ATLAS OF RITES. FESTIVITY, OCCUPATION & MOVEMENT IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF SEVILLE

Javier Navarro de Pablos

"The city prepares itself, just as people prepare themselves". Antonio Núñez de Herrera¹

In 1977 the Sevillian architect Manuel Trillo de Leyva began his doctoral thesis by stating that "festivals, fairs and pilgrimages mark (jalonan) the local history of Seville"². Only a year earlier, Aldo Rossi was fascinated by the city's capacity to unfold in that "other reality"³ that the Feria de Abril represented. Together with Guillermo Vázquez Consuegra⁴, the Italian walked around the Los Gordales site as if it were an initiatory journey, declaring to his companions his desire to lose himself in this festive routine, to form part of a particular unit of time that he had just discovered.

Trillo de Leyva's use of the Spanish term "jalonar" could be read as a conscious play on double meanings. Confronting the first meaning in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española - the action of "marking out a piece of land or a path" - and the second - "leaving [an event or a series of events] as a relevant mark in the development of a process" - a polysemy emerges from which it can be deduced that the festivities, fairs and pilgrimages that mark out local history are not only significant events in the rhythm of the city, but also leave marks, signs and tangible traces on its walls and voids.

On an exclusively material level, penitential, liturgical and sacramental processions occupy 50.1% of Seville's streets at some point during the year. In a Solomonic balance, 238 of the 475 streets in the historic centre are used by brotherhoods, brotherhoods or groups of devotees, while the remaining 237 are used for the "other city", the everyday. If we add to the religious processions other regulated civil occupations, with a prefixed organisation - popular fairs, weekly, monthly or annual fairs or markets - the surface area of this occupied city grows to 75.6% of its total public space.

The functioning of this city in movement, based on the rupture with everyday life, is seen from a literary, mythological and social position as a microcosm in which the relationship between subject and space is particularly intense. The events that cyclically alter its routine help to consolidate the local mythopoeia and exert a powerful external attraction. In the superimposition of the city imagined from within and the one seen from outside, multiple analogous cities emerge that coexist on the same spatial support. The result is a set of realities, fictions, symbols, myths, archetypes and rites that are articulated in the form of an indecipherable ball⁵.

106

1

A. Núñez de Herrera, Teoría y Realidad de la Semana Santa. Renacimiento. Ortíz de Zúñiga, D. (1795). Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla, metrópoli de Andalucía: que contienen sus más principales memorias desde el año de 1246 en que emprendió conquistarla S. Fernando Tercero de Castilla y León hasta el de 1671. (Imprenta Real, 2006.) Disponible en: https://catalog.hathitrust. org/Record/009305047.

$\mathbf{2}$

M. Trillo de Leyva, La Exposición Iberoamericana: la transformación urbana de Sevilla. (Universidad de Sevilla, 1979), 9.

$\mathbf{3}$

A. Rossi, Autobiografía científica. (Gustavo Gili, 1984), 54.

4

V. Sainz, Aldo Rossi y Sevilla: el significado de unos viajes. (Universidad de Sevilla, 2020).

01. TRANS-GENDER CITY

Far from the local references of the Sevillian case, these local rhythms and times are inherent to any city from its construction: the city appears when there is ritual, when common actions are developed, when there is a pilgrimage to and from two predetermined points. Without these three elements, the city would be an isolated space incapable of weaving cultural networks, incapable of surviving. This is the view of Lewis Mumford, Jospeh Rytwerk, Victor Turner, Milton Santos and Rebecca Solnit, who from anthropology and sociology coincide in situating the origin of the city and that of pilgrimage at the same historical point. According to this approach, the germ of the urban appears in the Palaeolithic, when dispersed human groups established stable meeting places, mostly associated with astrological, hunting or spiritual qualities. With the periodical repetition of the paths leading to and from them, the first proto-urban settlements appeared, consisting of small shelters, stones arranged in a certain position or mere signs on the ground. The hills, plains or caves offered these tiny social groupings a place, a goal and a ritual in which to gather and seek answers to inexplicable and momentous events. Therefore, the cultural impact of ritual, of those movements and occupations which, with a certain protocol and periodicity, temporarily modify their public space, is a determining element.

