



Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich, *German Pavilion of the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition, Barcelona, Spain, 1929, Reconstruction, 1986.* © Pepo Segura, courtesy *Fundació Mies van der Rohe.*

The Sequence of Mies van der Rohe in Barcelona: the German Pavilion as Part of a much Larger Industrial Presence

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The German Pavilion for the *1929 Barcelona International Exhibition* was part of a much larger exhibiting sequence, which Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich constructed following their main undertaking in the Barcelona industrial exhibits: to design the entire German section. By the time Mies van der Rohe started the project of the German Pavilion, he had already been working for more than 4 months on the construction of the identity and representation of the strength of the German industrial fabric, which he would architecturally express in the interior design of 8 neoclassical palaces. Hence, the two most innovative architectural elements of the German Pavilion – the milky color double-glazed wall and the chrome-plated cross-shaped posts – can be traced back to the interiors of these palaces. The 16,000 m² of industrial exhibits, not reconstructed in 1986, form today the immaterial heritage that underpins the historical relevance of the Barcelona Pavilion. 3 documents, including a sequence from the official exhibition film, preserve the order linking the range of Mies van der Rohe's work in Barcelona and broaden the historical meaning of one of the most important works of architectural modernism.

The recent celebration of the 30th anniversary of the German Pavilion's reconstruction (1986-2016) has offered an opportunity to reassess the range of the work that Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) and Lilly Reich (1885-1947) carried out for the *1929 Barcelona International Exhibition*. The goal of this article is to trace the origin, interpret the work developed from May 1928 to May 1929, and reveal the project of the German Pavilion as part of a much broader exhibiting sequence, which Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich constructed in line with their main task of designing the entire German section of the Barcelona industrial exhibits¹.

The Commission

In September 26, 1928, after a long process of diplomatic affairs between the two countries, Germany would finally accept the challenge proposed by Spain to build a small national representative pavilion. As the agreement signed between Santiago Trías (chair of the executive committee of the exhibition in Barcelona) and baron George von Schnitzler (general commissar of Germany) states, the executive committee of the exhibition would put a total of 16,000 m² distributed in different palaces – and free of charge – at the disposal of the German general commissar, while the latter would be willing to “build a representative pavilion of their country... of a surface between 200 and 300 m²”. Hence, the contract Mies van der Rohe signed with von Schnitzler in November 12, 1928, included – besides the architectural development of the German Pavilion –, what had originally been commissioned to Mies van der Rohe at the end of May:

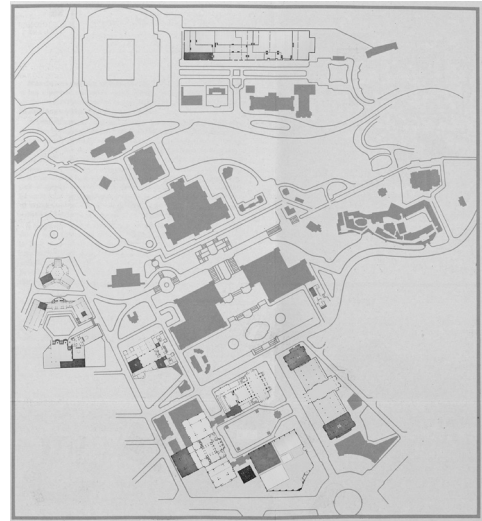
the architectural design of the area the German industries would occupy in various palaces and the furniture and complete formation of the exhibition stands³.

As the contract, agreement, and exchange of correspondence reveals, Mies van der Rohe was appointed to be in charge of the entire German industrial section 4 months before the commission to build the German Pavilion. In June 1, 1928, 3 days after the official notification of Germany's commitment to participate in the world fair (and the appointment of von Schnitzler, general manager of the IG Farben, as the general commissar), Enrique D. Rodiño (attaché of the Spanish Embassy in Berlin), announced to Trías that “Germany had already selected the architect to be in charge of the entire German section”⁴. From June to September, before any decision about the construction of a national pavilion was made, Mies van der Rohe undertook two trips from Berlin to Barcelona.

