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## **Archaeology, Archival Practices and National Identities in the Iconographic Repertoire of Spain (1915-1929)<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** Archaeology was central to the research and public policies of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, an administrative commonwealth that led Catalonia between 1914 and 1923. While some aspects of this connection, such as the interplay between archaeology and Catalan nationalism and the contribution of the archaeologist Pere Bosch Gimpera are well known, other key developments of the period remain largely unstudied. This is the case of the Iconographic Repertoire of Spain an archive set up in 1915 by the architects and art historians Josep Puig i Cadafalch and Jeroni Martorell with the purpose of visually documenting Spain’s art history. This article fills this gap by exploring the political and epistemological significance of archaeological research and of

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archaeological “photo-objects” in the making of the Repertoire. In particular, it discusses the role of Iberian culture within the Repertoire; the setting up of a nation-wide archive from a peripheral location such as Barcelona; and the connection of the Repertoire to the utopia of the “total photo archive”.

**Keywords:** Photo Archives, History of Archaeology, National Identity, Catalonia, Modern Spanish History

## **1. Introduction**

In 1915, 50,000 pesetas of the budget of the second International Exhibition, which was meant to be held in Barcelona in the following years, were consigned to “form a graphic inventory and for obtaining reproductions” in order to “catalogue the artistic wealth of Spain.”<sup>2</sup> This was the beginning of a gargantuan archiving project that, in the course of the next eight years, entailed dozens of photographic expeditions and produced over 100,000 files. The Repertori Iconogràfic d’Espanya (“Iconographic Repertoire of Spain”), as the archive was known, was imagined by the architects and art historians Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956) and Jeroni Martorell (1877-1951). It had a wide understanding of what Spanish iconography was, including such diverse topics as Iberian and Roman remains, Golden Age painting, folk art, urban planning and natural wonders such as the mountain of Montserrat or the Aneto peak. Visual materials of very different kinds were mounted on pre-printed cards that were then filled in with textual data on the

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<sup>2</sup> For the two quotes, see respectively Arxiu Municipal Contemporani, Barcelona, Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929, “Actes de la Junta directiva,” 21 June 1915, 5, Z103-47034, and Ibid., “Actes de la Junta directiva,” 17 April 1915, 3, Z103-47034. All translations are mine.

depicted objects. The Repertoire was expected to foster a new reading of Spain's art history and heritage, and to form the basis of a grand exhibition of the country's past. However, the coup d'état by General Primo de Rivera in 1923 interrupted the project, and although a display of Spanish art was eventually part of the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition, this differed notably from what Puig and Martorell had originally envisaged. Since then, the Repertoire and its 100,000 files have remained practically unknown to scholars and the public, despite some recent, yet fragmentary, contributions.<sup>3</sup>

This article casts some light on the obscure history of the Repertoire by exploring the role of archaeological sites and objects in the design and construction of the archive, as well as its outcome during the 1929 Exhibition. The Repertoire surveyed a particularly diverse range of objects and topics, which makes it relevant to the history of many disciplines, from the history of archaeology and art to the history of ethnography and anthropology. Focussing on the role of archaeology opens a space to discuss the political meanings of the Repertoire in a particularly grounded way, as archaeological research was at the core of the cultural policies of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, a federation of Catalan provinces that led the region between 1914 and 1923. To do so, this article develops four main subjects. First, it discusses the inception of the project in the hands of Puig and Martorell and its connection to the cultural politics of the elites that ruled Catalonia at the time. Second, it analyses the input of Pere Bosch Gimpera and the role of Iberian archaeology in the Repertoire. In particular, it shows the ways in which this

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<sup>3</sup> Joan Boadas i Raset, *Fotografia en temps de Noucentisme: Adolf Mas, Valentí Fargnoli, Jeroni Martorell i el repertori iconogràfic* (Girona: Ajuntament de Girona, Servei de Gestió Documental, Arxius i Publicacions (SGDAP), 2018); Carmen Perrotta, "De la toga a la cámara fotográfica: Adolf Mas Ginestà (1860-1936). Innovación archivística al servicio del arte románico" (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 2017), 227–65; 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), 122–33; Maria Antònia Carrasco and Raquel Lacuesta Contreras, "El 'Repertori iconogràfic' de l'art espanyol," *Revista de Catalunya* 261 (2010): 63–96; Pilar Blesa and Alicia Cornet, "El Repertori Iconogràfic del MNAC: evolució i tractaments arxivístic," *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 5 (2001): 161–70.

input helped to rewrite the history of Spain's art and place the contribution of geographical peripheries such as Catalonia and Andalusia at the centre. Third, it shows how the Repertoire engaged with what has been regarded as the utopia of the "total" photo archive.<sup>4</sup> And fourth, it analyses the ways in which Spanish art and archaeology were finally displayed in the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition.

The Repertoire was one of many art and archaeology photo archives to be produced in Europe and the rest of the world following the inception of photography in the first half of the nineteenth century. Other examples include the *Mission Héliographique*, the photographic campaign that documented France's historical monuments in 1851; the British Survey Movement, led by amateur photographers between 1885 and 1918; the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, founded in Italy in 1892; and, beyond Europe, the Archaeological Survey of India, founded under British rule in 1861; and the photographic surveys carried out by Japanese archaeologists in the then colonised territory of Korea in the early twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> Comparing the Repertoire to these archives provides a good insight into its dimension. The sediment of the British Survey Movement amounts to 55,000 images, while the Archaeological Survey of India reached 30,000.<sup>6</sup> Even though

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<sup>4</sup> Gregg Mitman and Kelley Wilder, "Introduction," in *Documenting the World: Film, Photography, and the Scientific Record*, eds. Gregg Mitman and Kelley Wilder (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 1–22; Costanza Caraffa, "From Photo Libraries to Photo Archives. On the Epistemological Potential of Art-Historical Photo Collections," in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. Costanza Caraffa (Munich-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011), 11–44.

<sup>5</sup> Anne de Mondenard, *La mission héliographique: cinq photographes parcourent la France en 1851* (Paris: Editions du Patrimoine, 2002); Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885–1918* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2012); Elizabeth Edwards, "Photography and the Material Performance of the Past," *History and Theory, Theme Issue* 48, no. 4 (2009): 130–50; Ashish Chadha, "The Archaeological Survey of India and the Science of Postcolonial Archaeology," in *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*, eds. Jane Lydon and Uzma Z. Rizvi (Routledge Handbooks Online, 2010), 227–34; Hyung I. Pai, "Tracing Japan's Antiquity: Photography, Archaeology and Representations of Kyngju," in *Questioning Oriental Aesthetics and Thinking: Conflicting Visions of Asia Under the Colonial Empires: The 38th International Research Symposium*, ed. Inaga Shigemi (Kyoto: International Center for Japanese Studies, 2011), 289–316.

