

# **Monarchy and Liberalism in Spain**

The Building of the Nation-State, 1780–1931

**Edited by David San Narciso, Margarita  
Barral-Martínez and Carolina Armenteros**

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2021  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2021 selection and editorial matter, David San Narciso, Margarita Barral-Martínez and Carolina Armenteros; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of David San Narciso, Margarita Barral-Martínez, and Carolina Armenteros to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 9780367409906 (hbk)  
ISBN: 9780367810375 (ebk)

Typeset in Garamond  
by Cenveo® Publisher Services

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xi
<i>About the Contributors</i>	xii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvi

<b>Introduction: Possible monarchies: the political and cultural modernisation of Spanish liberalism</b>	1
DAVID SAN NARCISO, MARGARITA BARRAL-MARTÍNEZ AND CAROLINA ARMENTEROS	

## PART I

<b>An institution's political dynamics</b>	21
<b>1 The mutations of the Spanish monarchy (1750–1868)</b>	23
JEAN-PHILIPPE LUIS	
<b>2 Spanish modernity and the (gendered) monarchy: From biography to history and back to biography</b>	42
ISABEL BURDIEL	
<b>3 Amadeo I: The republican king?</b>	58
EDUARDO HIGUERAS CASTAÑEDA AND SERGIO SÁNCHEZ COLLANTES	
<b>4 The consolidation of the constitutional monarchical system (1874–1902)</b>	77
ÁNGELES LARIO	
<b>5 The two monarchies of Alfonso XIII, 1902–1931</b>	93
JAVIER MORENO-LUZÓN	

**PART II**

<b>Ritual, staging, and nationalisation</b>	111
<b>6 The ritual problem in the Spanish post-revolutionary monarchical fiction (1833–1868)</b>	113
DAVID SAN NARCISO	
<b>7 The royal family as a symbolic fiction: A mixed picture of the new forms of legitimacy in Spain’s liberal monarchy (1843–1931)</b>	132
ALICIA MIRA-ABAD AND ROSA ANA GUTIÉRREZ-LLORET	
<b>8 The king on a coin: Monarchy, state, and nation through nineteenth-century Spanish coins and stamps</b>	151
RAQUEL SÁNCHEZ	
<b>9 The Pious Crown: The monarchy’s religious devotions during the reign of Isabel II</b>	169
DAVID MARTÍNEZ VILCHES	
<b>10 The King’s descent into the people’s assembly: Monarchy and liberalism in Spain’s nineteenth-century State Opening of Parliament ceremony</b>	184
ORIO L UJÁN	
<b>11 Royal travels: The modern staging and legitimation of the Spanish monarchy, 1858–1931</b>	202
MARGARITA BARRAL-MARTÍNEZ	
<i>Index</i>	221

## 11 Royal travels

### The modern staging and legitimation of the Spanish monarchy, 1858–1931<sup>1</sup>

*Margarita Barral-Martínez*

He wishes to be King not only of monarchists, but of all Spaniards, without distinction of opinions or loyalties. His fervent patriotism is reflected in his exclusive use, without exception, of our beautiful language [...], and in his extremely strong preference [...] for all that is indigenous, for all that is Spanish.<sup>2</sup>

Thus did the canon Diego Tortosa y Nicolás, the king's preacher of honour, describe Alfonso XIII in 1927. It was the beginning of the last stage of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, the regime that the king himself had supported in 1923 and that would lead to his exile amidst accusations of corruption and oppression. In Spain, however, as in Europe's other monarchical countries, the idea that patriotism and the nation are ultimately incarnated in the king began with liberalism's instauration and triumph. Spanish constitutional sovereigns also went through a process of nationalisation that would turn them into symbols of the modern nation. To this end they used iconographies, official ceremonies, trips, and royal visits, all of which would transform 'banal monarchism'—an expression that Olechnowicz develops for the British case on the basis of Billig's 'banal nationalism'—into public policies of 'state folklorism' that articulated an 'imagined community' in order to ensure the institution's survival and consolidate sovereigns' national and constitutional charisma.<sup>3</sup>