The goal of the first trip, which Mies van der Rohe did alone in June 7, was to choose the spaces that Germany would occupy inside each of the given palaces, and to find the most visually privileged positions for several companies, including Deutsche Seide and IG Farben⁵. As Rodiño insisted, this first visit of Mies van der Rohe was of a “pure technical character”⁶. During his site exploration, Mies van der Rohe would find that, regardless of his project, the experience of the German industrial exhibits would inexorably be fragmented throughout the exhibition grounds of *Montjuïc*. The number of palaces in which the German industries would be on display (eleven in the beginning, eight at



01 Manuel Casas and Manuel Puig, Decorative and Industrial Arts Palace, Barcelona, Spain, 1929. Interior view. Under construction. © AFB, *Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona*, February 14, 1929.



02 1929 *Barcelona International Exhibition*, Spain. Plan of the German section with the addition of the interior plans of the different palaces. © Collage by Laura Martínez de Guereñu, from the official catalog.

the end) was distributed over more than 118 hectares along the hill. The stylistic diversity of the still-unfinished neoclassical palaces was also apparent: Ionian columns supporting entablatures and skylights alternated with barrel vaults standing on slender steel pillars; articulated metallic portals were mixed with concrete structures of cross-shaped and fluted posts (figure 01). Additionally, the fact that the German industries would occupy only part of the area of these palaces (since they would be mixed with the sections of other nations) still augmented the potential for a disintegrated appreciation. Thus, for Mies van der Rohe, trying to find the best position for the German industries inside each of these given structures – and in relation to an overall contribution in the entire exhibition ground – was paramount.

Mies van der Rohe made his second trip to Barcelona in September 20, in the company of Lilly Reich, von Schnitzler and Luis Mathies (general commissar of exhibitions and fairs). This trip was the official German visit “to finalize certain details related to their contribution”⁷. By that time, the German commissars already had an approximate idea of the diverse companies that were going to participate – August 27 had been the deadline for all the national companies interested in sending products to Barcelona⁸ – and they could anticipate the amount of square meters they would need for each discrete industry⁹. Therefore, the aforementioned agreement (from September 26 between Trias and von Schnitzler) listed the anticipated square meters that Spain would make available to Germany in each of the palaces¹⁰, and in return, stated the final acceptance of Germany to build a representative pavilion of their country, suggesting however an alternative site for it¹¹.

It could be argued that the reason Germany was able to propose another location for the pavilion was that Mies van der Rohe had already been working on the general project of the industrial exhibits for at least four months¹², and consequently, knew the site of the *Montjuïc* exhibition

grounds quite well. When the decision to build a pavilion was made, Mies van der Rohe had already been to Barcelona twice and had been involved in the decision of the placement of the German sections inside each of the palaces. This background endowed Mies van der Rohe with the ability to anticipate the best position for the pavilion in relation to the wide-ranging experience of the German presence in the exhibition grounds. Thus, the change of site (from the main axis of the exhibition grounds to one of the sides on the way to the *Pueblo Español*) reinforces the hypothesis that Mies van der Rohe considered the pavilion as part of a much broader – and consistent – German presence.

Consistency across Pavilions and Palaces

Germany could not waste this big opportunity. It was their first invitation to be part of an international exhibition after the defeat of WWI. On one hand, Germany saw Spain as an export bridge to Latin America and thought that many of the visitors of the Ibero-American Exposition of Seville (which would take place at the same time) would probably extend their trip to Barcelona¹³. On the other hand, their presence in the 1929 *Barcelona International Exhibition* was critical to be able to represent the recovered strength of their industrial fabric and economy ten years after the end of WWI. The display of more than 16,000 m² of German industries¹⁴ – spatially organizing thousands of industrial products – implied the search for the identity of the German industrial fabric. Hence, Mies van der Rohe would need to find a way to architecturally express what made that identity distinctive, both in the areas of the palaces to be occupied by particular national industries and in an empty and singular national pavilion.

