] Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme*, 58.
[563] 'Els homes que inauguren les sentades de la convenció preparatòria del Congrés no són pas nacionals dels països oprimits. No parteixen ni de records històrics ni d'ofenses rebudes; van a parar al nacionalisme des de l'internacionalisme i del pacifisme universal.' Puig i Cadafalch, "El Congrés de Les Nacionalitats." Here, Puig perhaps echoes the European pacifists that, in the advent of the First World War, became defendents of the minority communities in Austria-Hungary as a means to preserve peace.
[564] See Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme*, 91–206 especially.

present Catalonia as an 'independent' country – academically speaking – and thus continue his elaboration of the brotherhood between Catalonia and other nations in the making. They were particularly numerous at the margins of Europe, where the collapse of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires prompted the emergence of many new nation-states. Among those, Puig's contacts with Romanian intellectuals are especially significant for a variety of reasons.

6.3 Research and Politics in Europe's borderlands: Romania as a Case Study

In the winter of 1923-1924 Puig was deposed as President of the *Mancomunitat*, following the coup d'état by Primo de Rivera. It was partially a coincidence that he travelled to Romania to participate in the First International Congress of Byzantine Studies just a few months later, in April 1924, as the invitation to participate in the congress almost predated the deposition. As we shall see later in more detail, during an interview held in Bucharest he presented himself as the president of a 'suspended' 'Catalan provincial union', even though he had been deposed a few months earlier and there was a new, official, president.[565]

Puig's relationships with Romanian intellectuals are especially interesting for several reasons. On the one hand, this is the largest group of correspondents in the European periphery: a total of thirteen different Romanian correspondents have been identified in the materials held at the Fons Puig i Cadafalch of the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. This is contrast with, for example, the only five contacts he had in the whole of Scandinavia. It must also be taken into account that these Romanian scholars belong to a group of Balkanic researchers that has already been partially described as a consolidated academic network. As Maufroy has shown, this cluster formed the basis for the revitalisation of Byzantine studies after the First World War, with its first international congresses taking place in Bucharest (1924), Belgrade (1927), Athens (1930),

[565] "De vorbă cu d. Puig i Cadafalc, președintele Uniunei provinciale catalane", *Dimineata*, April 23, 1924, UC 2542, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

and Sofia (1934).[566] Puig attended the first three meetings, contributed to the group's publications, and kept a regular correspondence with its members. Last but not least, Puig's interactions with Romanian academics were highly reciprocal as his work on Moldavian medieval architecture was matched by contributions to Catalan history by Romanian academics. These exchanges also had an impact on Catalonia's and Romania's intellectual life beyond the central figures of Puig and Iorga.

Relationships between Romanian and Catalan intellectuals in the early twentieth century were until very recently only known to some subject specialists. The work of Constantin Marinescu – Iorga's disciple – on medieval Catalonia, for instance, is still greatly valued by Catalan historians of the Crown of Aragon, to the extent that a study unpublished in the 1930s, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416-1458)*, was brought to print in 1994 by the Institute of Catalan Studies under the consideration that nobody had worked on the same sources ever since and that therefore it remained useful.[567] The history of Byzantine Studies as a discipline in Catalonia has also attracted some interest, as has the evolution of Hispanism in Romania, in which the key players of our story also had a crucial role.[568] Nevertheless, the major focus of attention has been on the literary connections between Catalonia and Romania during the twentieth century, in which Iorga had a pivotal role. He was involved to varying degrees in the translation into Romanian and publication of works by the Catalan poet Joan Maragall (1860-1911),[569] and his broader engagement with Spain has been object of a recent

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566 Maufroy, "Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines", 229. On later congresses, see

567 Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, ed., "Presentació", in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'Edat Mitjana: Jornades científiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Barcelona, 16 i 17 de novembre de 2000* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 7–8.

568 On the first, see Ernest Marcos Hierro, "Els estudis de bizantí a Catalunya", *Ítaca. Quaderns Catalans de Cultura Clàssica* 23 (2009): 109–27; on the latter, see Dana Diaconu, "El hispanismo en Rumanía: desarrollo y estado actual", *Iberoamericana*, Nueva época, 3, no. 11 (2003): 205–25; Iorgu Iordan and Paul Alexandru Georgescu, "Los estudios hispánicos en Rumanía", in *Actas del Congreso de la AIH. Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. Frank Pierce and Cyril A. Jones (Oxford: The Dolphin, 1962).

569 Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (II)"; Xavier Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (I)", *Haidé. Estudis Maragallians. Butlletí de l'Arxiu Joan Maragall* 1 (2012): 81–92. On the literary relations between

study by Juan José Ortega Román.[570] The present section and the next chapter aim at contributing to this rather disperse and fragmented historiography by offering an interpretation of the significance of these academic and cultural exchanges in the development of a Catalan identity politics.

Nicolae Iorga was Puig's initial point of connection with this community of south-eastern European historians. The two not only shared a similar age – Puig was born in 1867 – but also a similar career traversing academic research and politics. Iorga was devoted to the study of the history of Romania, with a focus on the Middle Ages, and with an interest also in art history.[571] He is considered one of the most influential Romanian historians of the twentieth century and, according to Marius Turda, it was him who 'successfully provided Romanian nationalism with the essential notions of historical continuity and cultural unity'.[572] Between 1890 and 1894, Iorga studied in Paris, and also in

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Catalonia and Romania, see also Lourdes Sánchez Rodrigo, "Las relaciones literarias entre Cataluña y Rumanía", *Revista de lenguas y literaturas catalana, gallega y vasca* 19 (2014): 99–108; Diana Moţoc, "Les traductions entre le catalan et le roumain: l'histoire d'une rencontre culturelle récente", in *„Traducerile au de cuget să îmblînzească obiceiurile …". Rumänische Übersetzungsgeschichte – Prozesse, Produkte, Akteure*, ed. Larisa Schippel, Magda Jeanrenaud, and Julia Richter (Frank & Timme GmbH, 2014), 297–306; Xavier Montoliu and Diana Moţoc, "Quatre apunts sobre les relacions entre la literatura romanesa i la catalana", *Visat* 15 (2013); Xavier Montoliu, "Literatura romanesa i literatura catalana: quan el desafiament es diu traducció", *Quaderns: revista de traducció*, 2008, 103–17; Juan Miguel Ribera Llopis, "Presencia de los Balcanes en la cultura catalana", *Revista de Filología Románica*, no. 16 (1999): 85. For a case study of a late-nineteenth-century literary connection, see Juan Miguel Ribera Llopis, "Díptico viajero: Josep Pin i Soler en Bucarest y en Constantinopla", *Revista de lenguas y literaturas catalana, gallega y vasca* 16, no. 0 (2011). Finally, the following offer an account of these relationships during the late twentieth century: Delia Ionela Prodan, "Entre l'espasa franquista i el mur comunista: les traduccions del català al romanès entre 1968 i 1989", in *El papel de la traducción en el discurso de la rumanidad desde una perspectiva diaspórica*, ed. Delia Ionela Prodan and Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu (Alicante: Aguaclara, 2011), 209–24; Delia Ionela Prodan, "La presència de les lletres catalanes en România Literară, revista emblemàtica de la Unió dels Escriptors de Romania: anàlisi del període 1968-1989", in *Teze şi antiteze ale actualităţii*, ed. Graţian Cormoş (Cluj-Napoca: InfoData, 2009), 45–50.

570 Juan José Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga: viajero por España", *Revista de Filologia Románica* 20 (2003): 151–62.

571 The following biographical account of Nicolae Iorga is based on William O. Oldson, *The Historical and Nationalistic Thought of Nicolae Iorga* (Indiana University, 1969), 3–10. See also Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, *Nicolae Iorga: A Biography* (Center for Romanian Studies, 1998).

572 Turda, "Historical Writing in the Balkans", 352; see also Corina Teacă, "In Search of National Traditions: Art History in Romania", in *Art History and Visual Studies in*

Germany with Karl Lamprecht, one of the promoters of the second wave of historical positivism in late-nineteenth-century Europe, as discussed in Part 2. After becoming a professor at the University of Bucharest, he began a collaboration with the Commission for Historic Monuments, which had been founded in 1892 with the aim, like elsewhere in Europe, of recording and protecting the country's historical heritage.[573] He contributed to the awakening of Romanian nationalism through the literary magazine *Sămănătorul* (1901-1910) and the more political magazine *Neamul Românesc* (1906-1940). He was also involved in the Pan-Romanian movement that sought the incorporation of Transylvania, then in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to the Romanian Crown, something that eventually happened after the First World War. In 1910 he founded the conservative Democratic Nationalist Party (PND), and he held several positions in the Parliament and Romanian Government until he became Prime Minister in 1931-1932. He was murdered in 1940, allegedly by members of the Iron Guard – Romania's fascist party – following his criticism of the country's fall within the Nazi sphere of influence. During his lifetime, Iorga's prestige extended beyond Romania: he was awarded *honoris causa* doctorates by several European universities including Oxford and Paris, and served as a member of different academic societies and institutes and as a corresponding member of national academies throughout Europe.

Puig and Iorga probably met for the first time at the Congrès d'histoire de l'art organised in Paris in 1921, as Iorga seems to recall this congress in the first letter that he sent to Puig, in December 1923.[574] There, Puig presented the paper 'Contribution à la chronologie de l'architecture romane en Catalogne' and Iorga talked on 'Les origines de l'art romain'.[575] Iorga publicised his project of an International Congress of Byzantine Studies during the Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Brussels in April 1923, in

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Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks, ed. Matthew Rampley, Thierry Lenain, and Hubert Locher (BRILL, 2012), 455.

573 For an overview of the changing attitudes towards the conservation of historical monuments in Europe, see Choay, *L'allégorie du patrimoine*.

574 "[Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 20, 1923, UC 1414, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

575 *Actes du Congrès d'histoire de l'art, organisé par la Société de l'histoire de l'art français, Paris, 26 septembre-5 octobre 1921*, 235–236.

which Puig and other Catalan academics such as the archaeologist Bosch i Gimpera participated.[576] On that occasion, Iorga and Puig were meant to share a panel on Art History together with other Iberian scholars such as the Basque Ángel de Apraiz y Buesa (1885-1956) and the Portuguese José de Figueiredo (1872-1937).[577] Nevertheless, Puig was not present during the congress and his contribution on 'L'Art roman au XIe siècle' was read by Ramon d'Alòs-Moner, who would also be a part in the Catalan-Romanian network of Byzantine studies with Marinescu, Rubió, Nicolau d'Olwer, and others.[578]

International congresses provided Puig with an excellent environment in which to showcase not only Catalonia's research, but also – and more importantly – Catalonia as a leading actor in Europe's academic scene, which he saw as eminently *regional*. I emphasise *regional* to engage with Umbach's argument on Puig's development of 'a new political geography' that, she argues, 'relativised the importance of the nation-state, and focused instead on cultural regions as engines of progress'.[579] This regionalist 'political geography' definitely echoes in some of Puig's readers. The French medievalist Louis Bréhier (1868-1951), for instance, claimed that Puig's 1928 book on *Le premier art roman* 'sheds new light on the birth of our regional architecture schools', pointing out that Puig's work on the dissemination of early Romanesque proved that 'regional architectural

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576 Ferran Valls i Taberner, "Primer Congrès Internacional d'Estudis Bizantins. Bucarest, 1924", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXI-XXVI* VII (1931): 275–76; Gracia Alonso, Fullola Pericot, and Vilanova, *58 anys i 7 dies*, 145. See also Maufroy, "Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines", 232.