For Walter Bagehot, the author of the Victorian oracle that *The English Constitution* (1867) would become, there was something emotional about all this that corresponded to the mystery that the Crown contained and that placed it on the margins of political struggles.<sup>4</sup> The transition from absolutist rituals—monarchical parades that evoked baroque feasts and were limited to the court and the elites that accompanied them—to the institution's popularisation and transformation into a national symbol was accomplished through direct contact with the people. A 'staged monarchy'<sup>5</sup> emerged with a new, neutral but symbolic power. The most recent studies in cultural history show that one of the most exploited rituals was royals' trips and visits to the regions, provinces, and main cities of their kingdoms in order to bring the institution and its representatives close to the people, the authentic depository of the nation's essence. At the same time, though, they maintained an aura of majesty, magic, or mystery of which Bagehot spoke.<sup>6</sup>

In Spain, the idea of fatherland was mythified throughout the first half of the nineteenth century on the basis of the heroes who had fought against the French invader.<sup>7</sup> However, in local discourse the malleability of the terms 'fatherland' and 'patriotism' became evident and during the second half of the century it made possible the feeling that provincial-regional specificities were part of the same national identity under construction. It was then that patriotism manifested as nationalism, in the sense of an imagined community, a feeling that was banalised and acted out in the ordinary political process. Over the last decades, the historiography on nationalisation processes has also been fruitful and the latest contributions show how Spanish liberalism developed an active programme to nationalise the masses by using the Crown's image.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the symbiosis between monarchy and nation by studying and analysing the royal trips of Spanish sovereigns from Isabel II to Alfonso XIII. The ultimate objective of the sovereigns' presence in the regions and cities of their kingdom was to get the Crown close to the people so that the latter could visualise the abstract concepts of the nation and the State in the person of the kings, human beings with whom it was possible to interact through monarchical celebrations and performances. Certainly, popular gatherings during royal visits offered the greatest proof of modern monarchy's social and moral backing. To assess whether these ceremonies succeeded as agents of nationalisation, more than as events tending to monarchise the nation,<sup>8</sup> is a complex task as it is necessary to take into account factors whose study is very difficult: the masses' emotions and behaviour during celebrations, where their irrationality came into play in order to assume an imagined community in the enthusiastic and participative context of monarchical staging. However, important analytical tools exist to study these episodes: official accounts, press reports, and the varied contemporary documentation kept in the Archivo del Palacio Real de Madrid as well as various regional, provincial, and local archives. This documentation, which is political, social, economic, and cultural in character, is of great historical value and helps us understand, in part, the Spanish monarchy's Stoicism. Exceptionally, the institution has returned to head the State and nation (with Amadeo I, Alfonso XII, and Juan Carlos I) after three abdications (Isabel II's, Amadeo I's peculiar case and Alfonso XIII's).

### **From Isabel II's liberal monarchy to Amadeo I's democratic monarchy**

During the period of Isabel II's effective reign—from her coming of age decreed in 1843 to her fall during the 1868 revolution—the Spanish Crown became an institution essential for reconstructing the nation state. Due to the various difficulties that characterised this convulsed period, progress was also made towards a 'true qualitative and quantitative change' vis-à-vis royal ceremonies.<sup>9</sup>