In order to reveal an identity in contrast to other countries, it was necessary to link the dispersed industrial areas in a consistent sequence across palaces and to make the

national pavilion part of that sequence. Hence, Mies van der Rohe did not envision the pavilion only as a representative space for the opening ceremonial reception. Mies van der Rohe conceived the German Pavilion as the starting point of a sequence that would go across the interiors of the eight neoclassical palaces (figure 02), where the German industries would be on display, in addition to the trade pavilion of electrical supply that several electric companies would build¹⁵. In fact, the two most innovative architectural elements of the German Pavilion – the milky color double-glazed wall and the chrome-plated cross-shaped posts – can be traced back to the interiors of these palaces. One of the elements had been thoroughly and consistently designed across the separate exhibits; the other one was part of the structure of the given buildings and had been left bare.

The vitrines (both in the form of mobile pieces of furniture and portions of equipment thickening the existing walls) are the architectural elements that Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich developed most, to camouflage the stylistic features of the heterogeneous interiors of the neoclassical palaces and to set up a mark of distinction from the sections of other countries. In some of these palaces, Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich concealed the original walls and absorbed the columns (of varying classical orders) in white-painted wood paneling; such is the case of the Chemical Industries section of the Electricity and Motive Force Palace, the Textile Industries Palace, and the Decorative and Industrial Arts Palace. In other interior spaces, Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich left the original walls bare and placed the emphasis on the design of horizontal and vertical vitrines of glass and chrome-plated profiles; such is the case of the Machine section of the Electricity and Motive Force Palace, the Communications and Transport Palace and the Graphic Arts Palace. As opposed to Germany, most of the countries used highly ornamented prefabricated vitrines and stands, which, rather than transforming the given spaces, added an additional layer of confusion into the already varied styles. The many drawings (plans, sections, elevations, details) and photographs of the German sections preserved today in different archives reveal the modern and distinctive quality of the vitrines designed by Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich.

The highly-detailed sections of these vitrines designed for the display of dissimilar industrial products, reveal a striking formal similarity with the only surviving horizontal section of the double-glazed white-milk skylight (the single vertical vitrine of chrome-plated mullions) of the German Pavilion. As there were no industrial products to be exhibited, Mies van der Rohe conceived it as a vitrine of light dividing two worlds: an interior, with the Barcelona chairs, where the Spanish Royal family would be able to sit during the opening ceremony, and the exterior, with a long travertine bench running perpendicularly at the bottom of the enclosing wall, where visitors could sit in order to look towards the exhibition grounds. The vitrine of light acquired the width of the module of the pavement (110 cm), and a total length of almost 9 meters, with a single central mullion (figure 06). 3 other contrasting kinds of transparent glass intensified the

complexity and the optical effects of the interior. A grey glass divided into 10 elements filtered the view towards the garden; another glass in green, divided into 8 elements, separated the interior space from the pool; and an uncolored one, divided into 3 elements, shaped the entrance.

The fluted cross-shaped columns of the Electricity and Motive Force Palace, both in the Chemical and the Machine section, were some of the few structural elements that Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich left bare, without any kind of covering. In September 1928, Mies van der Rohe had already shown an interest in the structure of this precise palace¹⁶, in which the intense continuity of concavities and convexities and the accumulation of lines of the vertical supports, envisioned the way the structural weight was transported vertically. Two years earlier, in 1926, Mies van der Rohe had revealed – both in these writings and underlinings of Romano Guardini's text – his tireless search for a vehicle of expression of man's dominion over the forces of nature, and his confidence in technology to offer a formal abstraction that could hold the spirit of the building art¹⁷. Already in 1922, with the skin of his skyscrapers, Mies van der Rohe had multiplied the vertical lines that stress the representation of gravity. In his work in the interiors of the Electricity and Motive Force palace in Barcelona, the uncovered structure of stiffened beams and roof openings of the Machine section contrasted with the wall paneling and the hanging roof of fabric bands of the Chemical section. However, in both cases the fluted cross-shaped columns were left freestanding among the stands of the different industries (figure 04).