<sup>6</sup> Mitman and Wilder, "Introduction," 8.

the Repertoire has not been fully studied yet, present estimations establish that it may consist of 100,000 files.<sup>7</sup>

While being one of many photo archives created at the turn of the twentieth century, the Repertoire has a series of particularities that can potentially transform our understanding of the history of photo archives in Europe and the world. On the one hand, unlike many art and archaeology photo archives, it was formed by a variety of visual materials, including not only photographs, but also postcards, handmade drawings, and book and press clippings. On the other hand, and more significantly, the Repertoire tells the story of the “national” photo archive in a rather new way.<sup>8</sup> This was a nation-wide inventory that was, nevertheless, conceived at the periphery. Puig was a leading Catalanist politician, a member of the nationalist party Lliga Regionalista (“Regionalist League”) who served as President of the Mancomunitat between 1917 and 1923. The Repertoire was thus promoted by a group of politically active Catalan nationalists who, instead of focussing on Catalonia’s own heritage, took up the task of making an inventory of the whole of Spain’s artistic past. This was a rather uncommon approach. While photo archives were a tool commonly used at the turn of the twentieth century to provide “visual substance” to state and sub-state nationalist projects, it was uncommon for separatist actors to produce archives that were not circumscribed to their sub-state community, but rather, as was the case with the Repertoire, approached the inventorying of the broader state to which they belonged.<sup>9</sup> Why would a group of Catalan nationalist leaders want to

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<sup>7</sup> Pilar Cuerva, “L’arxiu d’un projecte cultural de país” (Jornada El Repertori Iconogràfic [d’Art] d’Espanya. L’aventura de documentar el patrimoni, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, 2 May 2022).

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of recent contributions on this topic, see Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena, *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2014).

<sup>9</sup> Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena, “Introduction: Photographs, Archives and the Discourse of Nation,” in *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation*, ed. Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena (Berlin/ Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 8. For examples of photo archives with a sub-state scope, see Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena, *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), particularly the chapters by Tiziana Serena, “Cultural Heritage, Nation, Italian State: Politics of the Photographic Archive between Centre and Periphery,” 179–200; Joško Belamarić, “Dalmatia in the Visual Narrative. Georg Kowalczyk and Cornelius Gurlitt: An Atlas of Photographs of Dalmatian Monuments,” 95–117; and Justin Carville,

organise an irrationally ambitious inventory and display of Spanish art? What role did archaeological research play in this process? And what may the actual images and texts of the Repertoire tell us about its epistemological nature, and about the context in which it was produced?

To address these questions, this article uses a wreath of new primary sources, including the actual files of the Repertoire, which are currently held in two different institutions. After a split of the collection in the 1930s, the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (“National Museum of Art of Catalonia”) holds the files devoted to art history subjects, and the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (“Museum of Archaeology of Catalonia”) keeps the ones dedicated to archaeological artefacts.

## **2. Archaeology, the Cultural Politics of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, and the Origins of the Repertoire**

The Iconographic Repertoire of Spain was designed during the planning of Barcelona's second International Exhibition, and coincided with one of the heydays of modern Catalan cultural and political nationalism. As has been mentioned, Puig was a leading member of the Lliga Regionalista, the nationalist party that dominated Catalan politics during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The ideology of the Lliga was presented in works such as *La nacionalitat catalana* (“The Catalan nationality”) (1906) by Enric Prat de la Riba (1870-1914), which outlined the differences between “nations” (such as Catalonia) and “states” (such as Spain) and argued that Catalonia's

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“Performing Ethnography/Projecting History: Photography and Irish Cultural Nationalism in Ulster,” 59–76. See also Carlos Petit, “Francisco Murillo Herrera (1878-1951). De la cátedra al Laboratorio,” *Laboratorio de Arte* 26 (2014): 333–48; and Ewa Manikowska, “Building the Cultural Heritage of a Nation: The Photo Archive of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments at the Twilight of the Russian Empire,” in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. Costanza Caraffa (Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011), 279–88.

national character was grounded in its specific culture, history, and language.<sup>10</sup> Another key ideologue of the period was the writer and politician Eugeni d'Ors (1881-1954) who, also in 1906, laid out the theoretical bases of *Noucentisme*. *Noucentisme* was a top to bottom movement designed to renovate Catalan culture, drawing on Classical Antiquity and the aesthetics of the Mediterranean as sources of modernisation.<sup>11</sup> Parallel to these developments, Puig produced a broad body of work as an art historian that analysed the particularities of Catalan art and architecture in the medieval period.<sup>12</sup>

In this context, Catalan nationalism gained political momentum. In the 1907 Spanish elections, a coalition named “Solidaritat Catalana” (“Catalan Solidarity”), led by Prat, got most of the seats reserved for the Catalan provinces in the Spanish Congress. In 1914, Prat became the first President of the Mancomunitat, the administrative institution that brought together, for the first time since 1714, the four Catalan provinces of Barcelona, Girona, Lleida and Tarragona.<sup>13</sup> Upon Prat's death in 1917, Puig took over the role of President of the Mancomunitat, until Primo's coup in 1923. In that period, the Lliga was also part of the Spanish government on different occasions, always in coalition with the Spanish Liberal Party. The lawyer and businessman Francesc Cambó (1876-1947) was the Lliga's man in Madrid, and he acted as the Spanish Minister of Development in 1918

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<sup>10</sup> Enric Prat de la Riba, *La nacionalitat catalana* (Barcelona: Tip. L'Anuari de la Exportació, 1906); modern reimpression in Enric Prat de la Riba, *La nacionalitat catalana* (Barcelona: Escola d'Administració Pública de Catalunya, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> For a recent approach to *Noucentisme*, see Jordi Falgàs and Joaquim M. Puigvert i Solà, eds., *Noucentismes: el Noucentisme català en el context cultural europeu* (Girona: Universitat de Girona; Fundació Rafael Masó, 2019). On Eugeni d'Ors, see Xavier Pla, ed., *Eugeni d'Ors, potència i resistència* (Barcelona: Institució de les Lletres Catalanes, 2015); Maximiliano Fuentes Codera, *Un viaje por los extremos. Eugenio d'Ors en la crisis del liberalismo* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, published in three volumes between 1909 and 1918. For a recent approach to Puig's art historical work, see Eduard Riu-Barrera, “El primer romànic, el projecte europeu de Josep Puig i Cadafalch en temps d'entreguerres,” *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 27 (2016-2018) (2019): 57–106.