577 Guillaume Des Marez and François Louis Ganshof, eds., *Compte rendu du Ve Congrès international des sciences historiques, Bruxelles, 1923* (Bruxelles: M. Weissenbruch, 1923), 372–373. Ángel de Apraiz y Buesa was a historian of Basque art. He held the first chair of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Valladolid, in Castile, and was a promoter of the Sociedad de Estudios Bascos ('Society for Basque Studies'). See Koro Muro Arriet, *Ángel de Apraiz: Biografía y Bibliografía* (Vitoria: Ayuntamiento de Vitoria, 2001). José de Figueiredo was a Portuguese art historian and the first director of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga ('National Museum of Ancient Art'). Like Puig, he was concerned about the fraudulent exportation of Portuguese art abroad. See Joana Baião, "José de Figueiredo, historiador e crítico de arte, director do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. A sua contribuição no panorama historiográfico e museológico português.", in *Actas do Simpósio Património em construção - contextos para a sua preservação*, ed. José Delgado Rodrigues and Sílvia R. M. Pereira, Reuniões nacionais e internacionais 84 (Lisboa: LNEC, 2011), 113–20.

578 On Alòs-Moner, see Albert Balcells, *Ramon d'Alòs-Moner i de Dou, semblança biogràfica* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003).

579 Umbach, "The Modernist Imagination of Place and the Politics of Regionalism: The Case of Puig i Cadafalch and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona", 91.

traditions' existed in places such as France and Spain since the Middle Ages. In doing so, Puig's study 'indirectly' confirmed the existence of an Auvergne school of architecture – in the south of France – with differential traits and a 'precocious character', very much in line with Puig's portrayal of Catalan Romanesque as leading and innovative.[580] Just like Iorga a few years earlier, here Bréhier was using academic debate and an interest in a foreign architectural tradition to support his own political interests, providing Auvergne's regional identity with an academic historicity.

The importance of academic congresses for the representation of political identities in early-twentieth-century Europe has already been pointed out by Maufroy. Delegates participated not only as individual researchers but also as representatives of their 'country', to the point that 'the absence or presence of a congressman, his general behavior or scientific theories could be interpreted as diplomatic acts'.[581] Thus, the first international congresses of Byzantine studies in Romania and Serbia contributed to the 'affirmation of the young Balkan countries on the international stage'.[582] They also certainly contributed to showcasing the Catalan cause, with explicit calls for 'fraternity' between Catalonia and the – relatively – newly created nation-states at the other side of the Mediterranean. But how did Catalan identity come to be showcased in a conference on Byzantine studies celebrated at the far edge of the Balkans?

In his formal invitation to the Bucharest congress, and in line with Maufroy's argument, Iorga invited Puig and Rubió as 'representatives' of Catalonia

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[580] 'Ce livre jette un jour nouveau sur la naissance de nos écoles régionales d'architecture. Si le premier art roman n'a pénétré ni en Espagne dans le royaume de Léon, ni dans le Massif central, ni dans la France de l'ouest, c'est que dans tous ces pays s'était constituée déjà une tradition de caractère régional, une école d'architecture pour dire le mot. Dans le Léon règne l'art mozarabe qui suivra la route du pèlerinage de Saint-Jacques pour pénétrer dans le Velay, en Auvergne et dans la vallée de la Loire. L'Auvergne possède déjà les traits essentiels de son école d'architecture et en particulier son chevet à déambulatoire et à chapelles rayonnantes qui apparaît presque en même temps en Touraine et que le premier art roman a toujours ignoré. Indirectement, mais d'une manière certaine, l'étude de M. Puig i Cadafalch confirme le caractère précoce de l'art roman auvergnat, présenté jusqu'ici comme une hypothèse.' Louis Bréhier, "Le premier art roman", *Journal des savants* 5, no. 1 (1929): 208.

[581] 'L'absence ou la présence d'un congressiste, son comportement général, voire ses thèses scientifiques pouvaient être interprétées comme des actes diplomatiques.' Maufroy, "Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines", 232.

[582] '[…] affirmation de jeunes pays balkaniques sur la scène internationale'. Ibid.

arguing that it would be a great honour for the organisers 'if Catalonia could be represented by a scholar of your importance and a tireless researcher of the Catalan studies in Greece like M. Rubió i Lluch'. He goes on to consider Catalonia and Romania 'brother' and 'sister', while hoping that the relationship between the two could be strengthened through academic collaboration. If Puig and Rubió, he writes, accepted his invitation to the Bucharest congress, 'the foundations would be laid for a cultural exchange between your beautiful and brotherly Catalonia and its Romanian sister'.[583] Puig's affiliation in the conference proceedings is nevertheless rather more flexible. During the opening ceremony, Puig seems to have paid his respects to Romania on behalf of Catalonia and not Spain:

> 'MM. H. Grégoire, on behalf of Belgium, B. Fillow on behalf of Bulgaria, J. Puig i Cadafalch for Catalonia, E. Peterson, for the United States, N. Vulić, on behalf of Yugoslavia, A. Guarneri Citati on behalf of Italy, N. Kondakov, on behalf of Russian science, and M. Murko, on behalf of Czechoslovakia, brought the greeting of their country to Romania.[584]

Puig's clear affiliation to Catalonia is surprising as it is the only 'regional' one. This was nevertheless not constant throughout the congress: he and Rubió appear under the headline 'Spain' in the document 'Liste des Universités et Corps savants représentés. Liste des Membres',[585] and during the closing event he reportedly spoke as a 'representative' of his 'Spanish colleagues'.[586]

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583 'Si la Catalogne pourrait être représenté par un savant de votre importance et par l'infatigable chercheur des études catalanes en Grèce qui es M. Rubió i Lluch, non seulement nos travaux en profiteraient d'une façon considérable, mais les premiers jalons seraient posés d'un échange culturel entre votre belle et frère Catalogne et entre la Roumanie sœur.' "[Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 20, 1923.

584 Constantin Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzantines: Bucarest, 1924* (Bucharest, 1925), 15.

585 "Premier congrès international d'études byzantines. Liste des Universités et Corps savants représentés. Liste des Membres", 1924, UC 2542, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

586 'MM. H. Grégorie, au nom de la Belgique, B. Filow, au nom de la Bulgarie, J. Puig i Cadafalch, pour la Catalogne, E. Peterson, pour les États Unis, N. Vulić, au nom de la Yougoslavie, A. Guarneri Citati, au nom de l'Italie, N. Kondakov, au nom de la science russe, et M. Murko, au nom de la Tchécoslovaquie, apportèrent le salut de

Regardless of these changing affiliations – which after all echo Iorga's own flexible approach to the question of Catalan and Spanish national identity, as we shall see later – Puig had an excellent opportunity for public outreach when he was interviewed on the front page of the Romanian newspaper *Dimineata*.[587] There he provides evidence of the continuum between his previous political career and his current academic engagement. Although he had been deposed as President of the *Mancomunitat* a few months earlier, Primo's coup, in the interview he is presented as the 'president of the Catalan provincial union' that was 'suspended' at the time. There was in fact another President, Alfons Sala i Argemí (1863-1945), appointed by Primo and who would hold the position until the *Mancomunitat* was finally dismantled in March 1925. However, Puig did not recognize that authority and instead believed that the institution had been somehow hijacked. In the interview, he was very clear on what his stance was with regards to Catalonia's autonomy: he praises Romania's 'national culture' which, he says, 'we will follow ourselves'. He then describes Catalonia's 'struggle for more autonomy', arguing that 'we understand our autonomy but still within the Spanish federation. But we want a stronger affirmation of our national character [which] made us create a Catalan cultural movement for encouraging and supporting patriotism'.[588] In addition to that, during the closing event, Puig expressed his satisfaction with the attention given to Catalonia during the congress.[589] He had indeed participated very

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leurs pays à la Roumanie.' Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzzantines*, 81.

587 *Dimineata* was a daily newspaper published between 1904 and 1937, reaching a print run of 100,000 copies in 1927 – one of the highest in the country. Biblioteca Naţională a României, "Periodice Româneşti Vechi", accessed October 19, 2015, http://www.bibnat.ro/dyn-doc/ZIARE%20literele%20A%20-%20O%20ptr%20site.pdf.

588 'Ceia ce ma simi dator sa relev din observaţiile mele este cu am găsit aici la dvs. [dumneavoastra] o direcţie de cultură naţională, pe care o urmam noi înşine. La noi se lupta inca pentru a avea o autonomie mai larga decât aceia ce s'a acordat încă de vre-o zece ani Uniunei provinciale catalane, suspendata în funcţionarea ei pentru un moment, şi al cărei preşedinte am fost 7 ani în sir, fiind reales de 4 ori. Autonomia noastră o înţelegem însă tot în cadrul federatiei spaniole. Vrem însă o afirmare mai puternica a caracterului nostru naţional, ceia ca ne-a făcut sa cream o mişcare culturala catalana pentru incurajarea şi susţinerea patriotismului.' "De vorbă cu d. Puig i Cadafalc, preşedintele Uniunei provinciale catalane." Special thanks to Liliana Iuga for her help with the transcription and translation.

589 '[…] l'attention si souvent attirée au cours du Congrès sur la Catalogne'. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzzantines*, 81.

actively in the sessions, discussing his then work-in-progress argument of Catalonia's leading role in the development of the *premier art roman*. He defended his view that barrel vaults, featuring particularly early in Catalan temples alongside Italian ones, proved that Romanesque architecture had a southern European origin. In one of those discussions, the Croatian art historian Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971) argued that vaulted structures in Early Medieval Dalmatia had a regional origin, while Puig considered that they belonged to a larger group together with those in Catalonia, France and Italy.[590] Catalonia also had a presence during Marinescu's presentation on an episode of Catalonia's involvement in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Middle Ages, which, Iorga contended, revealed the potential of Barcelona archives for the writing of medieval history.[591]

Iorga showed sympathy for Catalonia's differentiated identity both during and after the Bucharest congress, but his views on the political implications of that difference varied over time and depended largely on the audience he was adressing. This shows the utilitarian character of his interest in Catalonia, and the extent to which it was entangled with his interest in the consolidation of Greater Romania after the First World War. This was not always easy, as Romania's and Catalonia's nation-building processes were almost opposed phenomenons: one aiming for cultural and political centralisation, the other one seeking fragmentation. When academic exchanges between the two countries began shortly after the First World War, Romania was a relatively young State – founded in 1859 – that had just incorporated the region of Transylvania, formerly in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and with an important presence of Hungarian, Germanic and Roma minorities. Iorga was one of the

[590] 'Ce n'est pas un art spécialement des petites églises. C'est un art digne d'attention parce qu'il est unique dans toute l'Europa pendant un siècle. […] un art moins noble, moins grandiose, à côté de grandes églises à plan central. […] En Catalogne nous avons de textes incontestables, qui nous révèlent, par exemple, une église voûtée en 957, une autre en 977. […] Ces églises de Dalmatie font donc partie d'un grande ensemble'. Ibid., 59–61, 77. For a contemporary critical approach to Puig's views on the place of Croatian architecture within the broader early Romanesque, see Miljenko Jurkovic and Iva Maric, "Le 'premier art roman' en Istrie et en Dalmatie", in *Le "premier art roman" cent ans après: la construction entre Saône et Pô autour de l'an mil. Études comparatives*, ed. Éliane Vergnolle and Sébastien Bully (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2012), 147–73.