The 1850s saw the deep crisis of moderate Isabeline centralism and the revolution of 1854, the most complete Spanish version of the 1848 European revolution. From this time onward the figure of Isabel II gave way to the people as protagonists of regeneration and liberty, which put the sovereign's continuity into question. The succession of governments showed the exhaustion of moderation. Certainly, the birth of the future Alfonso XII on 28 November 1857 gave the queen some peace of mind: she took advantage of her heir's birth to draw the 'ceremonial vanishing point'<sup>10</sup> around which to project the ailing institution's future. The reality, however, was that the Crown already lacked prestige and majesty. Isabel II's implication in political struggles, her tendency to appoint moderate governments with reactionary tendencies, and her failure to live up to the Christian morality that she herself professed and that was the basis of established social canons would lead to her dethroning.<sup>11</sup> In an attempt to revert this situation, and starting during the second government of General O'Donnell, a campaign of royal family trips was conducted between 1858 and 1866, with the aim of improving the queen's image in particular and that of the royal family and the Crown in general—that is, in order to nationalise the monarchy. Another objective was to overcome the revolution of 1854, the one that had questioned her.<sup>12</sup> The idea was that visual access to the queen would lead the people to adhere to the Crown, the superior vertex of the pyramid of constitutional monarchy. Through the theoretical human qualities that characterised the sovereign—goodness, proximity, religiosity, and munificence—an attempt was made to draw her close to the people and to encourage national identity. During six major trips, the royal family visited the whole of Spain—excepting the Canary Islands and the colonies—as well as Portugal. Between May and June 1858, they were in Alicante and Valencia, between July and September in Valladolid, León, Asturias and Galicia. The summer of 1861 saw them in Santander. Between September and October of 1862, they travelled to Andalucía and Murcia and in December of 1866 to Extremadura and Lisbon. As the railway did not yet cover the whole territory, the trip to Spain's North and Centre was made by coach.<sup>13</sup>

The official chronicles, conveyed through the written word and photography<sup>14</sup>—which were commissioned from prestigious historians who adhered to the Isabeline cause—as well as press reports used and abused history to legitimate the throne as represented by the queen and the little prince heir Alfonso. They contain no references to the Habsburg dynasty and the old regime, omitting the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They connected instead with antiquity and the Middle Ages by alluding to heroes, making the Catholic Kings special protagonists and creators of the Spanish monarchy. Liturgical acts were organised including thanksgiving services—*Te Deum*—in representative churches as well as visits of the 'pilgrim queen' to the Virgin of Covadonga (Asturias) —icon of national identity since the Reconquista—and the sepulchre of the Apostle Saint James (Santiago de Compostela) to give the Royal Offering in the Holy Year of 1858 as tradition prescribed.

The chronicles also manifest the public enthusiasm for the celebrations and acts that happened during the trips. It was a popular expectation laden with Spanish and monarchical identity that mingled with elements of provincial identity still divested of political connotations. The applauses and 'vivas', together with popular songs, hymns, and poems that accompanied the royal procession—distributed as flying pages—and written even in dialectical variants mixed with the sound of regional gaitas, the Royal March and other Spanish melodies, the tricolour flag and the flag of Castile, the royal coat of arms and triumphal arches built *ad hoc* with national symbolism, as well as the very fact that the queen dressed her children in popular costumes. In addition to this, the institution's link with the idea of progress that was always associated with Isabeline liberalism was exploited through visits to manufacturing centres, expositions, and universities, as well as through the inauguration of public works and the railway.

Spectacle was assured through the parade of monarchical theatrics accompanied by nocturnal serenades with rockets, street lamps, and walks through the main streets of the towns and cities visited. These were all means of articulating a positive political and social image of the queen, the State, and the local administrations where Isabel II and her successor represented a legitimate continuity with the present and the future. They were also ways of implanting in the popular imagination a spontaneous and almost subconscious link between memory, monarchy, and modernity. These trips were instruments of political-monarchical propaganda and of cohesion for the liberal cause. Although elements of royal celebrations from former epochs were maintained, they were also used for the Crown's new legitimation needs. It was necessary that Isabel II should gain the Spanish people's sympathy to humanise the Crown and develop national sentiment, so needed for the nascent liberal cause and so frequently threatened. However, the authoritarian drift of the sovereign and her governments during the 1860s led to the Glorious Revolution of 1868, to her exile and to the end of the doctrinaire liberal regime based on the Constitution of 1845. It was the beginning of six years of revolution (1868–1874) with the passing of a Constitution (1869) that legitimated the new, democratic, and monarchical regime under Amadeo I (1871–1873).