Returning to the central discourse, Seville is a city in which, as in the rest of Mediterranean urban realities, public space has maintained its function as a meeting place since the first stoas and agoras of the Peloponnese. The particularity of Seville lies in the fact that its strategies for occupying the public sphere, these events contain a singularity whereby what happens in the public space determines not only the calendar of festivals and noteworthy events but also the very pulse of the city: that is, it also conditions and restricts the everyday city, to the point that the everyday is the exception and vice versa. In this game of doubles, local society finds itself fully attached to the event and participates in it as if it were genetically prepared for it. The researcher Pedro G. Romero recounts this phenomenon through the words of the flamenco singer Juan El Camas, who sums up the events that take place during a year in Seville by insinuating a certain theatrical imposture of its inhabitants:

"Yes, yes, they know what they have to do every day of the year. Every day of the year they know what they have to do. In January, they go to the slaughtering trials, hams and cured meats that come from the villages in the mountains; in February, they are disdainful, they join the murgas in the Alameda or they despise the carnival and the whole of Cádiz, yes; in March there is only Holy Week and the Feria and in April, the bullfights and if there is anything left for the Feria, they spend it on the Feria; and in May, when it's hot, the crosses are to prepare for the Rocío and then the Corpus Christi in June before going to Chipiona or Matalascañas, and in August they come to see the Holy Virgin come out and in September, when there was nothing, now they have put on the biennial and flamenco and in October they get to work a bit of dedication until the dead, 5

J. Escalera, Siviglia in festa – feste a Siviglia. Festa e anti-festa nella "Ciudad de la Gracia". (Booklet Milano, 1997). ESACH 2021

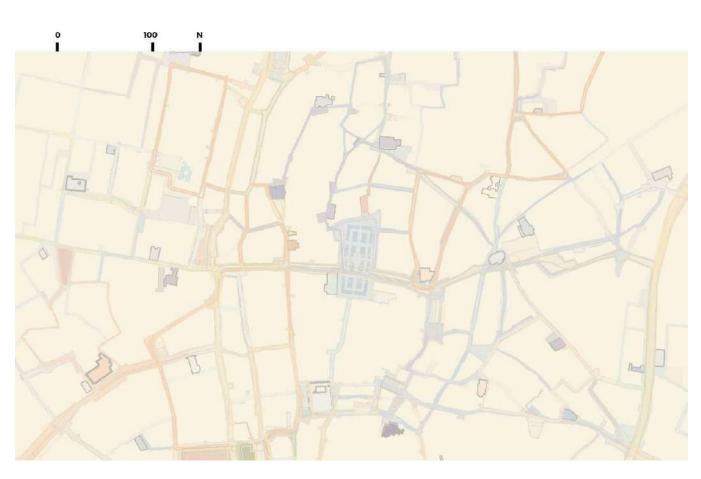
6 P. G. Romero, *SI Sevilla imaginada*. (Almuzara, 2011), 81. in November, when the Tenorio wakes them up and they get to work, once again, for the parade. You know they think they don't work, but all they do is work, neither for you nor for me, work".⁶

This vision of the apparently unproductive as an engine of life ties in with the Situationist International, in which figures such as Guy Debord and Constant Nieuwenhuys participated, fundamental to understanding the European intellectual panorama of the 20th century. Both came into contact with Seville and recognised in it a kind of constructed utopia, with flamenco as an instrument of insubordination and transgression. On a local scale, the writer and flamencologist José Luis Ortiz Nuevo would apply some situationist precepts during his mandate as municipal councillor, introducing the "Lunes de resaca" – a resting day after the end of the Feria de Abril - as a municipal holiday. A sort of onomastic that turned non-productive actions - the Feria understood as an exclusively recreational phenomenon - into sacred dates, deserving of a subsequent day of rest. The hyperbole used by Juan "El Camas" helps to understand this collective fiction in which rites, festivities, pilgrimages and journeys, as routines, replace seasons, months or weeks as units of time. The dissonances between myth and reality, between ordinary and festive actions, are the result of simultaneous stagings that lead a group of people to lose connection with the everyday units of time and space. This universal premise, present in every local society, is accentuated in certain cities, territories or latitudes.