[591] Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzzantines*, 28.

advocates of a unified and homogeneous Greater Romania, and a promoter of cultural and academic centralisation that prioritised the role of the capital, Bucharest, vis a vis that of other regional centres such as Cluj-Napoca – formerly Koloszvar – in Transylvania. In contrast, the Catalonia of the *Mancomunitat* – which had Puig as one of its main actors – sought the redefinition of the Spanish State to allow for a greater autonomy and leading role of Catalonia and its capital city, Barcelona. Catalan nationalists, like Puig, were challenging the centralisation and cultural homogeneity of the Spanish State, while his counterpart Iorga was precisely promoting that centralisation and cultural homogeneity in Romania.

Iorga's changing discourse is especially visible in two texts published after two respective visits to Spain, in 1927 and 1929. The first one was his first trip to the Iberian Peninsula, and which, as was his custom, resulted in a published diary. The second time, Iorga took the chance to visit the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, designed in its initial phased by his close friend Puig, as was discussed in Part 2.

In spring 1927, Iorga went on a ten-day tour of Spain that brought him to the Basque Country, Castile, Madrid, Andalusia and Catalonia, including the French counties.[592] He intended to meet Puig in Barcelona, as a telegram dated 1 March 1927 shows, but the meeting did not take place, for unknown reasons.[593] Upon his return to Romania, he narrated the experience in a series of lectures at the National Theatre and in a book, *Câteva zile prin Spania* ('A few days in Spain').[594] This book has received considerable attention in Spanish-language milieus in recent years. Anghelescu has underlined that, in line with previous Romanian travellers in Spain, Iorga highlights the similarities between the two countries. In fact, many of the statements on Spain are matched by a reference to Romania, be this historical episodes, national heroes, or regional

[592] Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 152.
[593] "[Telegram from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", March 1, 1923, UC 1414, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; Nicolae Iorga, *Câteva zile prin Spania* (Bucharest: Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1927), 77; cited in Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 158.
[594] Sánchez Rodrigo, "Las relaciones literarias entre Cataluña y Rumanía", 104. The lectures were also published. See Nicolae Iorga, *Trei conferințe la Teatrul Național din București, despre Spania* (Bucharest: Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1927).

landscapes.[595] It may be argued that, beyond a stylistic gesture or a hypothetical real interest in building a narrative of communion between the two countries, Iorga was using the history and character of Spain to sustain his own nationalist agenda in Romania. It must be taken into account that the text was targeted at a Romanian audience, first as a series of public lectures and later on in the shape of a book. Thus, passages of the Spanish Reconquista are used to build a narrative of historical continuity in present-day Romania, drawing a parallel with the medieval expansion of Wallachians and Moldovans in Transylvania, which had been incorporated into the modern Romanian State only after the Great War.[596] His description of the unity of Spain, which he calls a 'secular national unification', also serves the purpose of advocating the unity of the Romanian principalities.[597]

This episode reveals the unavoidable contradictions and the necessary contingency of Iorga's discourse with regards to Catalonia. Catalonia and Romania could be deemed 'brother and sister' in a specialised, academic environment as an international congress. But the danger of promoting Catalan separatism became apparent when reaching a wider, more popular audience, in a moment in which Romania itself was in the process of asserting its power over the recently annexed Transylvania. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the unification of the two independent principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia into the new Romanian state was still relatively recent (1859). Thus, in his account of the trip to Spain, Iorga downgrades the singularity of Catalonia and finds its claim for autonomy weak. He contends that Catalonia had a different historical evolution due to the fact that the Catalan counties emerged under the Carolingian Empire, but claims that 'the land is the same as in the rest of the Peninsula'.[598] He goes on to say that Barcelona has

[595] Mircea Anghelescu, "Viajeros rumanos en España, en busca de las raíces comunes", *Revista de Filología Románica* IV (2006): 282–283.
[596] For a detailed account of these comparisons, see Ibid., 282.
[597] Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 157.
[598] Iorga, *Câteva zile prin Spania*, 75; translated into Spanish and cited in Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 157.

> streets without personality, which even imitate, without any sense, Arab ornaments. Red streetcars roam them. The same carriages with high wheels. A very motley crowd, in which all different types can be distinguished. No sign of any difference in the costumes, which are the usual ones.[599]

Incidentally, the 'Arab ornaments' he complains about may have actually been made by Puig, who built several houses in the Eixample with an eclectic mixture of decorative styles, including Arabesque motives, such as the Casa Macaya, the Casa Amatller or the Palau del Baró de Quadras.[600] He then adds that Catalonia's 'long historical development' has not been yet 'represented in monuments' which, together with the above-mentioned lack of singularity makes, according to him, the claim for a Catalan autonomy weak.[601] It is surprising that Iorga explicitly argues against Barcelona's built environment and Catalonia's monuments conveying a sense of Catalan specificity, if we take into account that Puig was one of the principal actors in the process of *Catalanising* Barcelona's urban space and also of the *mise en valeur*, following a Catalanista agenda, of the region's historical heritage. He does recognise, however, a Catalan specificity in language and literature. He contends that a 'sweet language, closer to Provençal than to Castilian' is spoken in Catalonia and that it has produced 'remarkable works' in prose and verse, including, of course, Muntaner's chronicle – on which Iorga had published that same year of 1927. The Catalanist movement has thus, according to Iorga, resulted in 'the renaissance of a literature' for the benefit of humanity 'and, above all, an admirable search of everything that concerns the small country'.[602]

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[599] Iorga, *Câteva zile prin Spania*, 77; translated into Spanish and cited in Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 158.
[600] For detailed photographs of these buildings, see Rohrer and Solà-Morales, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch*, 115–134.
[601] Iorga, *Câteva zile prin Spania*, 77; translated into Spanish and cited in Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 158.
[602] Iorga, *Câteva zile prin Spania*, 77–78; translated into Spanish and cited in Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 158. The expression he uses in Romanian for 'small country' is 'mică țară', which according to experts evoques a small country – in size – without having the connotations of the German 'heimat' or the Spanish 'patria chica', as Ortega translates it. I am grateful to Liliana Iuga for her help with this and other Romanian language consultations.

This discourse changes slightly just a few years later, after another visit to Catalonia on the occasion of the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition. As has been widely discussed, the Exposition was designed by Puig in its early stages, and thus Iorga told his friend about his intention of visiting it several months in advance, with a letter and a postcard sent from Fontenay aux Roses, where he was perhaps spending the Christmas holiday.[603] He recalled the trip in yet another book, *O mică ţară latină: Catalonia şi expoziţia din 1929. Note de drum şi conferinţe*, which has been largely overlooked by scholars. The title may be translated as 'A small Latin country: Catalonia and the 1929 Exposition. Travel Notes and Lectures'. There, he describes Barcelona and other Catalan towns – Terrassa, Sant Cugat, Tarragona, Vic and Ripoll – all of which play an important role in Catalonia's (architectural) history and especially in Puig's works. Still, Puig seems to have accompanied Iorga only on his visit to the last two.[604] He then included two lectures on the 'Literature' and 'Art' of Catalonia and, finally, a selection of 'samples' of Catalan poetry, divided into 'Popular', 'Medieval' and 'Modern'.[605] In this book, he changes his political discourse on Catalonia as he argues that there is indeed a 'Catalan nationality, different to the nationality that conforms Spanish nationality' and that this should not 'disturb anyone'. Once again, he links this specificity to the existence of Catalan language and literature.[606] Even if his discourse towards Catalonia changed in his second book, with a higher appreciation of Catalonia's difference within Spain, Iorga never abandoned the denomination of 'mică ţară', and did not say much about the political consequences of that 'difference'. Arguably, this reflected Romania's own situation, and Iorga's own role as one of the main advocates of the unification movement. When speaking about Spain, Iorga was in a way also speaking about Romania, and as

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603 "[Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", September 2, 1929, UC 1414, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; "[Postcard from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", 1929, UC 1414, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

604 Nicolae Iorga, *O mică ţară latină: Catalonia şi expoziţia din 1929. Note de drum şi conferinţe* (Bucharest: Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1930), 38. I would like to deeply thank Xavier Montoliu for sharing his copy of the book – and so many other materials – with me.

605 Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (II)", 126–127.

606 Iorga, *O mica tara latina*, 51; translated into Catalan and cited in Montoliu and Moţoc, "Quatre apunts sobre les relacions entre la literatura romanesa i la catalana", n.p.

much as highlighting Catalonia's singularity in the medieval Mediterranean could aid the Romanian nation-building process – as we shall see in the next chapter – taking the wrong side with regards to Catalonia's *present* situation could be rather counterproductive.

6.4 Conclusion

On the back cover of Puig's copy of the excursions programme of the International Congress of Historical Sciences celebrated in Oslo in 1928, there is a drawing of the Iberian Peninsula with two lines separating Portugal, on the one hand, and Catalonia and the Valencian region, on the other [see Figure 21]. It is a very simple sketch, one that can hardly be taken as anything more than an anecdote, and yet it illustrates quite plastically how Puig used international conferences to showcase the Catalan cause abroad. It may also be just a coincidence that this was a congress held in Norway, but it nevertheless echoes Puig's particular interest in Europe's borderlands, which he saw both as a model for Catalonia and as a place where an academic conversation could acquire a political tone. Especially during the 1920s – and then obviously after 1939 – Catalonia's singularity was at stake in Spain, yet Puig could portray it as an independent actor in the international academic milieu, aided by the singularity given to Catalan Romanesque architecture. Catalonia could become 'brother and sister' with a country with its own State – Romania – thus joining the community of young nations that, in the interwar period, throve to consolidate their still relatively fragile identities. Puig's early political interest in Europe's new nations as role models for Catalonia within an – envisaged – regenerated Spanish State permeated his academic ventures in the 1920s. Once his formal political career came to an end, he used academic travels, conferences, and epistolary exchanges as a way to internationalise the Catalan cause, right at the same time that other *Catalanista* actrivists were taking it to the Congress of European Nationalities and other post-war European forums. In Puig's case, however, the international scene was not merely a place to showcase Catalonia's wish for singularity, but also a necessary context for the writing of Catalonia's national history, as the final chapter of this thesis will discuss.