Amadeo of Savoy, second son of the King of Italy Victor Emmanuel II, an exemplary democratic monarch, was elected by the Spanish Cortes on 16 November 1870, a fact discordant, to say the least, with monarchical legitimacy. The satirical republican press referred to the 'rare case of an elected king who had to win popular favour'.<sup>15</sup> This was the first attempt at a true democratic monarchy in Spain, with a king who was not the depositary of sovereignty, as the Constitution established, and with functions exercised by ministers: a king 'who reign[ed] but d[id] not govern'.<sup>16</sup>

The English example was still the democratic model for European states, along with the monarchy's conversion into the emblem of national self-esteem.<sup>17</sup> Doubtless, both prospects encouraged King Amadeo I in his project

to lend the Savoyard monarchy a social presence in Spain, but he was a young man of 25 who ‘did not know the history, the language, the institutions, the customs, the parties, the men, of Spain’.<sup>18</sup> His status as a foreigner was a permanent obstacle to the monarchy’s possible rooting<sup>19</sup> so he was conscious that he would need to travel through Spain to make his image known in society and nationalise the new dynasty. In this way, together with government politicians—especially Ruiz Zorilla, leader of the Radical Party—and the few elites that adhered to him he developed a programme for the Crown’s social projection that aimed at ‘channeling the popular will without breaking with the monarchy’s historical legality’.<sup>20</sup> This was Spanish nationalisation in a monarchical but Savoyard key. Historians of the regime like Antonio Pirala linked the new family’s establishment to the country’s regeneration and defended the roots that linked the House of Savoy to the Habsburgs through Charles I, and to the Bourbons through Philip V.<sup>21</sup> Historical references, as had been the case with Isabel II and would later be with Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII, sought to link the past to the present. In Italy the origin of both peoples, a common past that emphasised ‘Latin civilization’, was also remembered.<sup>22</sup>

The first trip of the monarchs Amadeo of Savoy and Maria Vittoria del Pozzo was to Alicante in March 1871, where the effects of the yellow fever towards the end of 1870 had been devastating. Since then, two trips were organised for the summer months that the king made without his wife. One of them was to the Centre, the Northeast and the Levant in September 1871 to visit Madrid, Valencia, Castellón, Tarragona, Barcelona, Gerona, Lérida, Saragossa, Navarre, and Logroño. The second trip was to the Northeastern provinces and took place between July and August 1872 when he visited Santander, Gijón, Avilés, Ferrol, and La Coruña.<sup>23</sup> The royal trips were planned above all in places where republican and counter-revolutionary opposition was strong. Through these trips it was hoped to redefine Spanish national identity as popular and democratic, in contrast with the immediate precedent—Isabel II—the unpopular liberal queen.

According to chronicles and reports, the places visited experienced ‘an extraordinary movement’.<sup>24</sup> However, this ideal image of the monarch’s reception contrasted with factual reality. The satirical and anti-monarchical press commented that Amadeo ‘dreamt’ that he was becoming ‘popular’;<sup>25</sup> and the ultra-Catholic one spoke of the ‘fabrication of enthusiasm’ for the ‘actor monarch’.<sup>26</sup> In reality, Amadeo I not only suffered the rejection of the aristocracy,<sup>27</sup> of the clergy and part of the army, but also the indifference of the popular classes. As for the middle classes, supposedly receptive to the king’s bourgeois image, they did not yet constitute a hegemonic reality in the social structure. During his stay in Ferrol, though the Marines made preparations to receive him, ‘in the population nothing was noticed’<sup>28</sup> and the clergy refused to be present at the *Te Deum* that was celebrated to receive the ‘elected’ king.<sup>29</sup> From the beginning of his service, all the projects made to support his image and his dynasty encountered the physiognomy of a

people that was still very traditional when faced with a democratic and foreign monarchy. It did not identify with the configuration of the supposed national identity.