<sup>13</sup> For a recent approach to Puig's role in the Mancomunitat, see Joaquim Colominas Ferran, ed., *Josep Puig i Cadafalch i la Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2019).

and the Minister of Economy between 1921 and 1922.<sup>14</sup> While in power, the Lliga fostered the recognition of Catalonia's singularity within the Spanish context, and advocated, unsuccessfully, the region's autonomy.<sup>15</sup>

Parallel to these political developments, the Lliga also promoted the creation of numerous cultural infrastructures in Catalonia, such as public libraries, secondary schools, museums and research institutions, with the aim of culturally homogenising and modernising the region. This was very much in line with the principles of *Noucentisme*, which arguably became the baseline for the Mancomunitat's cultural politics. In 1907, the Barcelona Provincial Council founded the Institut d'Estudis Catalans ("Institute of Catalan Studies"), a research academy that arguably emerged as a counterbalance to the University of Barcelona, which, at the time, was regarded as an instrument of the Spanish State in Catalonia.<sup>16</sup> One of the first projects of the Institut was an on-site survey of the then unknown Romanesque art of the Catalan Pyrenees, named the "archaeological mission," and which counted with the presence, among others, of Puig and the photographer Adolf Mas (1861-1936).<sup>17</sup> In 1908, the recently created Junta de Museus de Barcelona ("Barcelona's Board of Museums") began systematic excavations of the Greek and Roman site of Empúries (also known, in Spanish, as "Ampurias"), again under Puig's direction.<sup>18</sup> And, in 1915, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans created a Servei d'Investigacions

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<sup>14</sup> For a recent approach to Francesc Cambó, see Borja de Riquer i Permanyer, *Alfonso XIII y Cambó: la monarquía y el catalanismo político* (Barcelona: RBA, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> On the Lliga Regionalista, see Enric Ucelay-Da Cal, *El imperialismo catalán: Prat de la Riba, Cambó, D'Ors y la conquista moral de España* (Barcelona: Edhasa, 2003); Charles E. Enrich, "The Lliga Regionalista and the Catalan Industrial Bourgeoisie," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 399–417.

<sup>16</sup> For an overview of the origins of the Institut, see Albert Balcells and Enric Pujol, *Història de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Vol. I: 1907-1942*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> 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).

<sup>18</sup> Francisco Gracia Alonso, "Archaeology and Nationalism: The Development of Archaeology in Catalonia in the Early Twentieth Century," *Complutum* 24, no. 2 (2013): 131–44;; see also Pau Guinart López, *La voluntat clàssica de Catalunya. El paper del jaciment arqueològic d'Empúries en la construcció del nacionalisme català: Prat de la Riba, Eugeni d'Ors i el Noucentisme* (Figueres: Brau, 2014).



Arqueològiques (“ Service of Archaeological Research”). A young Pere Bosch Gimpera, who had recently finished his doctorate after carrying out a research stay in Berlin, was appointed as its first director.<sup>19</sup> Bosch promoted the excavation of sites related to the Iberians, a non-Indo-European culture that developed in the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C. Bosch believed that modern national groups could be traced back to protohistoric cultures and, drawing on Prat (as discussed in section 3), he argued that there was a line of continuity between ancient Iberians and modern Catalans.<sup>20</sup> Thus, archaeology was a central element of the cultural politics of the Mancomunitat, fuelled by the theoretical principles of *Noucentisme*, and Puig and Bosch played a key role in these developments.<sup>21</sup>

In this context, preparations began for a second International Exhibition to be held in Barcelona in the upcoming years. A first Universal Exhibition had taken place in 1888, and there had been petitions for a second world fair since 1905.<sup>22</sup> In 1914, an official Junta de la Exposición (“ Board of the Exhibition”) was established and funds from the Spanish government were granted. Initially, the Exhibition was planned to display Catalonia’s emerging electrical industries, but the core topic of the exhibition soon changed towards a display of Spain’s industry, art, and culture. This was due to two different reasons. On the one hand, the irruption of internationally funded companies such as Barcelona Traction and Energía Eléctrica de Cataluña radically transformed the

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<sup>19</sup> Francisco Gracia-Alonso, “L’IEC i la creació del SIA. Cent anys dels orígens de la recerca arqueològica pública a Catalunya,” *Tribuna d’Arqueologia* (2018): 99–134.

<sup>20</sup> Pere Bosch Gimpera, *Etnologia de la Península Ibèrica* (Barcelona: Alpha, 1932).

<sup>21</sup> Francisco Gracia Alonso, *La construcción de una identidad nacional: arqueología, patrimonio y nacionalismo en Cataluña (1850-1939)* (Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2018); ; see also Jordi Rovira i Port and Àngels Casanovas i Romeu, eds., *La dècada prodigiosa 1914-1924: L’arqueologia catalana, un instrument vertebrador al servei de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Museu d’Arqueologia de Catalunya; Departament de Cultura; Generalitat de Catalunya; Diputació de Barcelona, 2015).

<sup>22</sup> On the 1888 Exhibition, see 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.

industrial context of electricity production in Catalonia. On the other hand, the leading member of the Lliga and President of the Junta de la Exposición, Francesc Cambó, put forward the idea that the Exhibition was an excellent occasion to reimagine the ways in which Spanish history and art were presented to the public.<sup>23</sup>

In this framework, Cambó proposed the creation of a graphic inventory of Spanish art, the seed of the future Iconographic Repertoire of Spain. The proposal was widely accepted by the rest of the Junta and led to the appointment of Puig and Martorell as directors of the inventory.<sup>24</sup> Cambó's idea echoed the project of an Inventari gràfic de Catalunya ("Graphic Inventory of Catalonia"), which Martorell had presented in 1909.<sup>25</sup> In that text Martorell argued that, by visually cataloguing Catalonia's art, Catalonia would align itself with other "civilised nations" that, he said, "took the responsibility of forming graphic inventories of works of art."<sup>26</sup> He was perhaps thinking of the abovementioned examples in France, Britain or Italy. However, the Repertoire took one step further from Martorell's Inventari gràfic de Catalunya. Its goal was not to inventory Catalonia's artistic heritage, but to show the art and the history of the whole of Spain with "an organic and methodical disposition, so that it may be like an open book as complete and organised as possible, as broad and intense as possible."<sup>27</sup> The quote belongs to a report submitted by the Junta de la Exposición in May 1915, but it highly resembles the wording that Puig used in subsequent texts that dealt with the Repertoire, for instance a letter sent in 1929 to the writer Miquel Massot, and a review article of the 1929 Exhibition published in the

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<sup>23</sup> Lucila Mallart, "From Electricity to the Photo Archive: National Identity and the Planning of the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition," in *Urban Histories of Science. Making Knowledge in the City, 1820-1940*, eds. Oliver Hochadel and Agustí Nieto-Galan (London: Routledge, 2018), 208–26.