Juan El Camas' statement and the avant-garde experiences speak of a trans-urban collective consciousness: the city and its inhabitants change their skin and their ways by intervening in built spaces. Squares, streets, avenues, rivers and towers are dressed up, illuminated or chimed in an attempt to project a certain state of mind - the passionate baroque penitence of Holy Week or the mere playful-festive activity of the Feria de Abril (April Fair). This idea of the city as a projection of a certain state of mind -of soul- can be related to the concept of the mask - "prósopon" in Greek, root of "person" - which John Hejduk brilliantly included in his thinking and his lucid creative strategies.

Another of the singularities that sets Seville apart from other case studies is the fact that most of its great collective folkloric-cultural phenomena have lost their original logic (the mercantile in the case of the April Fair and the religious in Easter Week), to become cultural, sensitive, theatrical events. This ability to survive by changing the leitmotif without renouncing the form has allowed both events to increase in number of participants since the arrival of democracy.

Although it could be attributed to socio-economic dynamics, it is a good example of architecture - in this case, a city - that is trans. That is to say, of a city and an architecture that permanently seeks "on the other side", "through". If the meaning of the term transgender speaks of "a variety of individuals, behaviours and groups that involve tendencies that differ from conventional gender roles", we could apply the meaning of transurbanism or transcity as a "variety of spaces and architectures that involve tendencies that differ from conventional urban roles". This last hypothesis would include the exceptional, alternative, anti-cotidian and unproductive features present in the great rites of Seville. Once again,



it is interesting how, detached from their initial dogmas, these festivals go from being "official" to "popular", just at the moment when the festival crosses "to the other side" to transform itself. (I, II)

02. THE CONCEPT OF THE ANALOGUE CITY

The idea that there are cities that duplicate, unfold and coexist in the same physical framework had been put forward by Rossi shortly before visiting Seville in his most renowned work, La arquitectura de la ciudad (The Architecture of the City, 1995). The hypothesis of the analogous city holds the possibility of recognising these other cities by tracing architectural typologies as the result of a continuous transfer of memories, gestures and images superimposed on the same typological scheme. On two different scales, but in a continuous reality, city and architecture are a whole that contains traces and wounds as if it were a living organism. According to Rossi, it is in repetition and analogy - formalised in the "architectural typology" - that the architect finds peace of mind, healing and salvation. In this way, the rite, the feast, the event and the ephemeral become a healing therapy to clear the equation of the urban-architectural skein:

"If I had to talk about architecture today," says Rossi, "I would say that it consists more of a rite than of creativity; because I know perfectSimultaneity of religious events in the east-west axis of the city. Public space is "masked" and "exceptionalised" to the point of trans-formation. Own elaboration (2020)





Π

On the left, the masks from the Victims project (1986), John Hejduk. On the right, collection of Marian images that procession under canopy during Holy Week in Seville, own elaboration (2020). Each of the Marian invocations fulfils a specific vital function - a legacy of pre-Christian polytheism - as does each of Hejduk's form-function-memory games. Both spheres, separated by logics, kilometres and centuries, are spun by the survival, in the Warburgian meaning of the term, of the mask.

Javier Navarro de Pablos

ly well the bitterness and the mechanisms of the rite. Ritual offers us the consolation of continuity, of repetition; it forces us into biased oblivion because, unable to evolve, any change would mean destruction".⁷

This turn in 20th century architectural theory and criticism consolidates cities such as Palermo, Venice, Florence and Seville as paradigms of the flow of these analogies of time and memory. Through them it is confirmed that architecture and city remain sewn together by means of imagined plans and inherited figures. Like earthly layers, these ways of interpreting space, influenced by these ruptures of the everyday, become sedimented in memory: "I have always known that architecture was determined by the moment and by the event, and I searched uselessly for this moment, which was confused with nostalgia, the countryside, the summer; it was a suspension, the mythical "five o'clock in the afternoon" of Seville"⁸.