Although the protocol of celebrations and ceremonies followed similar patterns during Isabel II's previous visits and Alfonso XII's and even Alfonso XIII's later ones, the Bourbon stays were 'massive and emotional events' for the people that became Hispanicised pilgrimages with a monarchical and Bourbon character and that exploited the moral value of royal munificence. In the case of Amadeo's visits, although the absence of decoration and dress was justified by the economic penury of the moment, society showed coldness and indifference.<sup>30</sup> The people's silence was mute but eloquent evidence that the same mechanisms did not obtain equal results when the social actors that supported the monarchy did not recognise its representative.

### **The Bourbon Restoration: (Re)nationalisation and the repeated fall of the Spanish dynasty**

After Amadeo I's peculiar reign and a brief republican experience (1873–1874), the military uprising of General Martínez Campos proclaimed in December of 1874 the Bourbon Restoration, a conservative regime where the Crown became a fundamental element, since the Constitution (1876) defined it as sharing sovereignty with the Cortes.<sup>31</sup> From the first moment changes in the behavioural dynamics of young Alfonso XII vis-à-vis his mother, Isabel II, were visible. Containment of the monarch's acts and respect for government directives avoided the contradictions between family relationships and governmental politics that defined the reign of Isabel II.<sup>32</sup>

Although on an immediate level the Glorious Revolution put an end to monarchy in Spain, over the long term it had a significant and very positive collateral effect for the monarchical heir in that it gave him the opportunity of completing his education in the best centres of the time. Between the ages of 10 and 16, Alfonso XII was educated at the Collège Stanislas in Paris, the Theresianum at Vienna and the Royal Military Academy in Sandhurst.<sup>33</sup> The experience of exile also allowed him to cultivate the old continent's cosmopolitanism: from democratic Switzerland to the traditionalist Austro-Hungarian Empire, from Bonapartist (Napoleon III) and republican France to parliamentary Britain. He was Spain's most educated and instructed monarch, without being for that reason an intellectual.<sup>34</sup> In addition, he was conscious of the need to know constitutional monarchy, following the English example when it came to propping up his public acts and functions.<sup>35</sup> Without doubt, these personal assets could have helped him to consolidate his reign.

Alfonso XII entered Spain through the port of Barcelona early in the morning of 9 January 1875. The popular enthusiasm with which the county city propitiated him on that day overflowed the next day.<sup>36</sup> From that first experience the king as well as Cánovas—the regime's ideologue and the leader

of the conservatives—and Sagasta—the leader of the liberals—understood the benefits of nearing the Crown to the people in order to recreate national identity. Thus through the king's presence in spectacles at the capital and by developing an ample programme of official trips throughout the kingdom, an attempt was made to recreate the national identity that would shore up the Bourbon monarchy within Spanish liberalism definitively.

In addition to the trips that Alfonso XII made as Prince of Asturias accompanying his mother Isabel II, as king he was the protagonist of constant official visits: during the first year of his reign he visited Barcelona, Valencia, Aranjuez and Madrid, Navarre and La Rioja. In 1876, he travelled to the Basque Country to project the image of the 'pacifying king' (the Carlist War). In 1877, he travelled through the Mediterranean, Asturias, and Galicia to give the image of a legitimate (Bourbon) king and defender of national unity. After his first love marriage to his cousin María de las Mercedes de Orléans and his immediate widowhood in 1878, surrounded since then by romantic emotionality, he resumed royal tours in 1879. That year he went to Castilla-La Mancha, Murcia, and Cádiz, incarnating the symbol of progress and Christian charity after the inundations. In 1881, he travelled to Cantabria, Galicia, and Cáceres to project the image of guarantor of naval politics. In 1883, he travelled to Valencia, Castellón, Tarragona, Barcelona, Lérida, Saragossa, Logroño, and Burgos. In 1884, when the advance of the tuberculosis he suffered from was already known, he visited Betelú (Navarra), Asturias, and again Galicia, giving the image of a hopeful figure. And in 1885, he was in Granada and Málaga after the earthquakes, projecting the aura of a charitable and kind-hearted king.