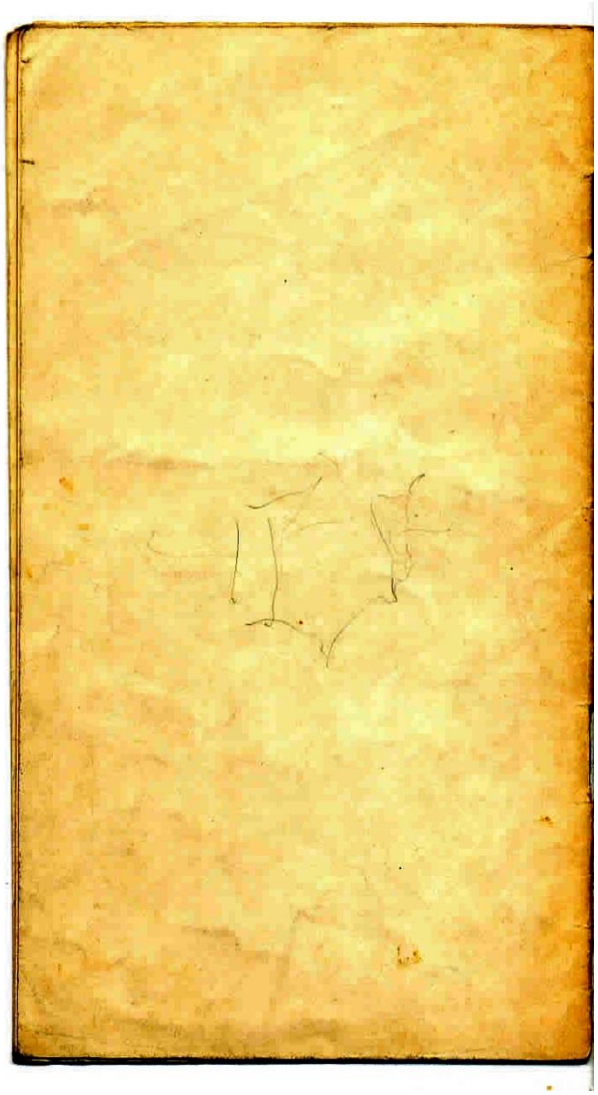


Figure 21. Back cover of *VIth International Congress of Historical Sciences Oslo 1928: Programme for Official Tours after the Close of the Congress* (Oslo: Kirstes Boktrykkeri, 1928). ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. UC 2555.

Chapter 7: From Periphery to Periphery (2): Nationalistic Histories and Transnational Practices

As has already been mentioned, Puig had his first contact with Romanian intellectuals in 1921, when he probably met Nicolae Iorga at the Congrès d'histoire de l'art organised in Paris. Even though he had not previously expressed any particular interest in Romania or Moldavian architecture, only three years after that he wrote a research article on the role of Moldavian architecture in the evolution of the *premier art roman*, travelled to the country, began to correspond extensively with Romanian historians, architects and engineers, and – through the Institute of Catalan Studies – became something of an intellectual ambassador for the Balkan country in Catalonia. This sudden interest in the painted fifteenth- and sixteenth- century monasteries of north-eastern Romania did not finish there, but became a crucial part of his argument on the evolution of the *premier art roman* in eleventh-century Europe.

The Romanian contributions to Catalan historiography and, likewise, the Catalan approaches to the history of the Balkans, convey that the two peoples were bonded by historical episodes. This shared past also resonated in their early-twentieth-century quest for national recognition – or affirmation – in which, in Iorga's words, Catalonia and Romania were 'brother and sister'.[607] This also helps to explain why Romanians and Catalans contributed to the writing of each other's history: they were not only interested in supporting the other's nation-building process, but also their own. Through a history of the Balkans in the fourteenth century, Rubió could demonstrate that the Catalan involvement in the Eastern Mediterranean had in fact not been as evil as popular accounts held. The architectural development of Moldavian churches 'proved' Puig's theory that Romanesque originated in Catalonia and other Mediterranean regions. And Iorga's and Marinescu's interest in the Catalan expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean contributed to the writing of Romania's national history, which underlined continuity with the medieval principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.

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[607] "[Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 20, 1923.

According to a false yet relatively popular assumption, Catalano-Romanian relationships date back to the fourteenth century, during the eastern expansion of the Crown of Aragon, narrated in a chronicle by the military and writer Ramon Muntaner.[608] The chronicle mentions a place called 'Blaquia', of which he says that it was 'the strongest land on earth'. This led Early Modern commentators to believe that Muntaner was describing an episode of Catalan involvement in Wallachia, one of the historical principalities that formed the Romanian State in the nineteenth century. However, this was refuted in 1777 by Francesc de Montcada, who noted that the Catalans did not traverse Wallachia but the mountainous region of 'Blaquia' in Thessaly, in present-day Greece.[609] Although this interpretation remains unchallenged,[610] Iorga held on to the ancient idea that medieval Catalans had indeed been in 'our Balkan Wallachia', as he writes in the account of his 1927 trip to Spain.[611] The same year he published, in France, a piece on the Byzantine campaign of Muntaner. It was entitled 'Ramón Muntaner et l'empire byzantin' and was part of a volume of two studies called *Contributions catalanes à l'histoire byzantine*.[612]

7.1 Romanian Contributions to Catalan Historiography

Nevertheless, Romanian research on medieval Catalonia had begun a few years earlier. In the early 1920s, Constantin Marinescu visited Barcelona, learned Catalan and pursued archive research at the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó.

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608 Muntaner's is one of the 'four great chronicles' that narrate the history of the Crown of Aragon during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On this topic, see Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Jaume Aurell, "From Genealogies to Chronicles: The Power of the Form in Medieval Catalan Historiography", *Viator* 36 (2005): 235–64. English version of Muntaner's chronicle in Ramon Muntaner, *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, trans. Anna Kinsky Goodenough (London: The Hakluyt society, 1920).

609 Sánchez Rodrigo, "Las relaciones literarias entre Cataluña y Rumanía", 101.

610 See footnote number 185 in Ramon Muntaner, *The Catalan Expedition to the East: From the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner* (Tamesis Books, 2006), 145.

611 Cited in Ortega Román, "Nicolae Iorga", 158.

612 Nicolae Iorga, *Contributions catalanes à l'histoire byzantine* (Paris: Librairie J. Gamber, 1927). The book was published in Catalan in 1961. See Nicolae Iorga, *Ramon Muntaner i l'Imperi bizantí* (Barcelona: Rafel Dalmau, 1961).

Shortly afterwards he published several pieces on the history of the Catalans in the Eastern Mediterranean that resonated heavily with contemporaneous nationalisms. A disciple of Iorga's, Marinescu was a Professor at the universities of Cluj and Bucharest, and the editor of *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, which only saw two issues, in 1927 and 1938, before Marinescu fled the country in 1946.[613] He became a corresponding member of the Institute of Catalan Studies in 1948, and following previous awards in 1928 and 1952, in 1970 – the year of his death, in Paris – he was the recipient of the first Premi Catalònia, dedicated to international scholars with an expertise on Catalonia.[614] Marinescu is a less prominent figure in modern Romanian historiography than Iorga, but his imprint was notable in Catalonia, where he is still regarded as an influential medievalist.[615] In fact, one of his works, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416-1458)*, was only published by the Institute of Catalan Studies in 1994. It had been partially printed in 1939, but its release was paralysed during the dictatorship of General Franco.[616]

Marinescu's first works on the medieval Crown of Aragon appeared in the 1920s. In 1923 he studied the support of the Aragonese King Alfons V to George Kastrioti, commonly known as Skanderbeg, an Albanian leader who rose up against Ottoman rule in the mid-fifteenth century.[617] The same year he published a further study of Jaume II of Aragon's connection to Oshin, an Armenian king who fought the Mongols in the early fourteenth century.[618] According to Ribera Llopis, both Marinescu's and Iorga's contributions to the

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613 Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Mélanges d'Histoire Générale. On the History of a History (1927-2007)", in *Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus and Their Time*, ed. László Koszta, Oliviu Muresan, and Alexandru Simon (Cluj-Napoca, 2007), 7.
614 "Constantin Marinescu", *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, n.d., accessed March 25, 2015.
615 See, for example, Daniel Duran Duelt, "Diplomacia de cruzada. Las misiones de Manuel II Paleólogo a la Península Ibérica y la recaudación de subsidios", in *Cataluña y Navarra en la Baja Edad Media*, ed. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero and Roser Salicrú i Lluch (Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra, 2010), 53.
616 Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, ed., *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'Edat Mitjana: Jornades científiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Barcelona, 16 i 17 de novembre de 2000* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 7–8.
617 Constantin Marinescu, "Alphonse V: roi d'Aragon et de Naples et l'Albanie de Scandenberg", *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France* I (1923): 1–135.
618 Costantin Marinescu, "Catalogne et l'Arménie au temps de Jacques II (1291-1327): envoi par le roi Ochine des reliques de sainte Thécla à la cathédrale de Tarragone", *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France* II (1923).

history of the Catalans in the Eastern Mediterannean should also be read in a similar way, as they suggest the struggle of medieval Romanians – and Catalans – against the Ottoman Empire. In Iorga's aforementioned book *Contributions catalanes à l'histoire byzantine*, the piece on Ramon Muntaner is accompanied by 'L'histoire romantique de Yakoub-tchélébi', a critical study of the historical facts narrated in the Catalan medieval short novel *Història de Jacob Xalabín* (ca. 1404). The original novel presents a series of love and battle stories inspired in Yakub Çelebi, a son of the Ottoman Emperor Murad I (r. 1362-1389).[619] As Iorga recalls, the novel had been reprinted in Catalonia several times during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of the Romantic medieval revival.[620] Ribera Llopis considers that Iorga sees Jacob Xalabín as a document on the history of the different peoples that inhabited the Balkans during the Middle Ages, including the Catalans.[621] Indeed, Ribera argues that the original novel may have been written to be consumed by the community of Catalans that lived in Greece during the expansion of the Crown of Aragon during the fourteenth century, as the same story was also published in other vernacular languages of the region. This is why the author maintains that Iorga may have read the Catalan version of Jacob Xalabín as a symbol of the common interests of the Catalans and the other Balkan peoples – in which the Romanians would have been included – against a common enemy – the Ottoman Emperor – and even the peaceful coexistence of these different peoples – brothers and sisters, as Iorga would call them later on.