<sup>24</sup> Arxiu Municipal Contemporani, Barcelona. Fons Institucionals: Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929, "Actes de la Junta directiva", 10 July 1915, 2, Z103-47034.

<sup>25</sup> Jeroni Martorell, "L'inventari gràfic de Catalunya," *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* XIX, no. 169 (February 1909): 45–51.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 48–49.

<sup>27</sup> Junta de Museus de Barcelona, "Expedient Assumpte delegació Junta en Repertori Iconogràfic de l'Exposició de Barcelona, Secció 'Espanya monumental,'" 1915, 3, ANC1-715-T-2171, ANC. Fons Junta de Museus.

journal of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1936.<sup>28</sup> The report added that the project of the Repertoire “demanded a long preparation” in order to form a “catalogue” formed of “photographs” that would be “classified and selected.”<sup>29</sup> Thus, in its inception, the Repertoire was not conceived as a goal in itself, but rather as a research tool that was meant to produce a new conceptualisation, organisation and display of Spain’s heritage in the form of real artistic and archaeological objects. The files of the Repertoire were not meant to be displayed during the Exhibition, but were, instead, expected to foster new readings of the history of Spanish heritage that would then feed into the curatorial discourse of the event. As discussed below, archaeological research, and, more specifically, recent developments in the field of Iberian culture, had a crucial role in this new reading of Spain’s art history.

### **3. Iberian Culture and the Art of the Margins: Thinking Spain from Barcelona**

The Repertoire was conceived not only to as an inventory of Spain’s art history, but also as a tool to visually present and foster a new political organisation of the country. In the report submitted in 1915, it was claimed that the Repertoire would show “the diverse artistic cycles of the complex civilisations developed in the Peninsula, showing at the same time the robust personality of each of them, their linkage and contact points, their multiple influences and their varied derivations.”<sup>30</sup> The view of Spain as a united yet diverse and complex territory, formed by a multiplicity of cultures, appeared again in the letter that Puig sent to Miquel Massot in 1929. There, he wrote that their original project attempted to “exhibit Spain in all its complexity, with all its unknown things and its

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<sup>28</sup> Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Miquel Massot and Jeanne Viellard, 1929, UC 249, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch; 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): 2–3.

<sup>29</sup> Junta de Museus de Barcelona, “Expedient Assumpte delegació,” 3.

<sup>30</sup> Junta de Museus de Barcelona, 2.

ancient Art, which would be a discovery for Europe.”<sup>31</sup> That vision of Spain would be, Puig argued, “unknown” to “its own inhabitants,” as it would display “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.”<sup>32</sup> In that letter, he also contended that this conception of Spain responded to the political ideas of Francesc Cambó who, Puig argued, had envisaged the Exhibition with the idea of a “new federal constitution for Spain” in mind.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the programme of the Repertoire echoed the political programme of the Lliga Regionalista, which also conceived Spain as a plural and diverse State. Chronologically, it predated the motion of a Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia unsuccessfully put forward by the Mancomunitat in 1919. Thus, the Repertoire gave “visual substance,” to use Caraffa and Serena’s words, to the Lliga’s political conception of Spain, and sustained its claims for Catalonia’s autonomy.<sup>34</sup>

The planning of the Repertoire conveyed indeed a “new” reading of Spanish art history: one that gave pre-eminence to the art produced in the periphery of the State, thus challenging centralist views of the country. The files of the Repertoire were not organised geographically, but thematically, according to the “historical periods” to which they belonged.<sup>35</sup> And, among these historical periods, there was a substantial interest in the artistic remains of Iberian culture. In an exhibition script found in Puig’s personal archive, the section devoted to Iberian art is the only one that includes multiple names of specific objects and locations. It highlights Iberian sculptures such as the famous Lady of Elx (in Alacant), the Bicha of Balazote and the Lady of Cerro de los Santos (both in Albacete),

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<sup>31</sup> Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Miquel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard, 1929, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Miquel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard, 1929, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Miquel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard, 1.

<sup>34</sup> Costanza Caraffa and Tiziana Serena, “Introduction: Photographs, Archives and the Discourse of Nation,” 8.

<sup>35</sup> Junta de Museus de Barcelona, “Expedient Assumpte delegació,” 8-9.

and the sculpture of the island of Eivissa. Numantia, Sagunt, Tarragona, Girona, and Olèrdola are listed as Iberian “towns” (“conjunts de ciutats”) (Fig. 1).

[Figure 1].<sup>36</sup>

Except for Numantia and Albacete, which are located in the centre of the Peninsula, all the other six sites belong to the Mediterranean coast. Thus, 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 Catalan nationalist thinking of the time. In *La nacionalitat catalana* (1906), Prat de la Riba identified the seed of the “Catalan national spirit” in the “Iberian ethnos,” whose borders, he argued corresponded to those of the Catalan language, “stretching from Murcia to Provence.”<sup>37</sup> He referred to the fact that Catalan was (and continues to be) spoken not only in Catalonia, but also along the stretch of the Mediterranean coast that leads from the French Roussillon in the north to the Valencian Country in the south. Thus, Prat drew a line of historic continuity throughout the Catalan-speaking territories of the Peninsula (and beyond) since proto-historic times. He also drew a parallel between Imperial Rome, which had conquered the lands of the Iberians in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, 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

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<sup>36</sup> “Art Espanyol. Bases de classificació per l’Inventari Iconogràfic,” n.d., 11, UC 255, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

<sup>37</sup> Cited in Gracia Alonso, “Archaeology and Nationalism,” 134.

old forgotten peoples emerged into the light of History, each of them speaking their own language.<sup>38</sup>

Prat's ideas permeated the work of the abovementioned archaeologist Pere Bosch Gimpera. Bosch was the first to systematically excavate crucial Iberian sites in the Catalan-speaking Aragonese region of the Matarranya, such as San Antoni in Calaceit. In line with the culture-historical method that he had learned with Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931) in Germany,, Bosch believed that it was possible to trace back the ethnic origin of modern national groups.<sup>39</sup> In his view, Spain was a conglomerate of different ethnic areas, which corresponded to historical regions like Catalonia, Aragon (both in the north-east of the Peninsula) or Andalusia (in the south), and whose origins could be established in proto-historical times. Thus, Bosch's archaeological practice gave material substance to Prat's ideas: by excavating Iberian sites, he dug up the material remains of what were perceived as the ancestors of modern Catalans.<sup>40</sup> By adopting Prat's and Bosch's interest in Iberian culture, the Repertoire also brought the focus of "Spain's art" to the Mediterranean periphery.