His quotations reveal a cultural vision of the urban, in which the city is the result of a superimposition of gestures and images that end up shaping certain architectural typologies. This humanistic position is combined with the hypothesis that, like any material construction, they are equally exposed to the erosive action of time. Within these transits, Rossi distinguishes everyday flows from those derived from the "event", presented as antonyms of productive routines. Although the bulk of his critical production had been published before he travelled through Seville, it was not until then that he found the true "architecture of the street and of things (...) the architecture of the flow of life".⁹¹⁰(III)

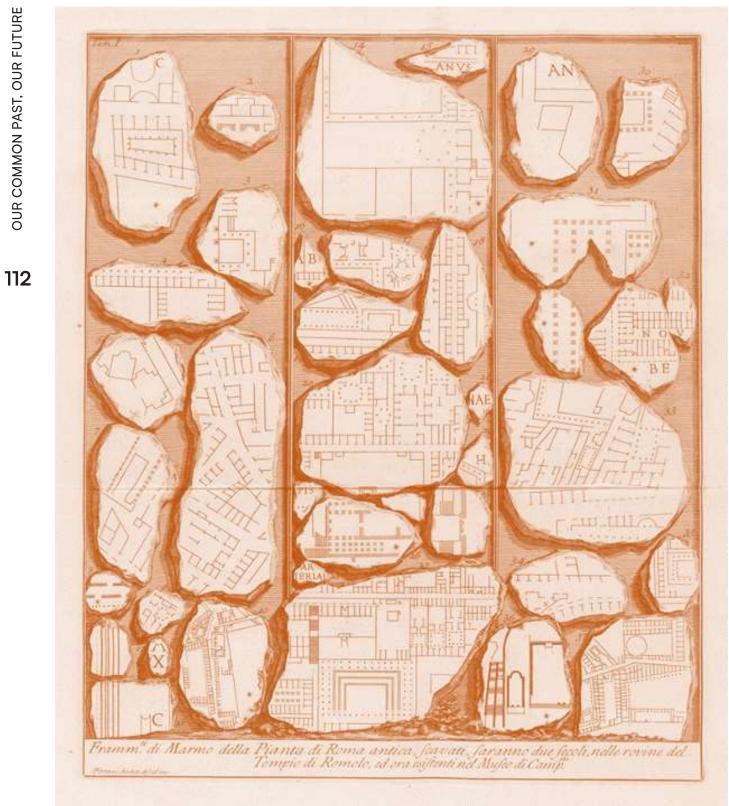
03. AIM AND METHODOLOGY

Aldo Rossi's theoretical approach, conditioned by Seville and the experiences lived there, offers the possibility of mapping an analogous Seville. Drawing it on a single plane, the main objective of this research, means superimposing disparate times, logics and spaces on the same planimetric projection. This makes it possible to simultaneously observe all those ephemeral occupations, processions, transitions and displacements which, without being solid architectures, modulate the historical, social and cultural pulse of the city and form part, like its stones and bricks, of the traces and marks that define it.

By superimposing all these ritual or specific actions, the aim is to achieve a collection of Nachleben with which to identify different dynamics of occupation of public space. The "official" historical annals of the city of Seville were consulted in order to compile this Atlas of the analogue city. These summaries, in which events and major events are recounted, have been written by different authors throughout history. From these documentary sources, the written accounts have been translated into planimetric drawings, checking with complementary sources for any possible lack of detail or gaps in the descriptions. The first of the annals was published in 1795 by the chronicler Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga at the Imprenta Real in Madrid, covering a historical period from 1246 to 1671; Justino Ma7 Rossi, A. Autobiografía científica. (Gustavo Gili, 1984), 84.

8 Íbid. 103.