Like his previous pieces, Marinescu's contribution to the First Congress of Byzantine Studies, on the diplomatic relationship of the Kings of Aragon with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391-1425),[622] was also based

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[619] On the Catalan original, see Antoni Comas, Joaquim Molas, and Martí de Riquer, eds., "Una novel·la oriental: la Història de Jacob Xalabín", in *Història de la Literatura Catalana*, vol. 3 (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1985), 243–48; Lola Badia, "Estudi introductori", in *Història de Jacob Xalabín* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1982), 5–23.
[620] Iorga, *Contributions catalanes à l'histoire byzantine*, 3.
[621] Ribera Llopis, "Presencia de los Balcanes en la cultura catalana", 91.
[622] 'Commentaire sur quatre lettres inédites en latin, expédiées par la chancellerie byzantine en Aragon au temps de Manuel II Paléologue', published as Constantin Marinescu, "Manuel II, paléologue et les rois d'Aragon: commentaire sur quatre lettres inédites en latin, expédiées par la chancellerie byzantine", *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique,* 11 (1924): 192–206.

on work at the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, as he explained during his presentation.[623] While working in Barcelona, Marinescu probably met Rubió, with whom he shared research topics and methodology.[624] According to some sources, he began to study the history of the Catalans in the East – as early as in 1914 – following Rubió's work.[625] The latter is regarded for the publication of several compilations of archive materials on Catalan medieval culture and history. The first series, published between 1908 and 1921, offered a wide variety of literary and historical sources dating from fourteenth-century Catalonia.[626] The work was praised by the German medievalist Heinrich Finke (1855-1938), who, just like Iorga a few years later, argued that it proved the uniqueness of the Catalan royal archives.[627] In 1921, he began to work on a further compilation of sources, this time with a focus on the diplomatic relations of the Kings of Aragon in the East during the fourteenth century, the same topic of Marinescu's contribution to the Bucharest congress in 1924.[628] Rubió was in fact also invited to participate in the congress – in the aforementioned letter of invitation, Iorga referred to him as 'l'infatigable chercheur des études catalanes en Grèce qui es M. Rubió i Lluch'[629] – and figured in the programme with a talk on 'The Conquest of Tebas in 1379 by

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623 Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzzantines*, 28.

624 On Rubió's work, see Eusebi Ayensa, ed., *Antoni Rubió i Lluch: Epistolari grec*, vol. 4: Anys 1916–36 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2012); Albert Balcells, "Antoni Rubió i Lluch i els estudis sobre els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental", in *Els catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003); Albert Balcells, "Antoni Rubió i Lluch, historiador i primer president de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans", in *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana medieval* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2000), 5–46.

625 "Constantin Marinescu."

626 Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'historia de la cultura catalana mig-eval*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1908); reedited with an introductory study by Albert Balcells in 2000.

627 Cited in Balcells, "Antoni Rubió i Lluch, historiador i primer president de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans", 20.

628 Rubió signed a contract to publish his work at the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1921, although the extension of the research and, later on, the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath, delayed its publication until the 1940s. Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català 1301-1409: col·lecció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1947); reedited with an introductory study by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol in 2001.

629 "[Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", December 20, 1923.

Juan de Urtubia' in the morning of Saturday 19, 1924, but was finally unable to travel and Puig read his contribution instead.[630]

Marinescu also had a fluent contact with several of Rubió's students, such as the historian and politician Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (1888-1961), with whom he corresponded between 1926 and 1934 and who also attended the Second Congress of Byzantine Studies in Belgrade, 1927, and the librarian Ramon d'Alòs-Moner (1885-1939), whom he may have met during his archive visits to Barcelona.[631] The two coincided during the Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences celebrated in Brussels in 1923, where Alòs-Moner talked about 'Les Ordinations des maisons royales d'Aragon et Majorque'.[632] Later on, Alòs-Moner wrote that Marinescu was 'one of the foreigners who knows the history of our land better' in an exhaustive four-page review of the former's studies on Catalonia.[633] These varied contacts, outside the original core group formed by Puig, Iorga, Marinescu and Rubió, show the extent to which the network grew and fructified, especially on the Catalan side.

Iorga also developed other relationships in Catalonia besides Puig and Rubió, which conveys an interest in other aspects of Catalan culture, particularly literature. After all, that was the area that, according to him, better defined Catalonia's national character, as discussed in the previous chapter. Prior to his historical contributions, he had already been involved in the translation of Catalan poetry into Romanian. He participated indirectly in the first publication of a Catalan poet in Romania, a collection of works by Joan

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630 Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzzantines*, 66.

631 On the correspondence with Nicolau d'Olwer, see Joan Molar i Navarra and Montserrat Vilà i Bayerri, "El Fons Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer de l'arxiu de l'abadia de Montserrat", *Llengua i literatura* 8 (1997): 439, 455. On Ramon d'Alòs-Moner, see Arxiu de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, "Fons Ramon d'Alòs-Moner i de Dou. Quadre de classificació i inventari." (Servei de Documentació i Arxiu, 2011). Alòs-Moner had already accompanied Rubió to a trip to Greece in 1910. See Ramon d'Alòs-Moner, *Impressions d'un viatge a la Grecia: conferencies donades en el Centre Excursionista de Catalunya els dies 8 y 15 d'abril de 1910* (Barcelona: Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, 1911); Ribera Llopis, "Presencia de los Balcanes en la cultura catalana", 89.

632 Des Marez and Ganshof, *Compte rendu du Ve Congrès international des sciences historiques, Bruxelles, 1923*, 524.

633 Ramon d'Alòs-Moner, "Treballs del professor Constantí Marinescu sobre relacions entre Catalunya i l'Orient", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Anuari 1921- 1926* VII (1931): 336–39.

Maragall (1860-1911) translated by his former student Popescu-Telega, which appeared in 1922 under the title *Laude*.[634] According to the title page, the poems were translated from a Spanish version instead of the Catalan original.[635] The prologue was written by Joan Estelrich (1896-1958), a Majorcan writer and politician who was also the director of Expansió Catalana ('Catalan Expansion'), an organisation that worked for the internationalisation of the Catalan national cause between 1919 and 1926. The translation of Catalan literature was among the organisation's main efforts.[636] Although Estelrich seems to have reached Popescu-Telega independently, it was Puig who put him in contact with Iorga. Following Puig's suggestion, on 19 November 1921 Estelrich wrote to the Romanian professor and introduced Expansió Catalana, 'an office for the study of international issues and to publicise Catalonia [...] abroad'. This connection eventually maximised the impact of the Romanian translation of *Laude* and also the presence of Iorga's work in Catalonia, as it prompted the publication of studies on Byzantine history in Catalan.[637]

A few years later, Iorga would recall the book *Laude* in the aforementioned account of the trip to Catalonia on the occasion of the 1929 International Exposition. There he says that 'Catalans are known by us [Romanians] through a single translation of a distinguished poet: Maragall'.[638] The last section of the book included, as has already been mentioned, several of his own translations of Catalan poetry under the headline 'Probe de poezie catalană' ('Samples of Catalan poetry'). These included 'Cant espiritual', one of Maragall's most popular pieces, and others by Jordi de Sant Jordi (ca.1399-ca.1424) or Miquel Costa i Llobera (1854-1922), together with several 'popular' pieces. An even larger selection of more than twenty Catalan poems of all times translated by Iorga appeared in several issues of the journal *Cuget clar* through 1930, this time

634 Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (I)", 88.
635 Ibid., 83.
636 See Giovanni C. Cattini, "Joan Estelrich i l'Expansió Catalana. La traducció de Prat de la Riba i Cambó en la Itàlia feixista", *Cercles: revista d'història cultural*, no. 12 (2009): 75–89.
637 '[…] un bureau pour l'étude des questions internationales et pour faire connaître la Catalogne […] à l'étranger'. Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (I)", 84.
638 Iorga, *O mica tara latina*; translated into Catalan and cited in Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (I)", 84.

including names such as Joan Alcover (1854-1926) and Josep Maria de Sagarra (1894-1961).[639]

On Puig's side, and besides the already discussed exchanges with the architects Petre Antonescu, Marica Cotescu and Maria Irineu, Puig corresponded with various art historians with whom he improved his knowledge of Romanian art and architecture. Aristide Blank (1883-1960) was a financer and man of letters who was behind several innovative cultural enterprises in early-twentieth-century Romania, such as the publishing house Cultura Nationala, which he founded in 1923. The same year he promoted the book *La Roumanie en images*, with texts by Iorga, which he immediately sent to Puig.[640] A few years later, Puig received a series of photographs of the Bistriţa monastery in Moldavia from a J. Bozianu, which may have been Ion Bozianu, a modernist architect.[641] Blank was also a close collaborator of Vasile Pârvan (1882-1927), another of Iorga's disciples, who may be considered the founding father of contemporary Romanian archaeology. After the Bucharest congress, Puig sent him two anthologies of Catalan poets and also 'the poem by Verdaguer', which perhaps was *Canigó* (1886) or *L'Atlàntida* (1877), Verdaguer's most prominent contributions to Catalan national poetry. Evoking the repression of the Primo de Rivera régime, Puig wrote 'j'espère vous intéresser pour notre littérature sur tout aujourd'hui que notre langue est objet de restriction par le gouvernement militaire'.[642]

Ion D. Ştefănescu (1886-1981), an important historian of Romanian art and one of Iorga's main collaborators, was also among Puig's correspondents.[643] The two exchanged publications: Ştefănescu sent three volumes of what was

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639 Moţoc, "Les traductions entre le catalan et le roumain: l'histoire d'une rencontre culturelle récente", 297; Montoliu, "Notícia sobre Joan Maragall, traduït en romanès (II)", 128.
640 "[Letter from Aristide Blank to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 21, 1924, UC 1148, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
641 "[Letter from J. Bozianu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", June 24, 1927, UC 1166, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. At the ANC, his name appears as 'Bozieanu'. On Bozianu, see Machedon and Scoffham, *Romanian Modernism*, 152–153.
642 "[Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Vasile Pârvan]", 1926 1924, UC 2079, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
643 See Teacă, "In Search of National Traditions: Art History in Romania", 455.

probablys *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIXe siècle* (1928), and received in exchange Puig's *Le premier art roman. L'architecture en Catalogne et dans l'Occident méditerranéen aux Xe et XIe siècles* (1928).[644] The relationship with C. Salz, an engineer and Marinescu's father-in-law, was similar: he sent Puig his book on sixteenth-century Moldavian churches, and got in return what seems to have been a series of volumes on the same topic, perhaps *La arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*.[645] Finally, Puig also corresponded with 'foreign' experts, such as Paul Henry, who was the first director of the Institut Français des Hautes Etudes in Romania (1925-1932) and researched fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Moldavian art.[646]

7.2 Moldavian Churches and the *Premier Art Roman*

Puig met Iorga in 1921 and, by 1923, he had already included Romanian architecture in his chronology of Romanesque. Eventually, as has already been mentioned, the painted churches of Moldavia would become a key element of his argument on the southern origin of the style.

He first discussed the churches in his contribution to the Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held in Brussels in April 1923, where he presented the inception of evolution of the style from early medieval Ravenna to 'the architecture of the fourteenth century in Romania'.[647] Iorga participated in the same panel with a contribution on 'Les origins de l'art populaire roumain'.[648] Unfortunately, there is no record of Puig's paper being published. He might have used it, however, as a base for his subsequent, more specialised articles on the topic.