In addition to that, the plans for the Repertoire also show that there was an explicit concern for drawing connections between the artistic traditions of different peripheral regions in the Iberian Peninsula. In his letter to Miquel Massot, Puig claimed that the exhibition would have put together cloths "ranging from Cordovan Asian textiles to Catalan wools and printed textiles."<sup>41</sup> By "Cordovan Asian textiles" Puig probably

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<sup>38</sup> Cited in *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> On Bosch's formative years, see 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.

<sup>40</sup> Gracia Alonso, "Archaeology and Nationalism," 142.

<sup>41</sup> Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Miquel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard, 1929, 3.

referred 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).<sup>42</sup> In turn, Catalan wool manufacture was prominent in the early modern period, especially in rural areas.<sup>43</sup> In the eighteenth century, printed textiles called “indianes” gained prominence, forming the basis for the nineteenth-century leading Catalan textile industry. Protoindustrial “indianes” also transferred the axis of Catalan manufacture from the rural hinterland to the city of Barcelona.<sup>44</sup> In the same letter, he also connected the ancient Iberian wines of the Baetica (in present-day Andalusia) to modern Catalan sparkling wine, “cava,” one of Catalonia’s most important industries in the early 1900s.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the Repertoire’s narrative emphasised the contribution of peripheral regions, namely Andalusia and Catalonia, to the making of a canon of Spanish textile and wine manufactures.

The Repertoire built a narrative of Spain in which peripheral regions such as Catalonia and Andalusia not only became key actors in the construction of the country’s art history, but also established connections with one another. Puig’s and Martorell’s peripheral reading of Spanish art and archaeology was reinforced by a will to document very different kinds of objects and sites from very different locations, and to record them using a very broad variety of visual media. This resonates consistently with the utopia of the “total photo archive,” discussed in the following section.

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<sup>42</sup> See Laura Rodríguez Peinado, “La producción textil en al-Andalus: origen y desarrollo,” *Anales de Historia del Arte* 22, no. 2 (2013): 265–79.

<sup>43</sup> Llorenç Ferrer i Alòs, “The Diverse Growth of 18th-Century Catalonia: Proto-Industrialisation?,” *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012): 67–84.

<sup>44</sup> Alejandro Sánchez Suárez, *Indianes, 1736-1847: els orígens de la Barcelona industrial* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2013).

<sup>45</sup> Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Miquel Massot and Jeanne Vielliard, 1929, 3.

#### **4. Postcards, Drawings and Press Clippings: The Repertoire and the Utopia of the Total Photo Archive**

As Costanza Caraffa has shown, the potential of photography to record works of art was recognized almost immediately after its inception.<sup>46</sup> In the letter written to Miquel Massot in 1929, Puig claimed that the Repertoire aimed at documenting “all of Spain’s art.” The will to record the totality of the country’s artistic wealth echoes Oliver Wendell Holmes’ vision of a “total photo archive” in 1859.<sup>47</sup> This “utopia” was described by Greg Mitman and Kelley Wilder as a “documentary impulse” that emerged in the late nineteenth century, following the belief that photography and film had the capacity “to visually capture and order the world.”<sup>48</sup> Some characteristics of the Repertoire allow us to understand it as an outcome of that impulse: its broad geographical scope, the variety of objects surveyed, and the diversity of formats used to visually record them.

Even though it allegedly focussed on “Spain’s art,” the geography of the Repertoire fell well beyond the borders of the early-twentieth-century Spanish State. Puig and Martorell included, for instance, Iberian sites in present-day Portugal, as well as sites and objects from former Spanish colonial domains in America and in the Philippines. Even though the last of those colonies had been “lost” in the 1898 Spanish-American War, the Repertoire comprised dozens of examples of both indigenous and colonial artworks from those territories.<sup>49</sup> Thus, we find pre-Columbian sculpture from present-day Mexico, Peruvian ceramics, Philippine Baroque imaginary, and views of modern developments in

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<sup>46</sup> See Caraffa and Serena, *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation*; Caraffa, “From Photo Libraries to Photo Archives. On the Epistemological Potential of Art-Historical Photo Collections.”

<sup>47</sup> Caraffa, “From Photo Libraries to Photo Archives. On the Epistemological Potential of Art-Historical Photo Collections,” 21.

<sup>48</sup> Mitman and Wilder, “Introduction,” 1.

<sup>49</sup> For a historical discussion of this period, see Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1896-1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).



Philippine towns.<sup>50</sup> And, next to the lost territories, we also find the colonial interests of interwar Spain, namely the protectorate of northern Morocco (1912-1956). There are numerous files with photographs of local Moroccan clothing.<sup>51</sup> In addition to those, the Repertoire also includes images of Chinese vases, which were unrelated to the history of the expansion of the Spanish Empire, but were part of local private collections in Barcelona.<sup>52</sup> The list ends with an item that expands even more the realm of “Spanish art:” images of mountains, such as Montserrat or the Aneto peak, which featured in Puig’s original script as “landscapes with an artistic interest”.<sup>53</sup>

This large variety of geography and themes was gathered using very diverse visual means, suggesting the idea that the Repertoire served the purpose of inventorying everything “Spanish”, with all the means available. What were these means? Materially, the Repertoire was formed using a purposely-built set of cards and boxes. The measurements and the materials were explicitly designed to aid the consultation and the growth of the archive. A report presented by Puig and Martorell in 1915 tells us that cardboard boxes were chosen over wooden cupboards in order to make them lighter and easier to work with, and also because storing boxes in shelves would allow to “insert new boxes” whenever the number of cards made that necessary. The boxes measured 29 cm x 23 cm, which enabled an easy “handling and transportation.” In turn, the cards were double-sided and pre-printed with fill-in spaces in both Catalan and Spanish. They were 26 cm tall and 21 cm wide, and were designed allegedly following “international” models.<sup>54</sup> It is not specified what those “international” models may be, but the fact that

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<sup>50</sup> Repertori Iconogràfic d’Espanya, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, entry numbers 1971, 1279, 44.930 and 89553.