9 Íbid. 39. 10 Íbid. 39. 111



Javier Navarro de Pablos



III ESACH 2021

113

ш

On the left, marble fragments of the Plan of Ancient Rome, excavated over two centuries in the ruins of the Temple of Romulus, Giambattista Piranesi. On the right, processions carried out in Seville during the 15th century. Own elaboration (2020)

Atlas of Rites. Festivity, occupation & movement in the public space of Seville

04. BUILDING THE ATLAS

For the preparation of the atlas of spaces and architectures associated with the public space of Seville, more than 400 events, happenings and transitory situations were mapped. Of the total, 1.90% correspond to the 13th century, 1.58% to the 14th century, 6.96% to the 15th century, 18.99% to the 16th century, 5.06% to the 17th century, 22.47% to the 18th century, 3.16% to the 19th century, 27.22% to the 20th century and 12.03% to the 21st century. This temporal distribution shows two particularly convulsive points for the city: the 16th and 18th centuries correspond to two periods of activity and change, from the Seville capital of the world to the city of the Enlightenment. (V)

tute y Gaviria subsequently published his "Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la ciudad de Sevilla" (Ecclesiastical and Secular Annals of the City of Seville) in 1887 at the printing house of E. Rasco (located in Seville's Calle de Bustos Tavera), covering events between 1764 and 1830. This was followed by a review of the "Ensayo recordatorio de las fiestas, espectáculos, principales funciones religiosas y seculares y costumbres de la vida pública, que se verifican y observan actualmente en Sevilla", published in 1889 by the folklorist Alejandro Guichot, the first of the urban chronicles to incorporate a scientific (sociological) view of rites, events and collective movements. As for the 20th century, the chronicles of Nicolás Salas have been taken as a reference, incorporating other updated sources. For the first two decades of the 21st century, multiple sources have been con-

sulted as there are still no published historical compendiums.

1748 in his well-known "Nuova Pianta di Roma". (IV)

In order to translate the written texts into graphic language, a da-

tabase platform has been used which allows the systematisation of the information in the form of tables, as well as ACAD assisted drawing tools. Those rites, occupations or events that did not refer to specific urban or architectural spaces were not taken into account. The integral reading of public space means that not only those events that took place outside but also inside public buildings have been taken into account, following the cartographic and conceptual system applied by Giambattista Nolli in

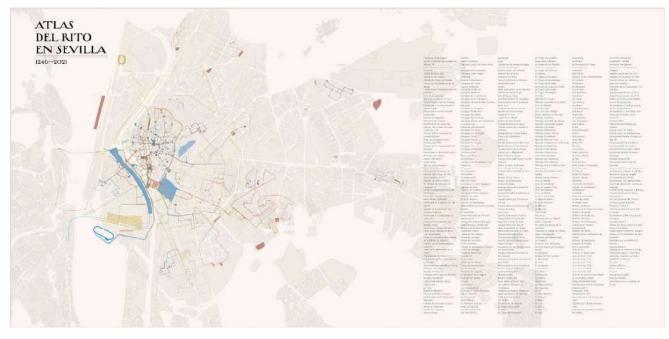
The profusion of details and the greater extent of events recorded depending on the century, in addition to the aforementioned historical relevance of certain moments, shows how the "official" perspective of history tends to consciously single out some periods and stories over others. This bias is also visible when analysing rites or events of a popular nature (barely 1%) as opposed to those of a religious nature (61.30%) or those of a political-military nature (15%). These data show, therefore, that the process of mapping these ephemeral, collective and public Sevillas through historical chronicles perpetuates the existence of silenced realities. (VI)

The change of paradigm, abandoning the solid and constructed city for the ephemeral and intangible one, does not, however, mean a reduction in the data that the study can provide us with: far from being purely scenographic or folkloric manifestations, the study of them shows

IV General atlas of rites, events and public events held in the city of Seville from 1246 to 2020. Own elaboration (2021).