In the German Pavilion, Mies van der Rohe decided to form the steel posts out of four equivalent dihedrals (with 4 L- and 4 T- profiles) that converged in a central point and were able to create a two-directional, isotropic structure¹⁸. By this means, Mies van der Rohe managed to address the relationship of the Pavilion with the palace of Victoria Eugenia and the stairs that came from the *Pueblo Español*, as well as to reduce the columns to dimensionless points. Mies van der Rohe's innovation consisted in the covering of a supporting element with chrome-plated steel, something he had already done in his mullions, vitrines and furniture¹⁹. In the posts of the German Pavilion, Mies van der Rohe folded the chrome-plated steel in a continuous sequence of concave and convex sides, which multiplied the accumulation of vertical lines, while amplifying the scope of their perception, from creating an emphasis on their load-bearing function up to their total disappearance in space.

The Opening Sequence

The consistency and distinctive identity of the entire German presence, pursued and constructed by Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich during the development of the project, is clearly revealed in the sequence of spaces visited by the Royal retinue on May 27, 1929 (figure 05). The fact that the cortege of Spanish and German authorities continued their stroll across the industrial sections after the opening reception, along with the formal consistency revealed by the sequence of spaces comprising that promenade, underpins the idea that Mies van der Rohe himself constructed the

sequence in which to integrate the German Pavilion. Today, 3 specific documents of restricted access preserve the order of this sequence and situate the origin of the German Pavilion in the design of the industrial exhibits inside the neoclassical palaces.

One of the documents registering the opening sequence is the entry of May 28 at the daily report of the *International Exhibition*²⁰, today kept at the contemporary archive of the city of Barcelona. According to this document, after the reception at the German Pavilion, the visit continued through the Chemical section and the Machine section (the northern and southern sides of the Electricity and Motive Force Palace), the Communications and Transport Palace, the trade pavilion of electric supply, the Textile Industries Palace and the Decorative and Industrial Arts Palace. Another, is the article “*Inauguración del pabellón y sección de Alemania. El acto oficial*”²¹ [Opening of the Pavilion and German Section. Official Act] published in the *Diario Oficial de la Exposición Internacional de Barcelona* [Official Diary of the Barcelona International Exhibition] on June 2, 1929, today kept at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. And the third and most revealing one is the film-sequence devoted to the German presence at the *International Exhibition* in the official motion picture directed by Ramón de Baños²², today part of the collection of the *Filmoteca de Catalunya*. This 2-minute-46-second-sequence reveals the German Pavilion as the starting point of an attentive promenade across the unequal industrial exhibition spaces, beginning at

the two sections of the Electricity and Motive Force Palace and continuing toward the Communications and Transport Palace. A recent old film recovery work includes other scenes of the same spaces and an additional one showing a current of people leaving the *Deutsche Seide* section of the Textile Industries Palace²³.

Several archives preserve images of the inauguration day in which Mies van der Rohe is seen at the German Pavilion (waiting for the Royal retinue, approaching the office building with them or enjoying a relaxed talk with King Alfonso XIII in front of the double-glazed wall), as well as the Royal retinue itself indulging the flow of space at the German Pavilion, lingering on some of the products of the German industry in varied palaces, or going across the exhibition grounds from one palace to the next. However, compared to individual photographs, the importance of these two films as well as these two documents relies on their ability to register the sequence of spaces carefully constructed by Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich. The sequence reveals an aesthetic continuity (the consistency and the distinctive identity that Mies van der Rohe searched for) across the refurbished spaces of the neoclassical palaces, having the German Pavilion at the final point of the development of the project, and at the starting point of the visitor’s experience at the same time.

The itinerary followed by the Royal retinue – and the unfolding of diverse spaces in sequence – reveals an equivalent treatment of the architectural elements of the German

03 Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich, German Pavillion of the 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition, Barcelona, Spain, 1929. Reconstruction, 1986. © Rafael Vargas, courtesy *Fundació Mies van der Rohe*.



04 Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich, German Pavillion of the *1929 Barcelona International Exhibition*, 1929, Barcelona, Spain. View of the concrete structure of the Machine section of the Electricity and Motive Force Palace during the opening ceremony. © *Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, AFB*.