<sup>51</sup> For instance: Repertori Iconogràfic d’Espanya, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, entry number 83910.

<sup>52</sup> Repertori Iconogràfic d’Espanya, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, entry number 46449.

<sup>53</sup> Repertori Iconogràfic d’Espanya, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, entry number 81256. “Art Espanyol,” 29.

<sup>54</sup> Junta de Museus de Barcelona, “Expedient Assumpte delegació,” 9.

they were double-sided and pre-printed does echo some pre-existent examples, such as the cards that were used in the British Survey Movement.<sup>55</sup> The report claimed that, by September 1915, 250 boxes had been commissioned and 5,000 cards had already been printed.<sup>56</sup>

One of the sides of the cards included textual data about the artwork documented: its chronology, subject, the artistic school it belonged to, a list of bibliography, and the authorship of the image. The other surface presented a visual representation of the inventoried object or site, using a broad array of techniques, such as photographs, postcards, drawings, and clippings from books and newspapers. In doing so, the Repertoire brought together different visual techniques that had not always been regarded as equally suitable to document archaeological objects – in the late nineteenth century, for instance, many archaeologists preferred linear drawings over photographs, as they believed that the camera distorted objects and hindered analytical approaches to the study of antiquity.<sup>57</sup> A few examples of non-photographic visual representations in the Repertoire can be found in the sculpture of the Greek god Asclepius excavated in Empúries in 1909, which was depicted using clippings from the newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya* (Fig. 2a and Fig. 2b); a hand-drawn map illustrating the Iberian settlement of Vilallonc in Calaceit (Fig. 3a and Fig. 3b); and a page extracted from a book by the historian of architecture Vicente Lampérez used in a record of Numantia (Fig. 4a and 4b).

[Figure 2a].

[Figure 2b]

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<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian*.

<sup>56</sup> Junta de Museus de Barcelona, “Expedient Assumpte delegació,” 9.

<sup>57</sup> Stefanie Klamm, “‘Pictorial Silhouettes’ and Their Surroundings: Antique Sculpture and Archaeological Photography,” in *Photography and Sculpture: The Art Object in Reproduction*, ed. Sarah Hamill and Megan Luke (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2017), 52.

Books were in fact one of the preferred sources of images for Puig and Martorell as, in their view, they could provide “a large amount of images with little cost.”<sup>58</sup> In addition to those, purposely-made photographs were taken across Spain by a team led by the Barcelona-based photographer Adolf Mas. Photographic campaigns in the Peninsula included Navarra (1916-1918), Aragon and Valencia (1917-1919), Burgos and Asturias (1918), and Galicia (1919).<sup>59</sup>

[Figure 3a]

[Figure 3b]

These sets of textual and visual data not only provide information about the objects and sites inventoried in the Repertoire – they also tell us about the process of construction of the archive, and about the different political, cultural and epistemological contexts in which the files were inscribed.<sup>60</sup> As recent research has shown, the files that integrate photo archives are not mere images, but three-dimensional material objects, also called “photo-objects.”<sup>61</sup> Looking at images, mounts and textual data, but also at boxes and shelves, classification systems, as well as the practices of archivists allows us to understand these as “historically situated” actors.<sup>62</sup> While it is not the purpose of this article to explore the materiality of the Repertoire, it can be noted, for instance, that the existence of different handwritings in Fig. 2b, on the one hand, and Fig. 3b and 4b, on the other, points towards different archivists and different moments of construction of the archive.

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<sup>58</sup> Junta de Museus de Barcelona, “Expedient Assumpte delegació,” 10.

<sup>59</sup> The minutiae and dynamics of these campaigns have been studied in detail by Carmen Perrotta in her doctoral thesis: Perrotta, “De la toga a la cámara fotográfica,” 267–362.

<sup>60</sup> Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>61</sup> Julia Bärnighausen et al., eds., *Photo-Objects. On the Materiality of Photographs and Photo Archives in the Humanities and Sciences* (Berlin: Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, 2019).

<sup>62</sup> Joan M. Schwartz, “‘We Make Our Tools and Our Tools Make Us’: Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomats,” *Archivaria* 40 (1995): 40–74.

[Figure 4a]

[Figure 4b]

In a letter sent 30 years later, in 1943, the President of the Junta de la Exposición Francesc Cambó, used the word *dèria* to recall the project of gathering “the documented photographic reproductions of all the works of art in Spain”.<sup>63</sup> A *dèria*, in Catalan, is a personal obsession or mania, passionate and irrational. Cambó was aware that the project of the Repertoire was somehow irrational, and that the scope and wreath sought for the project were perhaps impossible to reach.

But irrationality was not the only obstacle encountered by Martorell, Puig and Cambó. The establishment of a military dictatorship by general Miguel Primo de Rivera in 1923 substantially transformed the course of the Repertoire. The team of the International Exhibition was changed entirely, and the event that eventually took place in 1929 had little in common with what the initiators had envisaged during the 1910s.

## **5. “El arte en España” and “Iberia primitiva” at the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition**

Originally, the Repertoire was intended to form the basis of a large display of Spanish art and history in Barcelona’s second International Exhibition. The Exhibition was initially expected to take place in 1917, then in 1918, and finally in 1922, but it was eventually delayed until 1929 due to the establishment of a military dictatorship by General Primo de Rivera in 1923. Puig, Cambó and the rest of the Lliga initially supported the coup, and Primo was favourable, at least in the beginning, to a regional organisation

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<sup>63</sup> Letter from Francesc Cambó to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 31 December 1943, UC 1184, ANC. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

of Spain.<sup>64</sup> But at the same time he regarded Catalan nationalism as a danger to the State's unity, and sought to reduce the prominence that Catalan leaders had had in Spanish politics during the previous years. Very quickly after the coup in September 1923, Primo began a process to recentralise Spain and downgrade the singularity of Catalonia within the State. He did so by reinforcing provincial and other sub-regional structures, and by minimising the role of regions, which he saw as a threat to the State.<sup>65</sup> In Catalonia, he first appointed a new president for the Mancomunitat, the non-nationalist Alfons Sala i Argemí (1863-1945), and eventually dissolved the institution in 1925. In this context, plans for an International Exhibition to be held in Barcelona continued, but with an entirely new team and goals.