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644 "[Letter from Ion D. Ştefănescu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 13, 1928, UC 1735, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; "[Letter from Ion D. Ştefănescu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", September 11, 1928, UC 1735, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.
645 "[Letter from C. Salz to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]."
646 "[Letter from Paul Henry to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", January 22, 1928, UC 1398, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. See also Marina Mureşanu-Ionescu, "L'enseignement – voie privilégiée de la francophonie roumaine", *Philologica Jassyensia* 1, no. 1 (2005): 299.
647 Des Marez and Ganshof, *Compte rendu du Ve Congrès international des sciences historiques, Bruxelles, 1923*, 373. In his later works, the chronology would shift from the fourteenth to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
648 Ibid., 372.

During the First Congress of Byzantine Studies, which was held in Bucharest in 1924, he presented his paper 'Les églises de Moldavie: contribution à l'étude des origines de leur forme décorative, une école parallèle pendant le XIe siècle dans l'Europe Occidentale' which was published the same year in the *Bulletin de la Section Historique* of the Romanian Academy.[649] This was still a relatively early work on the topic, yet was highlighted in Louis Bréhier's review of the conference proceedings together with more experienced byzantinists such as Iorga, Charles Diehl (1859-1944), and Nikodim Pavlovič Kondakov (1844-1925).[650] In this first piece, Puig's analysis was based on the photographs included in the 1922 book *L'art roumain du XIVe au XIXe siècle*, written by Iorga and George Balş (1866–1934), as he acknowledges in the introduction.[651] Puig saw several analogies between those fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Moldavian churches and eleventh-century 'Lombard' ones, in elements ranging from decorative paintings to vault shapes and modes of construction. He was intrigued by the apparent lack of direct connection between the styles, and allegedly proposed, during the congress, to search for a common origin in the 'byzantine churches of Macedonian emperors, the Commenes', a hypothesis that seems to have been later incorporated by Balş.[652] Bréhier and other members of the audience enquired as to the possibility of the dissemination of the style *in* the medieval period, with some suggesting further analogies in Auvergne. Puig rejected those possibilities stating that despite the stylistic 'resemblance', there was a geographical void between the two marked by

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649 Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Les églises de Moldavie: contribution à l'étude des origines de leur forme décorative, une école paralléle pendant le XIe siécle dans l'Europe Occidentale", *Académie Romaine. Bulletin de la Section Historique. Congrès de Byzantiologie de Bucarest. Mémories* 11 (1924): 76–89.

650 Louis Bréhier, "Le congrès international des études byzantines à Bucarest", *Journal des savants* 3, no. 1 (1926): 128.

651 Puig i Cadafalch, "Les églises de Moldavie", 76.

652 'Jo vaig proposar, al primer Congrés d'Art Bizantí, celebrat a Bucarest en 1924, la hipòtesi de cercar els comuns orígens en les esglésies bizantines dels temps dels emperadors macedonis, dels Comnenes; i aquesta és també la hipòtesi adoptada per M. Bals en son darrer llibre publicat per la Comissió de Monuments històrics de Romania en 1925'. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Nicolas Iorga i Georges Bals. L'Art Roumain. Paris, 1922. Georges Bals. Bisericile lui Stefan cel Mare. Buletinul Comisionii Monumentelor istorice. [Recensió]", *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Anuari MCMXXI-XXVI* VII (1931): 227. Here Puig is probably refering to the Komnenos, a Greek dynasty that ruled over Byzantium between 1081 and 1185.

'Germany and Austria', and also a 'chronological' void as Moldavian churches dated from 'the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries'. He added that there were indeed iconographic similarities between Catalan and Oriental geometrical ornamentations in the eleventh century, but that those had travelled from East to West, and that 'ces lointaines relations ne signifieraient pas des rapports directs de pays à pays'.[653]

Puig's 'discovery' of the resemblance between Catalan and Romanian painted churches caused a lasting impression and interest among several Romanian intellectuals. A few months after the congress, the architect Marica Cotescu expressed her lasting surprise and wondered how the style had been disseminated into the two different countries: 'How is it that the exterior ornamentation of the Catalan churches is so similar to the ornamentation of our Moldavian churches? Would Lombardy really be a common source of inspiration? But how did the influence spread in Catalonia – in Romania?'[654] Along similar lines, Ştefănescu said a few years later that Puig's work had guided his own research and had become a model for him: 'Your profound studies of Romanesque art and the observations that you made during the congress of Byzantology have, once more, guided my research and have always been models for me.'[655]

After the congress, Puig had the chance to see the churches in situ. He was especially looking forward to this, as he explained in the *Dimineata* interview. He highlighted Romania's 'great merit' for having 'preserved a large amount of monuments of ancient art', which did not happen in other countries. He explained that he was especially interested in the churches of Moldavia because of their 'originality and simplicity of style', and was glad he would have the

653 Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzzantines*, 23.
654 'Comment se fait-il que l'ornementation extérieure des églises catalanes soit tellement semblable à l'ornementation de nos églises moldaves ? La Lombardie serait-elle vraiment une source commune d'inspiration ? Mais comment l'influence s'est-elle propagée en Catalogne – en Roumanie ?' "[Letter from Marica Cotescu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]."
655 'Vos profondes études sur l'art roman et les observations que vous avez faites à l'occasion des congrès de byzantinologie m'ont, plus une fois, guidé dans mes recherches et ont toujours constitué des modèles pour moi.' "[Letter from Ion D. Ştefănescu to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", July 13, 1928.

chance to 'know them closer during the trip arranged by the organisers of the congress'.[656] Thus, on the 20th of April, 1924, the delegates boarded an especially arranged night train that took them to Bucovina the following day; there they visited the painted monasteries and churches of Voroneţ, Putna, Moldoviţa, Sucevița, Rădăuți and Suceava. On the 23rd they left for Iaşi, former capital of the Principality of Moldavia, and on the 24th they visited the historical Wallachian towns of Curtea-de-Arges and Piteşti. On the 25th they toured Cozia Monastery, burial place to King Mircea the Elder of Wallachia (d. 1418) – renamed 'the Great' by Iorga – and arrived back in Bucharest on the 26th in the morning.[657] Seeing Moldavian architecture in person seems to have had an impact on Puig's work, as his argument changes slightly in his next published piece on the topic, 'Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine. Le premier art roman, l'art mudéjar; les églises moldaves'. There, he argues that the Lombard and Moldavian school of architecture originated and evolved independently, with an absence of any direct point of contact. This shift in the argument would become crucial to his theory of the origins of the *premier art roman*, as it allowed him to argue that architectural elements could appear and evolve in a similar way in different places and times as if they followed a 'fundamental law', as we shall see later. This in turn was key to proving the veracity of his hypothesis of a Mediterranean origin of the *premier art roman*, in which, as we have seen, Catalonia had had a leading, innovative role.

'Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine' was presented at the second congress of byzantine studies, celebrated in Belgrade, Serbia, in 1927, but was not published until 1931.[658] Therefore, when working on the manuscript Puig

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656 'Caci România are marele merit şi noroc de a fi conservat un mare număr de monumente de arta antica, dispărute în celelalte tari. Ele ma interesează în mod special, deoarece, după cum am observat şi în comunicarea meu facuta în congres privitor la bisericele din Moldova, ele sunt remarcabile prin originalitatea şi simplicitatea stilului. Apoi, atât cat am putut vedea la venire, tara românească este de o frumuseţe cuceritoare şi sunt foarte vesel cu voiu avea prilejul sa o cunosc mai aproape cu prilejul excursiei organizate de iniţiatorii congresului.' "De vorbă cu d. Puig i Cadafalc, preşedintele Uniunei provinciale catalane", 1.

657 Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrés international des études byzzantines*, 85–87.

658 Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine. Le premier art roman, l'art mudéjar; les églises moldaves.", in *Programme des travaux du*

could also built on the learnings of the congress sessions, especially a series of talks on Romanian, Dalmatian, Armenian, and Greek medieval architecture that, according to the copy of the programme held in the archive, especially caught his attention.[659] He also used 'Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine' to prepare for his talk at the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, celebrated in Oslo, Norway, in August 1928. This was an important international gathering, organised by the International Committee of Historical Sciences every five years since 1900. The 1928 Oslo edition was especially significant with regards to transnational academic practices: the same reviewer noted that it was 'le premier depuis la guerre qui ait été effectivement international, puisque les Allemands, les Autrichiens, les Bulgares et les Turcs y étaient convoqués'.[660] It was also the last congress attended by Marc Bloch, who reportedly was disappointed at the excessive amount of papers and topics discussed.[661]

A copy of the manuscript of 'Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine' was found in a folder labelled with the title of that congress.[662] Puig's talk was entitled 'Les origines de l'architecture romane' and it was arguably a working paper related to his 1930 book *Els orígens i la geografia de l'art romànic*, which already included the Moldavian churches in the argument. Although it was not published as such, Puig's presentation was highlighted by a French reviewer together with that of prestigious experts on the topic such as Charles Diehl.[663] In fact, the two were included in a panel that could have hardly been more

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congrés [II Congrès International des études bizantines, Belgrade, 1927] (Belgrade: Imprimerie Mirototchivi, 1927), 153–55.

659 Puig marked the following papers: 'La ville byzantine de Lakédémonia et la basilique de S. Nicon' by A. Adamantion, Athens; 'Les thèmes apocalyptiques dans l'art byzantin' by L. Bréhier, Clermont-Ferrand; 'Quelques monuments inédits de l'architecture arménienne' by N. Okounev, Prague; 'Influence du plan serbe sur le plan des églises roumaines' by G. Bals, Bucharest; 'Le plan de l'église Negru-Voda de Câmpulung, le plus ancien plan d'église connu en Roumanie' by V. Draghiceanu, Romania; and a further talk by M. Abramic, from Split, on the byzantine influences of a series of early medieval Dalmatian reliefs. *Programme des travaux du congrés [II Congrès International des études bizantines, Belgrade, 1927]* (Belgrade: Imprimerie Mirototchivi, 1927). ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. UC 2543.

660 J. Cordey, "Le VIe congrès international des sciences historiques", *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 89, no. 1 (1928): 158.

661 Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 132.

662 UC 668, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

663 Cordey, "Le VIe congrès international des sciences historiques", 159.

Romanian, with Diehl talking on 'Les influences de l'Art Oriental en Occident' and George Balş presenting 'L'influence de l'Art gothique sur l'architecture roumaine'.[664] This emphasis on Byzantine studies had already been mentioned by the president of the organising committee, Michel Lhérititier, in a handwritten message addressed to Puig on 4 November 1927: 'We would like to give a special importance to the point of view of Byzantine Studies in the Oslo Congress. Mr. Diehl among other is in charge of an important paper.'[665] Ultimately, the fact that Puig's work on the Moldavian churches featured in the preparation for – and possibly also in the discussion of – the Oslo congress shows that his interest in the Balkans was certainly not a pastime activity, or a compliment to his Romanian and Serb hosts, but was becoming increasingly crucial to his theory of the origins of the *premier art roman*.

'Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine' was finally published in 1931 in a homage volume presented to the French art historian Charles Diehl, a renowned Byzantinist and also an important player in this network.[666] In a 1932 review, Puig's piece was described as

> a technical architectural study (which I cannot fully understand) of the appearance alike in East and West at long intervals of time of "niches superposées en deux [ou trois] étages". But this appearance of similar architectural features in widely separated areas does not allow us to infer any contact, direct or indirect, of one school with another. These and similar facts can be explained only 'par des lois fondamentales, indépendantes de l'espace et du temps, commandant aux évolutions

664 "VIe Congrès international des sciences historiques. Programme des travaux du congrès", 1928, 7–8, UC 2555, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. On Balş see Teacă, "In Search of National Traditions: Art History in Romania", 455.
665 'Nous voudrions donner au Congrès d'Oslo, une assez grande importance au point de vue des études byzantines. M. Diehl entre autres s'est chargé d'un rapport important'. "Circ.10. Rapports pour le congrès d'Oslo", November 4, 1927, 10, UC 668, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. Emphasis in the original.
666 Josep Puig i Cadafalch, "Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine en Occident. Premier art roman. Architecture Mudéjar. Églises de Moldavie", in *Mélanges Charles Diehl. Études sur l'histoire et sur l'art de Byzance.*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1931), 161–69.

> architectoniques, et semblables aux lois qui constituent la grammaire générale des langues.[667]

The reviewer did in fact understand the article relatively well, as the lack of 'any contact, direct or indirect, of one school with another' was crucial to Puig's argument. That lack of any 'direct contact' allowed Puig to use Moldavian late medieval architecture as a 'proof' that his theory on the origins of the *premier art roman* was correct, as it showed that architectural elements could appear and evolve in a similar way in different places and times as if they followed a 'fundamental law', as the 1931 reviewer rightly saw. That is why the 1930 book *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic*, Puig's major contribution to the history of early Romanesque art, ends with a long discussion of Moldavian architecture. Under the headline 'Les esglésies de Moldàvia', Puig gathers his previous works on the topic – discussed in the congresses of Bucharest, Belgrade and Oslo, and partially published in the form of articles – in order to explain why a series of churches 'in the remote lands of Romania', as he calls them, can cast light on the history of Lombard Romanesque. 'The artistic phenomena that we are studying will be understood in a clearer way', he says,

> if we examine [a style] that developed with a complete geographic and historic independence, in the remote lands of Romania, in the old Moldova, where, in the fifteenth century, Byzantine art was reflected in a school that was alive until the sixteenth century, and continued, in the mountains, into modern times.[668]

Puig's belief that architectural elements could appear and evolve in a similar way in different places and times as if they followed a 'fundamental law' very much reflects his positivist approach to art history, reading cultural and

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667 N. H. B., "Review of Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine. Le premier art roman, l'art mudéjar; les églises moldaves", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 52 (January 1, 1932): 157–61.

668 'Es comprendran amb major claredat els fenòmens artístics que anem estudiant si n'examinem un altre realitzat amb absoluta independència geogràfica i històrica, en les terres apartades de la Romania, en la vella Moldàvia, on en el segle XV es reflexa l'art bizantí en una escola vivent fins al segle XVI i que es prolonga fins en plena època moderna en la muntanya.' Puig i Cadafalch, *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic*, 525.

historical phenomena as if they were natural phenomena. Therefore, those historical phenomena should be understood not by looking at historical sources, but by gathering, observing, analysing and comparing large amounts of data – especially pictures – on the elements studied. That is why art and photography inventories were so important, and also why he had to go all the way to the furthest corner of Europe to complete his argument regarding the innovative character of Catalan Romanesque. Painted Moldavian churches are a landmark of Romania's artistic history, and Puig's contribution aided the local knowledge of that heritage – as expressed, for instance, by Ştefănescu – but they are also a crucial part of Puig's 'nationalistic' view of the evolution of Romanesque in Europe.

7.3 Conclusion

The role of medieval architecture in the formation of modern political and cultural identities is indeed a widely researched topic, as is the special significance of Romanesque art in the construction of Catalonia's modern national imaginary. Most studies, however, emphasize the connection with an idealised past as a tool to understand that fascination. The present chapter has discussed a more novel aspect of the study of Romanesque, seeing it as a space that required a transnational research context to come into being. Puig's own articulation of the significance of Romanesque for Catalan identity was not one of nostalgia for the Middle Ages, but one that was intrinsically embedded with Modernity, as it had to do with the leading role of the Catalan region in the inception and dissemination of the *premier art roman*. As has been shown, this argument was not completed until he found Moldavia's painted churches, which, according to his positivistic approach to art history, proved that his theory on the evolution of Romanesque was correct. According to a pervasive paradigm in intellectual history, intellectuals who participate in the nation-building processes of their home countries don't usually participate in transnational intellectual conversations – what has been known as the *république des lettres* – and when they do – such as in international congresses or world fairs – it is merely to promote their nation internationally, without really

engaging with and participating in a 'transnational Modernity'. Likewise, the intellectuals who acted as 'cultural modernisers' in their home countries usually 'distanced themselves' from 'nationalist positions'.[669] Arguably, Puig promoted Catalonia in international congresses in Bucharest, Oslo, and Belgrade – which, due to space constraints, has not been discussed in the present chapter – but he also most certainly saw himself as a participant in an eminently transnational academic conversation where Modernity featured prominently. Catalonia's character was intrinsically modern, since the Middle Ages, and engaging with European researchers only contributed to highlight Catalonia's leading role in the advancement of academic research in Spain. As discussed in Part 2, when Puig conceived of a new Centre for Archaeological Research, he turned his gaze towards Germany and appointed the young Bosch i Gimpera as its first director, very much echoing the sense of 'novelty' and 'modernity' with which the Institute of Catalan Studies was embedded since its creation. He did not always succeed in actually leading the transformation of academic research in Spain – while his works on the *premier art roman* were highly valued in Europe and the United States, he did not actually build a school back home that surpassed the study of Catalan Romanesque in Catalonia. He was one of the few Spanish scholars to be interested in vaults, and also one of the few to link vaults in Spain to Byzantine forms.[670] Yes his articulation of the importance of Catalan Romanesque in global art history remains intrinsically modern, and his commitment to a transnational community of researchers is unquestionable.

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669 See Nygård and Strang, "Facing Asymmetry – Nordic Intellectuals and Center-Periphery Dynamics in European Cultural Space."

670 María de los Ángeles Utrero Agudo, "Las estructuras abovedadas en la historia de la arquitectura hispánica tardoantigua y altomedieval", *Anales de Historia del Arte* Volumen Extraordinario (2009): 220–221; María de los Ángeles Utrero Agudo, *Iglesias tardoantiguas y altomedievales en la península ibérica: análisis arqueológico y sistemas de abovedamiento* (Editorial CSIC - CSIC Press, 2006), 98. On Puig's influence in the Catalan school of Art History, see Gallego Aguilera, "Lampérez vs. Puig i Cadafalch en el estudio de la arquitectura románica catalana."

CONCLUSION

In 1897, Puig argued that 'architecture also serves to define people'.[671] It was a relatively young Puig speaking here, whose approach to the intertwined nature of culture and environment would become more nuanced in the years to come, but this statement already sums up his belief in the mutually constitutive nature of the the built environment and collective identities. This thesis has shown that, in Puig's work, material culture, urban space, and academic research not only defined those identities, but also shaped them. Puig transformed Barcelona's urban layout in accordance with distinctive notions of visibility and visuality, creating a hierarchy of vistas, and shaping a city in and through which a modern Catalonia could be imagined. Later on, in the same urban space, he designed a display of the relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish State as he envisaged it, using the International Exposition to showcase the project of a new, regenerated Spain, led by Catalonia and, more particularly, the Lliga Regionalista. Academic knowledge played a crucial role in Puig's conceptualisation of the Exposition – it was the locus of the *Catalanitat* of the project – and Puig's academic ethos was in turn shaped by his extensive contacts and exchanges with scholars from all over Europe and beyond. This international scholarly engagement not only provided him with the necessary tools to accomplish his ambitious research plans on the innovative character of Catalan Romanesque, but also allowed him to portray Catalonia as an emergent European country working hand in hand with some recently created states, particularly in Europe's borderlands.

As Chapter 1 has shown, the representation of Barcelona and Catalonia in the illustrated press of the 1880s, and the policies that echo that representation during the 1910s, can be seen as an example of a vernacular modernity. Puig, and many other Catalan intellectuals, looked to the past to cast a new Catalonia, but they merged this imagination of the past with an unequivocal celebration of modernity as one of the essential features of that identity. While

[671] Puig i Cadafalch, "Carácter que diferencia las arquitecturas catalana y castellana antigas. Conferencia llegida per Joseph Puig y Cadafalch en l'Ateneu Barcelonès el 31 de maig de 1897."

the centrality of the urban during the period known as *Noucentisme* has been widely recognized, its significance in the culture – and politics – of the late nineteenth century has traditionally been marginalised. Following Pierre Nora's work on the *lieux de mémoire*, Stéphane Michonneau looked at how the past was inscribed into Barcelona's urban space in the period 1830–1930, yet the modernity of the city itself as an element of identity formation was not fully considered.[672] The culture of Catalanism during the late 1800s has traditionally been regarded as Romantic and traditionalist, embedded within a rural, folkloristic imagination.[673] In turn, late nineteenth-century Catalan modernity tends to be discussed as a sign of rupture with the past, or as a form of Spanish patriotism.[674] Although recent approaches to sub-state identities have challenged the view that regional movements mobilising the historical past are essentially anti-modern, this perspective has not been consistently applied to the Spanish case. And yet, the concomitance of the medieval and the modern in the imagination of Barcelona in illustrated magazines points towards a comprehension of *fin-de-siècle* cultural and political Catalanism as a form of vernacular modernism. In turn, the resonance of this imaginary in the ideologies and policies of the 1910s suggests that 'reformist' *Noucentista* intellectuals may have taken more inspiration from their immediate past than they were willing to admit. What ultimately lies beneath this is an understanding that cultural and political ideas are never the product of one period alone, but are rooted in sophisticated, if only partially verbalized, long-term processes. Political and cultural Catalanism was not fully developed and institutionalized until the first decades of the twentieth century. But the ground for this development was prepared earlier, and the visual construction and representation of Barcelona in the 1880s was a crucial part of the emergence of a Catalan identity during the early twentieth century.

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672 Michonneau, *Barcelone*.

673 For a recent approach to the topic, see especially Mariona Lladonosa Latorre, *La construcció de la catalanitat: evolució de la concepció d'identitat nacional a Catalunya 1860-1990* (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2013), 10–14.

674 See, for example, Resina, "Modernist Journals in the 'Països Catalans,'" 389; Jacobson, "Interpreting Municipal Celebrations of Nation and Empire: The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888."