05 Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich, German Pavillion of the *1929 Barcelona International Exhibition*, 1929, Barcelona, Spain. Mies van der Rohe following the sequence of spaces as part of the Royal retinue. Above, Mies van der Rohe going through the pool courtyard of the pavilion. © Film shot from *Las exposiciones de 1929, I. Sevilla y la Exposición Iberoamericana*, Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura. Junta de Andalucía, 2009. Below, Mies van der Rohe entering the Chemical section of the Electricity and Motive Force Palace. © Film shot from *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona*. CINAES- Ramón de Baños 1929-1930, Filmoteca de Catalunya.



06 Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich, German Pavillion of the *1929 Barcelona International Exhibition*, 1929, Barcelona, Spain. Mies van der Rohe and King Alfonso XIII during the opening ceremony. © *Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, ANC*, Josep Sagarra i Plana.



Pavilion and the refurbished palaces, whether they were the glazed vitrines and walls of chrome-plated mullions or the cross-shaped columns in concrete or chromed-plated steel. Linear meters of freestanding or built-in vitrines tested in the palaces, shaped the vertical planes of the German Pavilion. Uncovered cross-shaped (and fluted) concrete columns found at the palaces were at the origin of the chrome-plated cross-shaped steel posts.

Coda

The square meters of *Barcelona International Exhibition* that were not reconstructed in 1986, form today the immaterial heritage that holds the relevance and significance of the German Pavilion. In 1929, the *Barcelona International Exhibition* contributed to the representation of Germany's industrial strength and distinctive character on the international scene. Today, the understanding of the full range of the task that Mies van der Rohe received in Barcelona, and the re-construction – by means of documents – of the sequence that Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich curated across the entire German section, reveals the German Pavilion as part of a much bigger fabric.

The documents that register the opening sequence, the dozens of photographs and more than 40 drawings deposited in particular archives²⁴, not yet available to the general public, grant the integrity of the preservation of an important work in the history of architectural modernism, which was even considered by some the “most beautiful building” of the 20th century²⁵. Today, it would not make sense, as it did not in 1986, to materially re-construct the 16,000 m² of interior spaces that lay at the origin of the Barcelona Pavilion. However, to study and to bring to light the many other documents (papers, drawings, photographs, films), which preserve the spatial qualities of these interior spaces, is crucial so that the work that stands today – and forms part of our contemporary built environment – can fully communicate its historical meaning.

Notes

- 1 Many studies have already shown that the German Pavilion was not conceived as an isolated abstract object without attention to site. See Wolf Tegetthof, “Barcelona Pavilion”, in *Mies van der Rohe: The Villas and Country Houses*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1985, 69-86; Cristina Gastón, “El Pabellón de Alemania en la Exposición Internacional de Barcelona 1928-1929”, in *Mies: el Proyecto como Revelación del Lugar*, Barcelona, Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2005, 31-80. The goal of this paper however is to demonstrate that Mies van der Rohe “constructed” an exhibiting sequence that linked the German Pavilion with the palaces distributed in the exhibiting grounds.
- 2 AAPAB C1. Contract between George von Schnitzler and Santiago Trias, September 26, 1928. Albeitung II, R90140028, 130-132 (Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv, Berlin).
- 3 AAPAB C2. Contract between George von Schnitzler and Mies van der Rohe, November 12, 1928. Albeitung II, R240030, 101-103 (Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv, Berlin).
- 4 MoMA A&D C1. Letter from Enrique Domínguez Rodiño, Berlin, to Santiago Trias, Barcelona, June 1 1928 (Museum of Modern Art, Architecture & Design Department, Mies van der Rohe Archive, New York).
- 5 Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich had been planning the international staging of Deutsche Seide for months, for whom they had designed the Café Samt & Seide in Berlin. IG Farben was one of the six most important companies of the entire Germany, devoted to the artificial production of color for every kind of applications and industries and that had yielded their general manager, baron George von Schnitzler,