V

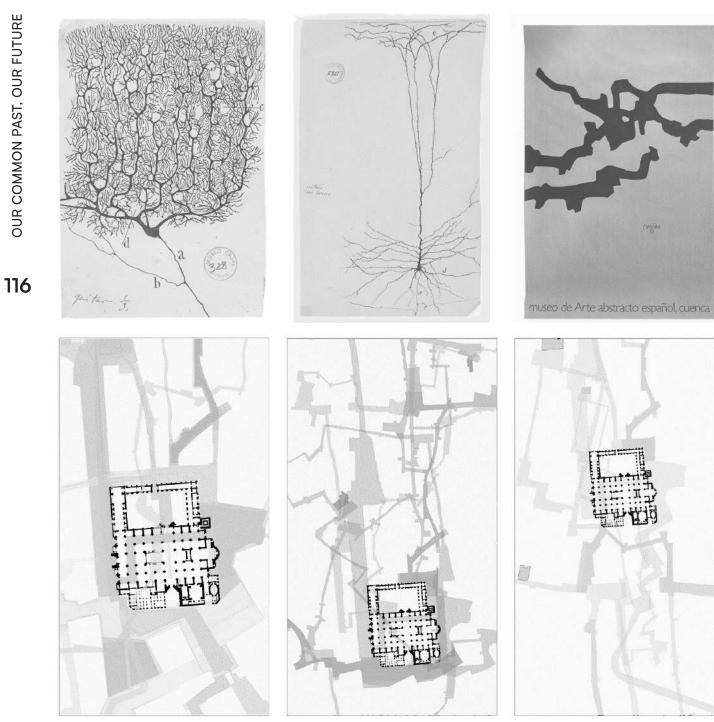
Simplified table of data collected from the first 20 events, sorted by seniority, 2021. Prepared by the author



Category	Source	Event	Туре	Logic	Space	Zone Ye	ar
Procesión	oz	Entrada Fernando III	Político-Militar- Religioso	Triunfal	Exterior	Extramuro s-Urbano	1248
Procesión	ΟZ	Festividad de San Leandro	Religioso	Acción de gracias	Interior- Exterior	Urbano	1256
Procesión	ΟZ	Franqueza de Portazgos	Religioso	Acción de gracias	Interior	Urbano	1257
Feria		Velada de Santa Ana	Lúdico	Festivo	Exterior	Extramuro s	1266
Feria		Velada de San Miguel	Lúdico	Festivo	Exterior	Extramuro s	1290
Mercado		Mercado del Jueves	Comercial	Mercantil	Exterior	Intramuro S	1292
Procesión	ΟZ	Entrada de Felipe de Castilla	Político-Militar	Festivo	Exterior	Extramuro s-Urbano	1327
Procesión	ΟZ	Acción de gracias por la salud de Alfonso XI	Religioso	Acción de gracias	Interior	Urbano	1337
Procesión		El Silencio	Religioso	Penitencia	Exterior	Intramuro S	1340
Procesión		Virgen de los Reyes	Religioso	Letífica	Exterior	Intramuro s	1350
Feria	ΟZ	Torneo de los Caballeros de la Banda	Lúdico	Festivo	Exterior	Urb <mark>an</mark> o	1375
Procesión		Corpus Christi	Religioso	Sacramental	Exterior	Intramuro S	1400
Feria	ΟZ	Fiestas por la restitución del Santísimo	Religioso	Acción de gracias	Interior- Exterior	Extramuro s	1405
Procesión	ΟZ	Entrada de Ferrán Arias de Saavedra	Político-Militar- Religioso	Triunfal	Exterior	Extramuro s-Urbano	1407
Procesión	ΟZ	Entrada del Infante de Antequera	Político Militar Religioso	Triunfal	Exterior	Extramuro s-Urbano	1410
Procesión		La Hiniesta	Religioso	Penitencia	Exterior	Intramuro s	1412
Pro <mark>cesión</mark>		Nuestra Señora de la Hiniesta	Religioso	Letífica	Exterior	Intramuro s	1412
Procesión	ΟZ	Fundación del Monasterio de San Jerónimo	Religioso	Festivo	Exterior	Extramuro s-Urbano	1414
Procesión		Gran Poder	Religioso	Penitencia	Exterior	Intramuro s	1431
Feria	ΟZ	Feria de la Asunción	Lúdico-religioso	Festivo	Interior	Urbano	1432