In order to guarantee that the king's image was linked to national identity, a staging strategy was used during visits in which the Crown was directly implicated, having as well the support of the succeeding governments. The results were recreated versions of the king's images: the 'soldier king' who protected his people; the king defender of modern states defined by progress; the charitable and beneficent king who was the father of a Christian nation. This was in addition to a constant linking with the historical—monarchical—past where regional diversity was assumed as a means to achieve adhesion to Spanish identity.<sup>37</sup>

In addition, official chronicles and reports in the national and regional press constantly refer to Alfonso XII's reign as characterised by peace and legitimacy,<sup>38</sup> themselves invested with a dual constitutional and dynastic meaning.<sup>39</sup> References abound to the 'pacifying king'—that is, the 'soldier king'<sup>40</sup> who put an end to the civil war—the Carlist War—in 1876. His person is also portrayed as institutionally legitimate and constantly linked to Catholic courage. When he visited the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in 1877 and 1881, the king entered the basilica under a pallium accompanied by the sound of the Royal March and the ringing of bells at the moment of the traditional Offer to the Apostle,<sup>41</sup> a 'symbol, venerated since the most remote times, of the Nation's Catholic sentiment and the favorite object of its Kings' constant piety'.<sup>42</sup>

The performance protocol during the different trips followed the already established pattern, although with greater geographical coverage from the 1880s onward, in accordance with the press' transformation into a propaganda organ. Still, nineteenth-century monarchical performance continued to connote Spanish identity in a Castilian sense through the celebration of *Te Deums* in emblematic religious monuments, through the king's parades on horseback accompanied by other members of the military and the sounds of the Royal March, the firing of bombs and cannon balls, the ringing of bells and popular celebration. Visits to universities and provincial institutes were organised, as well as to hospices and centres of beneficence where the king made donations and deposited tips—always within the context of Christian charity. He showed interest for the country's problems in each act, acquiring in this way a human dimension that complemented the statesman.<sup>43</sup> He also continued to inaugurate railways and made private visits to the aristocracy. The elites aspired to the Crown's familiarity and consideration in order to justify their existence as a nexus between the central power and the Restoration's regional-local reality. They, therefore, united efforts to recreate monarchical theatrics and the nationalising rituals it implied.

The idea of progress which the Bourbon dynasty always tried to make appropriate during the liberal period was reflected by exalting the moment's economic interests, in particular the railway. The local press also emphasised the problems that most preoccupied those who wrote and read that press—especially the bourgeoisie and liberal professionals—who identified the 'monarchy's protection' as the hope for regional development.<sup>44</sup>

During royal stays, the relaxed and festive atmosphere characterised meals and lunches, regattas, bullfights—the people's feast *par excellence*—theatre sessions and nocturnal serenades. The display of Spanish decoration with little lanterns to illuminate streets and walkways, masts, flags, shields, fireworks, and bombs was a true splurge of percaline that together with the pavilions and triumphal arches that were built *ad hoc* led the cities and towns visited to become the scenes of a 'magic comedy'.<sup>45</sup> Yet although the popular welcome was extraordinary according to contemporary witnesses, most of the celebration's spectators, the citizens, were anonymous. With respect to elements of the autochthonous culture the use of regional languages was reduced to a few laudatory poetical compositions and to popular music and dance groups dressed in regional costume. Doubtless, with Alfonso XII royal visits were defined as the ideal framework to applaud the institution and its representative, which remained in the peasantry's popular memory.<sup>46</sup> However, the sovereign's premature death does not allow us to assess to what degree he could have effected the diffusion of national identity, in a period when regionalism was beginning to acquire political connotations as an alternative identity.