- to take the role of the general commissar.
- 6 MoMA A&D C2. Letter from Enrique Domínguez Riaño, Berlin, to Santiago Trias, Barcelona. June 4, 1928 (Museum of Modern Art, Architecture & Design Department, Mies van der Rohe Archive, New York).
- 7 The first paragraph of the contract between von Schnitzler and Mies van der Rohe (November 12, 1928) clearly states that Mies van der Rohe would “carry out the work described in [that] contract together with Lilly Reich”. Lilly Reich traveled to Barcelona on the official visit of Germany in September 20, 1928, and her name and her credit as an architect (and not as an artistic director of the exhibitions) was registered in the *Daily Report of the International Exhibition*: “A few days ago (...) the architects Mr. Mies van der Rohe and Mrs. Lilly Reich (...) had an interview with the directors of the contest, in order to ultimate certain details related to the German contribution to Barcelona”. See ACB C1, *Daily Report of the International Exhibition*, October 10, 1928, “The main German industrial companies will be part of the contest” (*Arxiu Contemporani de Barcelona, Fons Institucional Exposició Internacional del 1929*). Although the nomination of the German Government of the architect in charge of the entire German section of the 1929 *Barcelona International Exhibition* was individually placed to Mies van der Rohe at the end of May 1928, both Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich attended the meeting celebrated in Berlin in June 2, 1928, with the committee of the *Deutsche Seide*, to evaluate the estimate of the individual exhibition they were going to design for them in Barcelona. Thus, it is very probable that once the German Government decided to build a national pavilion as part of their contribution in Barcelona and Mies van der Rohe's commission increased in complexity, the responsibility of the industrial exhibits was geared towards Reich. In fact, a conversation of 1976 between Ludwig Glaeser, curator of the Museum of Modern Art at the time, and Graffin Reichstag, secretary of Mies van der Rohe's office in Barcelona 1929, reveals that in the overall work of Barcelona, it was very difficult to distinguish “the ratio of Mies to Reich”. See CCA 1. Ludwig Glaeser in conversation with Graffin Reichstag. Stuttgart, June 1, 1976. Transcribed tapes (Canadian Center for Architecture, CCA, Montreal).
- 8 BA DAM 1. *Internationale Ausstellung*, Barcelona, 1929. *Deutsche Abteilung, Ausstellungs-Bestimmungen*, 1928 (*BundesArchiv, Deutsches Ausstellungs und Messeamt*). As this document reads, the General commissar announced that they would be in charge of the expenses of the artistic direction assigned to the architect, the local office, the pavement, the uniformity of signage and the seats of the stands. The exhibiting industries would only need to be in charge of the assembly – and eventually the special equipment – of their company.
- 9 The official guide distinguishes between 24 different sections divided in 8 palaces. See vv. AA, *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona 1929: Catálogo Oficial de la Sección Alemana*, Berlin, Reichsdr, 1929. German version: *Internationale Ausstellung Barcelona 1929. Die Deutsche Abteilung*, Berlin, Reichsdr, 1929.
- 10 750 m² in the Work Palace, 1800 m² in the Electricity and Motive Force Palace, 800 m² in the Projections Palace, 4000 m² in the Communications and Transport Palace, an option of 3000 m² in the Textiles Palace, 1500 m² in the Decorative Arts Palace; 1500 m² in the Agriculture palace; 680 m² in the Graphic Arts Palace, 120 m² in the Constructions Palace; 375 m² in the Sports Material Palace, and 400 m² in the Palace of Victoria Eugenia.
- 11 The general commissar stated that he “would see with satisfaction if they would assign them the site of the ‘Plaza de Bellas Artes’”. AAPAB C1. Contract between George von Schnitzler and Santiago Trias, September 26, 1928. *Albeitung II*, R90140028, 130-132 (*Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv*, Berlin).
- 12 It is possible that Mies van der Rohe had been working for the *Deutsche Seide* even from an earlier time. This is how it can be explained that on June 1928, the day after the official announcement of Mies van der Rohe appointment as an architect in charge of the German section in Barcelona, Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich celebrated a meeting in Berlin with one of the directors of the consortium of the *Deutsche Seide*, in order to estimate the costs of the individual exhibition that they were going to design for them in Barcelona. MoMA A&D C3. Minutes of the meeting of June 2, 1928, between Mr. Rosebaum, Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich (Museum of Modern Art, Architecture & Design Department, Mies van der Rohe Archive, New York).
- 13 AAPAB C3. Letter of the Spanish Consulate in Barcelona to the German Foreign Affairs Ministry, February 15, 1927 (entry stamp from February 21), R240027, 0028-31 (*Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv*, Berlin).