As has been discussed, Puig believed that the Repertoire would have enabled original and methodical research into the history of Spain's heritage, and that this research would have fed into the curatorial discourse of the International Exhibition. When the Exhibition was finally inaugurated in 1929, it did include a display of Spanish art, with the title of "El arte en España" ("Art in Spain"). However, the core of the contents of "El arte en España" had little in common with the Repertoire or with Puig's and Martorell's initial conception, with the exception of a section on "Iberia primitiva" ("Primitive Iberia"), held at the basement of the exhibition building, the Palau Nacional ("National Palace"), and curated by Pere Bosch Gimpera.

The general curator of "El arte en España" was Manuel Gómez-Moreno (1870-1970), a Madrid-based archaeologist who was originally from Granada, in Andalusia. Since

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<sup>64</sup> On Puig's engagement with the dictatorship, see Josep Maria Roig Rosich, "La Dictadura de Primo de Rivera i el final de la Mancomunitat," in *Josep Puig i Cadafalch i la Mancomunitat de Catalunya*, ed. Joaquim Colominas Ferran (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2019), 97–117.

<sup>65</sup> Alejandro Quiroga, *Making Spaniards: Primo de Rivera and the Nationalization of the Masses, 1923-30* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 45–47.

1900, Gómez-Moreno had directed a survey of Spanish heritage called “Catálogo Monumental de España” (“Monumental Catalogue of Spain”), which had some similarities and some key differences with Puig’s and Martorell’s Repertoire.<sup>66</sup> Like the Repertoire, the Catalogue aimed at exhaustively recording Spain’s artistic heritage using modern photographic techniques. It also drew on the work of freelance photographers who carried out expeditions throughout the Peninsula. At times, the two projects even shared the same photographers: in the 1920s, Gómez-Moreno funded expeditions with Mas’s team in Salamanca and collaborated with his campaign in Andalusia.<sup>67</sup> However, there were also significant differences between the two archives.

Firstly, the Catalogue was not, despite its name, an actual archive, but a series of books. Each volume was devoted to a Spanish province, hence following a neat geographical organisation. A total of 43 volumes were begun, of which 39 were completed, but only 17 have been published, as books, up to this date. Secondly, the wreath of artistic types and motives were different in the Repertoire and in the Catalogue. Arguably, the Catalogue conveyed a more conventional interpretation of “heritage” than the Repertoire. Up until the first decade of the twentieth century, the concept of “heritage” was limited, in Spain, to the architectural remains of ancient and medieval periods. In line with that, the first volumes of the Catalogue remained mostly devoted to architectural monuments. In the 1910s, Martorell claimed that other types of cultural objects such as ivory works, medieval altarpieces, modern paintings, and examples of popular architecture should also be considered “heritage.”<sup>68</sup> The Repertoire incorporated this

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<sup>66</sup> The best study to date of the Catalogue is Amelia López-Yarto Elizalde, ed., *El Catálogo Monumental de España (1900-1961). Investigación, Restauración y Difusión* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte, Secretaría General Técnica, 2011).

<sup>67</sup> Perrotta, “De la toga a la cámara fotográfica,” 387–92.

<sup>68</sup> Alfonso Muñoz Cosme, “Catálogos e inventarios del Patrimonio en España,” in *El Catálogo Monumental de España (1900-1961). Investigación, restauración y difusión*, ed. Amelia López-Yarto Elizalde (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte, Secretaría General Técnica, 2011), 17–19.

broader perspective since its inception, in 1915, while the volumes of the Catalogue only expanded their scope in the 1920s. The last difference between the two has to do with the fact that the geographical scope of the Catalogue was strictly limited to the provinces that formed the Spanish State during the first half of the twentieth century and, unlike the Repertoire, it showed no trace of the former overseas colonies or of the Catalan Roussillon. Work began for a volume to be produced on Tétouan, at the time the capital of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco in northern Africa (1912-1956), but it was never completed.<sup>69</sup>

The Repertoire and the Catalogue presented conflicting views of the nature and characteristics of Spain's artistic heritage, which in turn reflected historiographical and ideological disagreements. Some of these conflicts are visible in the introduction to the volume of the Catalogue devoted to the province of Barcelona, finalised (but never published) in 1913. There, the author Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos (1849-1917) presents an extensive critique of the historiographical approach of Catalan authors like Puig who, he says, suffered from an "insatiable desire for superiority" which would lead them to justify, through "strayed" research, the singularity of Catalan art in the Spanish context. He continues by stating that "everything seems to be, for them, in Catalonia [...]. There is nothing in the rest of Spain that interests them."<sup>70</sup> But Amador's claims were not entirely true: the project of the Repertoire shows that Puig and Martorell had an "interest" in Spain, even though this interest was conflicting in nature with Amador's own. The conflict had to do with the articulation of different narratives of the history of Spanish art. Despite what Amador believed, the goal of Puig and Martorell was not to build a history of Catalan art that was separate from the Spanish context, but to present an alternative

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>70</sup> Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *Catálogo de los monumentos históricos y artísticos de la provincia de Barcelona*, unpublished, 1913, 9–10. I am grateful to Isabel Ordieres for making me aware of this material.

reading of Spanish art as a whole, one that was “written” from the periphery and not from the centre.

In the end, however, Puig’s and Martorell’s efforts did not bear fruit. “El arte en España,” the display of Spanish art that was part of the 1929 Exhibition, did not take into account the work of the Repertoire. Contemporaneous reviewers argued that “El arte en España” was a chaotic mixture of pieces from different time periods and with different formats, in which “it was impossible to understanding anything.”<sup>71</sup> Puig was also notoriously disappointed by it, and argued that the display seemed a “rich and colossal exhibition of antiquities in the house of a sumptuous merchant.”<sup>72</sup> The exhibition’s catalogue provides a glimpse of what “El arte en España” might have actually looked like. Through a total of 764 pages, the book aseptically lists the thousands of objects that were displayed in each of the 47 seven rooms of the exhibition. The sections bear no titles other than the room number, which can make it difficult, at first glance, to know what type of objects were displayed in each room. Still, it can be inferred that the exhibition had two layers of organisation: first, there was a chronological organisation: classical, medieval, and modern art. The second layer was geographical, but this was not a geography of places, but of institutions: objects were not distributed according to the places where they had been found, but according to the museums in which they were kept. This gave a clear pre-eminence to the museums of the capital, Madrid. For instance, in the rooms devoted to Roman art, visitors would first encounter objects coming from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (“National Archaeological Museum”) in Madrid, and then objects

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<sup>71</sup> Cited in 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*, ed. Ignasi de Solà-Morales (Barcelona: L’Avenç, 1980), 52.