Modern Catalan identity was inscribed in Barcelona's layout through urban planning in the early 1900s, and the possibilities brought about by a second International Exposition. Following Javier Monclús' argument, Chapter 2 explored how Barcelona's second Universal Exposition was conceived as a catalyst for the transformation of the city's urban space. As discussed in Chapter 4, the subsequent architectural and display projects for that Exposition visualised a transformation in the relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish State. Prat de la Riba's view that the regeneration of Spain depended on Catalonia – and more specifically on the Lliga – permeated Puig's design for the Exposition. The identity politics conveyed in the project, conceived at the core of early-twentieth-century political and cultural Catalanism, and aimed at displaying the whole of Spanish art and history, build on the national dynamics in early-twentieth-century Catalonia, which go beyond traditional assumptions of 'dual patriotism'. While in the 1860s, Marià Fortuny's painting *La batalla de Teutuan* emphasized the 'bravery of the Catalan soldiery' in 'contributing to the glory of Spain as a whole' during the Hispano-Moroccan War (1859–60),[675] in Puig's design for the Exposition, Catalonia ceases to merely be one contributing part among others, to take a lead in the envisaged regeneration of the Spanish State. Puig's view of Spain was characterised by regional multiplicity, a narrative of technological progression rooted in the past but connected to modern industry, and, crucially, 'peripheral' leadership. This phase of Catalonia's modern nationalism, in which leading and regenerating Spain played a more prominent role than advocating a State of its own, is not easily reconciled with the narrative of continuity which, as outlined in the Introduction, has traditionally characterised local research on the topic. Rather than understanding the project of the *Mancomunitat* as a direct precursor of the 1932 Statute of Autonomy, I see the project of Prat, Cambó and Puig as interrupted by General Primo's rule, who, despite initial hopes, soon abandoned the project of building a *regionalist* Spain. After the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in April 1931, the Catalanista project was in someone else's hands; Cambó wrote that 'what has happened has destroyed the possibility of solving the problem of Catalonia, without simultaneously

[675] Smith, *The Origins of Catalan Nationalism, 1770-1898*, 67–68.

creating a more serious one that may swallow it', and refused to participate in the preparation of the aforementioned Statute.[676] Puig's antagonism towards the leftist republicans that would lead Catalan autonomism during the following decade was probably less belligerent than Cambó's, but he, too, had to find another space in which to continue his political and cultural project for Catalonia. In his engagement with international scholars, Puig shifted his discourse on Catalonia's singularity, which he now saw as working hand in hand with other emerging European countries. The preeminent position of the periphery in the making of modern Spain that he had conceived in his project for the Exposition now found an extension in his argument on the leading role of Catalonia and the northern Mediterranean in the inception and dissemination of medieval Romanesque into central Europe, which is discussed in Part 3.

The final part of this thesis challenges the view that Madrid played a central role in the international engagement of Spanish intellectuals in the early twentieth century. Puig's academic engagement with scholars at the margins of Europe was not mediated by Madrid institutions, individuals, or cultural spheres. Nor did he seem to have a great impact on that Spanish-speaking cultural core. At least when it comes to the literary and academic exchanges described, Catalan actors, who also included Rubió i Lluch and Nicolau d'Olwer, accessed the international scene directly and independently from the Spanish cultural core. The use of Catalan posed no constraint to this internationalisation, and if there was a universal, international language and core they looked to, that was French, and Paris. This indicates that, as Jo Labanyi suggests, Catalonia developed a sphere of influence separate from the central Spanish, Castilian-speaking one.[677]

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[676] "[Letter from Francesc Cambó to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", April 25, 1931, UC 1184, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; "[Letter from Francesc Cambó to Josep Puig i Cadafalch]", May 16, 1931, UC 1184, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

[677] Labanyi does not directly discuss a separate Catalan-speaking public sphere, but she argues that the late nineteenth-century Spanish novel – which she calls 'national novel' – contributed to 'bind the nation together – provided that [readers] are Castilian-speakers' and that 'Oller's novels, written in Catalan, would perform the same function for Catalonia'. See Labanyi, "Relocating Difference: Cultural History and Modernity in Late Nineteenth-Century Spain", 172.

Chapter 7 examined the academic relations between Catalonia and Romania during the 1920s and 1930s as an example of a creative cultural encounter between Europe's margins, and re-assessed the role of transnational academic exchanges in the writing of national histories. To be sure, Puig and Iorga's contributions to the medieval history of Catalonia and Romania influenced their political contributions to the recognition of Catalonia's singularity within Spain, and to the construction of a modern Romanian state respectively. These political agendas became especially visible during – but are not constrained to – Puig's presidency of the Catalan *Mancomunitat* (1917-1923) and Iorga's service as Prime Minister of Romania between 1931 and 1932. Arguably, history writing was indeed a tool of nationalist ideology in Puig's and Iorga's hands. And yet, it needed a transnational framework to come into being. It has been argued that, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nationalistic historians shared an 'internationalist commitment' to the 'universal applicability of the tools of historical science everywhere'.[678] However, the international engagement of Puig, Iorga and others transcends the realm of methodology. Ultimately, Puig's ventures abroad show that nationalistic histories can indeed be written *transnationally*. Despite claims that 'the historiography of foreign historians regarding one's own national history was often either disregarded or rejected as incompetent',[679] Puig contributed to Romania's national history writing with a series of articles on Moldavian sixteenth-century churches, just like Iorga and Marinescu drew on Catalan archives to expand our knowledge of the involvement of the medieval Crown of Aragon in the eastern Mediterranean.

The politics of Puig and his followers have often been classified as distinctly 'bourgeois', which brought them into conflict with emerging forms of working-class forms of Catalanism, and anarchism.[680] It is undeniable that there was an elite dimension to Puig's activities. This is not to say that his Catalanism was conceived as being only for the elite. His projects, as my analysis has demonstrated, saw Catalan society as an organic body, and all his

[678] Berger, *Writing the Nation*, 13.
[679] Fuchs, "The Politics of the Republic of Learning: International Scientific Congresses in Europe, the Pacific Rim, and Latin America", 208.
[680] Núñez Seixas, *Historiographical Approaches to Nationalism in Spain*, 62–81.

work was geared towards shaping a collective imagination of identity – intellectually, visually, and viscerally – that would reach all Catalans. Indeed, the way in which political agendas were deeply enmeshed in cultural articulations made them legible in ways that were, at least potentially, very democratic. Yet it is also clear that Puig and his political allies defined a vision of this identity for the people; the people's own voice remained somewhat marginal in this vision. Other political actors took a different view, and challenged the confidence of these bourgeois actors to speak for the people at large. And yet, to dismiss Puig's project merely as a function of bourgeois hegemony would be unduly teleological. It represented a moment of particular political and cultural creativity in Catalan history, and created an arsenal of powerful arguments and representations on which all subsequent articulations of Catalan politics drew, even if they also added distinctly new elements to them.

All this has important implications for further research. My analysis shows that national discourse may be found not just in the content of a given cultural representation, but in what lies beneath that content. Puig's understanding of the nature of Catalan identity in such a Spanish-looking project as the Exposition – his belief that the *Catalanitat* of an exhibition of 'all of Spain's art' lay in the way that knowledge was organised and displayed – opens new pathways for the study of the construction and representation of political and cultural identities in early-twentieth-century Europe. Reflecting on scholarship from the 1990s, Confino wrote that 'in the past decade, the most influential way of making sense of national belonging has been to regard the nation as a cultural artefact, as a product of invention and social engineering'.[681] Since then, many studies have looked at non-verbal forms of nationalist discourse. Material and visual culture have been widely explored as sources for national identity. But the focus on the more visible (evident, superficial) aspects of nation-building – as much in visual and material sources as in textual ones – can sometimes lead to a misreading of those narratives. Puig's project of the 1929 International Exposition, using a 'Spanish' idiom to articulate a display of

[681] Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918*, 3.

Catalan identity through academic research, is a good example of this. Focusing on what underpins the display of symbolic objects, such as particular knowledge cultures, may thus be a promising step forward in the historiography of national identity politics. Entities with complex spatial dynamics such as Catalonia, which cannot be easily captured in the traditional categories of regionalism or nationalism, are an ideal starting point for such studies. In future research, it will be important to explore whether other European, and indeed non-European, sub-state nationalisms used similar mechanisms for identity construction. Can the structure, not the content, of a 'national' display project point towards alternative forms of national belonging?

The type of academic research examined in this thesis also suggests lines for future work. Puig placed much emphasis on inventories – artistic, photographic, ethnographic – for gathering data that were organised and classified to become object of academic research. The inventory created for the display of 'all of Spain's art' in the Barcelona International Exposition, or the photographic Arxiu Mas, are just two examples. This involved a significant shift from the late nineteenth century, which saw the emergence of *archives* – many times national archives – throughout Europe. Archives like the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, which was object of an extensive illustrated piece at *L'Avens* as discussed in Chapter 1, did not gather contemporaneous data, but historical sources. Arguably, the shift from archives to inventories – which gathered photographs, drawings, records, and measurements – echoes a change in the way history was being written, from Ranke's *Quellenkritik* to the early-twentieth-century re-appreciation of the positivist method for the study of historical phenomena, which based itself on large data sets as a basis for analysis, comparison and deduction. If, as Raphael argued, historical archives became milestones in the process of construction of new national identities in modern Europe,[682] what was the role of inventories in that process? Did they also contribute to the writing of national histories, or were they favoured by more complex, disruptive entities such as sub-state nationalisms? And how did early-twentieth-century comparative positivism – which was fashionable

[682] Raphael, "New Nations and Their Institutions of Historiography."

among art historians from Romania to France and the United States – interact with the making of new nations in between the two world wars?

Puig's contribution to the construction of a Catalan national imagination did not always take overtly visible forms. Catalan identity could be inscribed and recognised in Barcelona's streets, but it could also emerge as a structure that sustained a grand display of Spanish art, or be disseminated in international congresses and publications, intertwined with academic discourse. This language was understood by Puig's contemporaries, and it still permeates conceptions of what it means to be a Catalan today: many would see Catalans as industrious, hard-working, and possibly also as holders of a scientific ethos. And yet, while Puig's beautification of the medieval heritage of historic Barcelona has never ceased to be praised, contemporary scholars and politicians have found it more difficult to recognise any source of *Catalanitat* in such uneasy ventures as the 'Spanish Section' of the 1929 Exposition, to the point of rejecting the notion of the Lliga's *responsibility* in the conception of the project entirely. Puig's cosmopolitanism and extensive contacts with Europe's borderlands are easier to include in the overarching, non-conflicting narrative of modern Catalanism, as Catalans have always recognised themselves as true lovers of the modern, as ambassadors of the European, and non-European, world, vis a vis the *steppe*-oriented minds – to use Puig's words – of Madrid. But still, in light of the nature of Puig's contribution to the construction of that identity, it is necessary to open a new framework for the interpretation of historical Catalanism, one that does not rely on a single, teleological narrative, but that leaves space for projects that attempted to define *Catalanitat* in a way that is not immediately recognisible as such today. Such a framework will help us overcome the view that modernity developed as an expression of the nation-state, and highlight that, in the South of Europe as in the North, sub-state identities articulated themselves in much more modern ways than labels such as 'folkloristic regionalism' would suggest.

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