- 14 Although Germany spent months making the decision to participate in the 1929 *Barcelona International Exhibition*, which led to an intense diplomatic relationship between the two countries, in the end Germany became the country with the most extensive industrial presence in Barcelona. See in this regard Valentín Trillo, *Mies en Barcelona: Arquitectura, Representación y Memoria*. Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla (PhD dissertation), 2016: <https://idus.us.es/xmlui/handle/11441/45763>.
- 15 The Electric Supplies Pavilion was a trade pavilion that the Germans built in Barcelona, between the Communications and Transport Palace and the Textile Palace, which was fully financed by the exhibiting electrical companies, as opposed to the national Pavilion, that was fully financed by the general commissar. See AAPAB C4. Final costs of the exhibitions by Palaces and Pavilions. October 3, 1929, R240030, 110 (*Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv, Berlin*).
- 16 MoMA A&D C4. Letter of the chair of the executive committee of the exhibition in Barcelona, Santiago Triás, to Enrique D. Rodiño. Barcelona, October 3 1928 (Museum of Modern Art, Architecture & Design Department, Mies van der Rohe Archive, New York).
- 17 Fritz Neumeyer, "Architecture for the Search for Knowledge: The Double Way to Order", in *The Artless Word. Mies van der Rohe on the Building Art*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts/ London, England, 1991, 195-236.
- 18 Dietrich Neumann, "An Accidental Masterpiece. The Barcelona Pavilion in Context", in *Mies van der Rohe - Barcelona, 1929. Symposium* (October 14, 2016). According to Neuman, Mies van der Rohe's chrome-plated cross-shaped columns made their first appearance in another ephemeral exhibition he was designing at the same time as Barcelona: the Linoleum Information Stand of the Leipzig Building Fair, which took place in March 1929.
- 19 The cross-shaped sections themselves could be found in any manual of steel construction of the end of the 19th century. One example is C Kersten's book from 1917, which was translated into Spanish by B. Bassegoda Musté in 1929. C Kersten, *Empleo del Hierro en la Construcción*, Ediciones Canosa, Barcelona, 1929.
- 20 ACB C2. *Daily Report of the International Exhibition*, May 28, 1929. Register of the Opening Sequence (*Arxiu Contemporani de Barcelona, Fons Institucional Exposició Internacional del 1929*). Box 47103.
- 21 "Inauguración del Pabellón y sección de Alemania. El acto oficial", *Diario Oficial*, n. 12, June 2 1929, 14-15.
- 22 "Sequence 14. Opening of the German section of the Barcelona International Exhibition", in *Exposició Internacional de Barcelona. CINAES- Ramón de Baños 1929-1930*, Filmoteca de Catalunya, Index number: 17175. v/01.
- 23 Begoña Soto Vázquez, *Las Exposiciones de 1929, 1. Sevilla y la Exposición Iberoamericana*, Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía, 2009.
- 24 The Mies van der Rohe Archive at the Architecture and Design Department of the Museum of Modern Art New York holds 28 plans of the Barcelona Pavilion and 41 plans of the Industrial Exhibits. A low-resolution scan can be found at *The Mies van der Rohe Archive: [an illustrated catalogue of the Mies van der Rohe drawings in the Museum of Modern Art]*, Garland Publishing, 1986.
- 25 Philip Johnson stated in his lecture "Schinkel and Mies" (1961) how Peter Behrens had said in 1929 that "the Pavilion [would] someday be called the most beautiful building of the century". See "Schinkel and Mies" (1961) in Philip Johnson, *Writings*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, 177.
- ACB C1. *Daily Report of the International Exhibition*, October 10, 1928, "The main German industrial companies will be part of the contest" (*Arxiu Contemporani de Barcelona, Fons Institucional Exposició Internacional del 1929*).
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