<sup>72</sup> Puig i Cadafalch, “L’exhibició de l’Art d’Espanya a l’Exposició de Barcelona”, 2.



belonging to other regional collections.<sup>73</sup> The scope of objects included was broad, and besides painting and sculpture, there were numerous examples of textiles, metal work, furniture, musical instruments and even weapons. According to the catalogue, the final rooms of the exhibition displayed hundreds of historical documents, including letters, stand-alone signatures, governmental documents, and nobility titles.<sup>74</sup> Whereas “El arte en España” was similar to the Repertoire insofar it had a very broad, arguably gargantuan, scope, it differed from it inasmuch as it erased the Repertoire’s focus on Spain’s peripheral regions, and placed Madrid and the state’s institutions at the centre of the curatorial discourse.

Despite the scarce similarities between “El arte en España” and the project of the Repertoire, some of its key ideas, particularly those connected to Iberian culture, were at least partially reflected in the section of the exhibition devoted to “Iberia primitiva” (“Primitive Iberia”) and curated by Bosch. In the introduction to the catalogue, Bosch stated that Iberian civilization was “one of the most notable of non-classical Antiquity,” and that it was an object of “pride for Spain.”<sup>75</sup> He also declared that the “primitive era” saw the formation of what he calls, in plural, “the Spanish peoples,” thus echoing his views on the connection between ancient cultures and present-day national groups, as well as Prat’s, Puig’s and Cambó’s belief that Spain was formed by a plurality of cultures.<sup>76</sup> The exhibition followed a three-age system organization. There were a total of six rooms devoted, respectively, to Palaeolithic and rock art (two rooms); the Neolithic and early Bronze Age periods; the Bronze Age period; Iberian civilisation; and

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<sup>73</sup> Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El Arte en España: Guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Eugenio Subirana, 1929), 15–41.

<sup>74</sup> Gómez-Moreno, 620–83.

<sup>75</sup> Pere Bosch Gimpera, *El arte en España. Guía de la sección España primitiva del museo del Palacio Nacional* (Barcelona: Herma, 1929), 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

the Phoenician-Carthaginian and Greek colonisations. A final section, placed in the hall, addressed, briefly, the Roman period.<sup>77</sup> In the catalogue, the section devoted to Iberian culture encompassed 54 pages of a total of 194. It used a geographical scope that was similar to that of the Repertoire: it focussed on Iberian remains along the Mediterranean coast: from Catalonia to Lower Aragon, the Valencian provinces and Murcia, and had a second focus on Numantia and Andalusia. And many of the sites depicted, such as Vilallonc, Tossal de les Tenalles and Puig Castellar, had also been featured in the original Repertoire.<sup>78</sup> “Iberia primitiva” also displayed numerous pieces from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, such as the several sculptures from Cerro de los Santos, which had been listed in the initial script of the Repertoire.<sup>79</sup>

Several elements of the initial Repertoire were present in the 1929 Exhibition thanks to “Iberia primitiva”, which drew on the continuity of Bosch’s work before and after Primo’s 1923 coup. However, those elements only featured tangentially in the discourse of the Exhibition, as “Iberia primitiva” was hosted in the basement of the Palau Nacional, while “El arte en España” took up the central space. The marginalisation of the Repertoire and of the epistemological and political ideas that it embodied echo the marginalisation of Catalan nationalism during Primo’s dictatorship. Arguably, “El arte en España” not only served Primo’s purpose of promoting a narrative of the State that underlined national unity instead of regional diversity, but it also exemplified the exclusion of those Catalan nationalist voices from the construction of discourses about the Spanish State.

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<sup>77</sup> The catalogue includes a table of contents that provides detail on the sections and subsections of the exhibition. *Ibid.*, 195-197.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 107–8, 130–33, 138.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 113–15.

## 6. Conclusions

The Iconographic Repertoire of Spain was never completed nor materialised in the form of an exhibition, but its study offers a privileged insight into the interplay of culture and politics in early-twentieth-century Catalonia. The Repertoire attempted to reimagine Spain's artistic traditions just as the Lliga Regionalista, Josep Puig i Cadafalch's political party, hoped to regenerate and transform the Spanish State. It offered an alternative reading of the canon of Spanish art by placing the centre of its development in the periphery, in an arch formed by Andalusia and the Mediterranean coast. Iberian culture, and particularly the work devoted to it by Pere Bosch Gimpera, played a crucial role in this process. Following Enric Prat de la Riba, Bosch believed that modern national groups could be traced back to primitive cultures and, in his view, the study of Iberian culture revealed the ancestral origin of the Catalan people. In the context of the Repertoire, the focus on Iberian culture reinforced the idea that the Catalan-speaking regions of the Mediterranean coast had been central to the development of Spain's art. In doing so, the Repertoire provided "visual substance" to the political goals of the Lliga Regionalista, which sought to define, from the periphery, the renovation of the Spanish state. Both the projects of the Lliga and of the Repertoire were put on halt with Primo's coup d'état in 1923. Puig resigned as President of the Mancomunitat, and while the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition featured a display of Spain's art history, this was very different from what Puig and Martorell had initially planned.

There is still much research to be done to reach a more exhaustive understanding of the epistemological, cultural and political significance of the Repertoire. This article has presented the connections of the archive with the cultural politics of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya and with the Catalanist ideology of the Lliga Regionalista, paying particular attention to the role played by archaeological objects and archaeological practice in this

process. This contribution will hopefully be a steppingstone for future in-depth research on the Repertoire. The major part of the archive, held at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya and covering artistic objects and spaces of different kinds, has only been tackled tangentially in this article. In this regard, the imperialist reading of Spanish heritage presented in the Repertoire has deliberately been beyond the scope of this research. Future investigations on this topic could provide new insights into how colonial imaginaries were present in the symbolical articulation of not only Spain's, but also Catalonia's identities well into the second decade of the twentieth century. Another line of enquiry lies in the exploration of the materialities of the Repertoire, something that has been merely outlined in this article, and that could reveal important information about the personal, professional, epistemological and historical contexts in which the archive was built. In addition to that, an intellectual history of the Repertoire could cast light on the local and international influences that shaped its development and its organisation techniques. Moreover, a comparative study of how the Repertoire and the Catalogue represented specific geographical areas or stylistic periods could yield valuable information about the differing (or converging) ways in which Madrid- and Barcelona-based elites conceived modern Spain. These prospective lines of research will most certainly be aided by the current process of digitalisation of the files of the Repertoire currently in process at both the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya and the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya. Studying the Repertoire, now and in the future, will enhance our understanding of the ways in which visual repertoires classified artistic objects, shaped art historical knowledge, and contributed to imagine modern nations.

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