Atlas of Rites. Festivity, occupation & movement in the public space of Seville

OUR COMMON PAST, OUR FUTURE



VI

Upper left and centre: drawings by Santiago Ramón y Cajal of the Purkinje cell and neuronal connection, ca. 1900. Upper right: Marble and lead, Eduardo Chillida (1980), property of the Museo de Arte Abstracto español de Cuenca. Lower: Surrounding area of the Cathedral of Santa María de la Sede during Holy Thursday, early morning, Good Friday and Holy Saturday

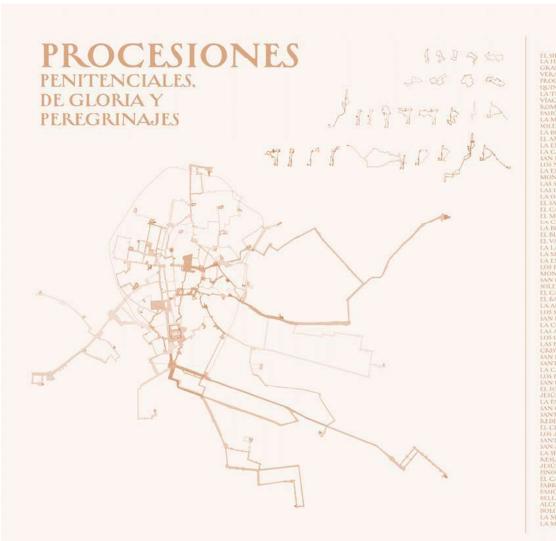
the rhythms of growth and transformation of the city in a complementary way. If up to the 18th century 89.50% of the rites took place within the city walls, this percentage fell to 78% in the 19th century, 71% in the first half of the 20th century and 65% from 1950 onwards. This shows how the wall barrier was initially overcome in the 19th century and how the metropolitan city was consolidated in the 20th century. Once again, these formulas for occupying and transiting public space show a great capacity for adaptation: despite moving and expanding outside the city walls, even becoming established in peripheral and suburban areas, these ritual formulas - like the pathosformel enunciated by Warburg - maintain their structure and even their scenic instruments. The use of sensitive media is even intensified in an attempt to counteract the lack of visual and historical references. These permanencies are further evidenced by the appearance of events that, despite having contrasting logics, assume identical formulas: the processions of those executed by the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition held during the 17th century maintain a scenic matrix very similar to the protest demonstrations of the 20th and 21st century, among which could be included the protests of Women's Day or LGTBI+ Pride. (VII)

05. ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN STRATEGIES OF RITUAL: FROM OCCU-PYING TO PASSING THROUGH

The construction of the atlas of rites and events has made it possible to recognise a series of unconscious projective urban strategies that turn them into timeless expressions, primitive gestures, as Aby Warburg would define them, which are impervious to cultural changes or systemic ruptures: from the religious processions - which transform the city until it becomes a microcosm - to the Feria de Abril - in which the city duplicates itself until it builds an "analogue city" - to the ways of occupying the space of flamenco, they construct a city that is multiple and in constant movement, incomprehensible and impossible to map with precision. These Sevillas, some cyclically repeated and others never built, are delimited through témenos or enclosures that make possible the concretion of a series of tandems of "events" and spaces. It is precisely in their limits (in the continents, referring to an architectural language), where two different strategies of ritual deployment can be recognised.

This approach, by which two theories could be enunciated for Seville - in an analogy of Antonio Zoido's title in his Twelve Theories for Seville - is based on the simplification of all festive - or anti-cotidian - events, happenings and rituals into two dynamics that relate social behaviour and space. Firstly, there are those that assume a longitudinal proportion and form, and whose raison d'être is to "traverse" space. This family of rituals is driven by a clear objective of "showing off" in order to achieve some specific benefit. Among these rewards are concepts such as "salvation" - all those with religious roots motivated by the purging of sins, the redemption of accounts, thanksgiving or devotion -, "exaltation" or "veneration" - among which we should include triumphal processions, military parades or royal entries.

All of them involve a transformation of the streets - altering sen-



A ANDRA CLON A CARLETERIA A COMPACT A CONTROLOGICA A CONTROL LANDON CONTROL LANDON A CONTROL A CONTROL LANDON A CONTROL A CON

VII

Compendium of penitential routes that take place over the course of a year - concentrated during Holy Week.

Own elaboration (2021)

ses, restricting road traffic or decorating their perimeter architectures -, the construction of ephemeral structures or the application of strategies of sensory alteration - incorporating smells, colours and sounds that complement the ritual or eventual staging -, in what could be read as a kind of transurbanism: the city unconsciously exchanges its everyday character for an exceptional one. The degrees of this transformism vary from brief processions or parades to great rituals - Corpus Christi or Holy Week - in which for local societies the city during these celebrations is different from the everyday city. Far from what one might initially think, the core of this family of ritual behaviour is not in the active participants in the procession but in the spectators and in the spaces they pass through: without them the action cannot take place and the objectives cannot be fulfilled, since the displays of power, joy or penitence could not be put into practice.

Similarly, the implementation of another urban and collective action based on the "occupation" of space is also recognised. Unlike the family of "transitions", formalised in processions and parades, the occupation of space is a static action, which is not based on the movement of a group of people and objects from point "A" to point "B", but on the transformation of a space through the construction of ephemeral assemblies



III ESACH 2021

in whose enclosure mainly commercial or recreational activities take place. To this collection of urban events belong fairs, festivals, markets and flea markets, jousting, tournaments, inquisitorial trials or concerts. Once again, the disparity of logics, times and cultures that use a similar occupation strategy is evidence of the existence of timeless and, in some cases, universal invariants. The atlas shows a clear hegemony of the action of "walking", "passing through" or "procession" over "occupying", with 22% of the total number of events of a static nature compared to 72% of a dynamic nature, and 6% not classifiable in either of the two main categories. (VIII)

EN LA SEVILL

VIII

Compendium of periodical occupations during the 19th century -most of them disappeared-. Own elaboration (2020)

4

1

- ESCALERA, J. Siviglia in festa feste a Siviglia. Festa e anti-festa nella "Ciudad de la Gracia". Booklet Milano, 1997.
- GUICHOT Y SIERRA, A. Ensayo recordatorio de las fiestas, espectáculos, principales funciones religiosas y seculares en Sevilla. Imprenta y Litografía de José Mª Ariza, 1888. Disponible: https://archive.org/details/ HCa030224
- MATUTE Y GAVIRIA, J. Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la ciudad de Sevilla: que contienen las más principales memorias desde el año de 1701 hasta el de 1800: continuación de los que formó D. Diego Ortíz de Zúñiga hasta el año de 1671 y siguió hasta el de 1700 D. Antonio M.a Espinosa y Cárcel. Imprenta de E. Rasco, 1887. Disponible en: http:// www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/es/consulta/registro. cmd?id=7758
- NÚÑEZ DE HERRERA, A. Teoría y Realidad de la Semana Santa. Renacimiento. Ortíz de Zúñiga, D. (1795). Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla, metrópoli de Andalucía: que contienen sus más principales memorias desde el año de 1246 en que emprendió conquistarla S. Fernando Tercero de Castilla y León hasta el de 1671. Imprenta Real, 2006. Disponible en: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009305047.
- ROMERO, P. G. SI Sevilla imaginada. Almuzara, 2011.
- ROSSI, A. Autobiografía científica. Gustavo Gili, 1984.
- ROSSI, A. L'architettura della città. Città Studi Edizioni, 1995.
- SAINZ, V. Aldo Rossi y Sevilla: el significado de unos viajes. Universidad de Sevilla, 2020.
- SALAS, N. Sevilla anales siglo XX (I), 1900-1950. Editorial Castillejo, 1999.
- SALAS, N. Sevilla anales siglo XX (I), 1951-2000. Editorial Castillejo, 2002.
- SILVANA, M. V. "La vida después de la vida. El concepto de Nachleben en Benjamin y Warburg". *Thémata. Revista de filosofía*, 49, (2014): 317-331.
- TRILLO DE LEYVA, M. La Exposición Iberoamericana: la transformación urbana de Sevilla. Universidad de Sevilla, 1979.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

×X

OUR COMMON PAST, OUR FUTURE