The king's death in 1885 again generated insecurity. His second wife, María Cristina of Habsburg, pregnant with the future Alfonso XIII, was a young Austrian. She came from a country without a parliamentary tradition,

did not know Spanish history or politics, did not speak the language fluently, and limited herself to domestic and feminine values. But she caused surprise by her serious character and her tact for complex questions, qualities that helped to channel the situation by establishing the pact of peaceful turns (*turnismo*) between liberals and conservatives in the nation's government. In addition, the programme of dynastic liberalism coincided with the need to popularise the institution, an orientation that was already present in public opinion, thanks to the popularity tactics that trips, excursions, inaugurations, and parades had helped to spread. The Marquess de la Vega de Armijo would recommend to the regent that she should live in a permanent crystal palace, that is, that she should cultivate transparency, and that she should leave the court.<sup>47</sup> In this context, the image that was projected and exploited of the regent was that of the mother who raised the future king to maintain monarchical identity.

However, it was during the liberal phase of the reign of Alfonso XIII (1902–1923) that royal trips were defined as true public policies, extended also abroad, which transformed the young modern monarch into a close, acclaimed, and courageous figure, whose 'hegemonic masculinity'<sup>48</sup> would lead the nation to regeneration after the disaster of 1898, always accompanied by Catholicism and a very militant patriotism.<sup>49</sup> From the first months of his reign, Alfonso XIII aspired 'to live in perpetual contact with his people', as he declared in the discourse that accompanied his oath to the Constitution.<sup>50</sup> He travelled systematically through Spain and abroad, becoming the first Spanish monarch to live under the regime of publicity. The successive heads of government and the king were conscious of the need to legitimate the institution in the face of the country's supposed regeneration, so that internal and external cosmopolitanism was evident, especially until the Great War.

The young king's travels and visits began before the beginning of his reign. In 1900, he visited the country's northeast region with his mother, making of it a learning visit. In 1902, he began to spend the summer systematically in San Sebastián—alternating with Santander from 1907 and in 1906, the year of his marriage to Victoria Eugenia of Battenberg, he had already been in all the provinces of the realm. But it was the success of the trip to Barcelona in 1904, promoted by the conservative president Antonio Maura, that determined the maintenance of the practice as a means of regenerating patriotism.<sup>51</sup>

Alfonso XIII's court travelled to the principal industrial centres and other outstanding localities in order to visit the economic and political elites, but also in order to have contact with the people. The protocol, again scripted by the Crown, the government, and local entities, was reproduced in different regions, exploiting to the limits aspects initiated by the visits of his predecessors on Spain's throne. However, this happened without much modern—that is, democratic—innovation. This is surprising in light of the idea of regeneration on which the new reign of the young Alfonso XIII would

depend to overcome the national crisis that followed the loss of the last overseas colonies, Cuba and the Philippines. Thus:

- 1 The elites continued collaborating and expressed immediate adherence to the visits. These were the political elites (aristocrats and senators, deputies, mayors, and other local notables and leaders), the economic elites (the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie), and the cultural elites that formed the institutions and societies visited by the king. These elites assumed the visits' large expenses. They were hence diners at the banquets and accompanied the sovereign in the ceremonies and serenades organised in his honour. By this means they aspired to increase their prestige and legitimation through direct contact and rapport with the Crown.
- 2 The official interest in connecting the idea of progress to a modern monarchy was evident. Development was one of the stimulators of the national imaginary: the railway, the telegraph, the edition of picturesque and illustrated journals, and albums fascinated by photography as the mirror of the new social reality implanted by liberal political reality. This aspect was exploited as much through the monarch's youth as through the means that were promised and demanded (the railway, highways, local roads, canals and presses, Naval Plan, etc.), the promotion of expositions, of industrialisation (factories and arsenals) and of the sciences and arts (universities, agricultural farms, schools, and institutes, etc.), the encouragement of tourism (San Sebastián, Cortegada—Pontevedra—, and Santander), and the generation of memorabilia and show business with the edition of illustrated journals, albums, and souvenirs that together with films immortalised the visits with the aspiration of transmitting the image of a popular king and of a spectacular monarchy in a modern European reality.
- 3 Again, religion and the Catholic monarchy were always present together. At the beginning of every visit, the *Te Deum* was celebrated in the representative local church and the monarchs entered it under a pallium. Country Masses were celebrated to bless military performances. The display of a church that legitimated royal and national power continued, as did Catholicism as a non-negotiable element of Spanish identity. Another aspect that stands out in the chronicles and news that cover Alfonso XIII's visits are the connection to the past through realms of memory. History was reinterpreted in order to nationalise the monarchy even while regionalising it, since the sanctuaries visited possessed a strong local and regional identity. The royal pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Apostle Santiago in 1904 and 1909 once again affirmed the union between throne and altar, with the great symbology of Spanish identity. Visits such as that of the Church of San Pascual Bailón in Villareal (Castellón), the nucleus of monarchical and Carlist forces in republican Castellón, also had very symbolic meaning. The importance that the

Marian cult had acquired since the second half of the nineteenth century for Catholic national identities within Europe also becomes evident in the visits that the kings made to the Virgin of Covadonga in Asturias—the origin of the fatherland and the nation—the Virgin of El Pilar in Saragossa, the Virgin of Montserrat in Barcelona, the Virgin of Guadalupe in Cáceres, the Lady of the Forsaken in Valencia, and the Virgin of the Santa Faz in Castellón. Doubtless, though, by the 1920s the idea of a Catholic king was becoming contradictory with the display of regeneration and modernity. Munificence was another of the recurring and exploited elements that was related to Christian charity but also to the ‘welfare monarchy’ that encouraged the monarchy’s social acceptance, as happened in other European monarchies.

- 4 The popular masses joined the imagined community through the decorative and playful protocol, even if it was only in a mediatic and temporary way. The ephemeral constructions like shops, marquees, and triumphal arches that were erected to adorn itineraries and visits displayed monarchical symbology with elements like the flag—the *rojigualda*—and the banner of Castile, the royal arms and the crowns of myrtle and laurel, the decking of walkways, institutional buildings and (elite) private houses with symbolic colours, the celebration of *corridos* and *zarzuelas*, electrical lighting, rockets and fireworks that mingled with the sound of church bells, the Royal March as national hymn and other military melodies, the firing of gun and cannon salutes and the parade of troops. The military continued to reaffirm the national monarchical imaginary, the essence of Spanish patriotism and of the identity that the king had inherited from his father, the ‘soldier king’. As well, elements of regional identity and folklore like the peasantry’s typical costumes, musical instruments, chants, dances, and native languages—Catalan, Basque, Galician, and Valencian—were all added to the festive celebrations that royal visits became. However, there was a certain indolence about taking into consideration the strength of alternative identities that emerged since the end of the nineteenth century. It is evident that these types of attitudes did not help to build a strong national monarchical identity on the medium and long term. Little by little the proliferation of peripheral identity movements undermined the intensity of the institutional nationalism inherited from the nineteenth century that was fundamentally Castilian or *castizo*.

Although it is true that the peasantry also attended these visits, it did so more in order to enjoy event, the pilgrimage that the visit became, than to absorb Spanish identity. Hemerographic sources demonstrate that the celebrations observed a hierarchical representation of society in which the people were never more than spectators. Nationalisation from below—displayed in banal form in monarchical performance—was never really achieved as the different social classes were not represented with the necessary horizontality.

The fact that—unlike the British monarchy, which incorporated regional diversity as a fundamental part of monarchical identity—neither the king nor the governments showed interest in the country's various identity realities, which already had clear alternative political connotations. This prevented the king from appearing as Spanish identity's mediating and binding figure and institution. Alfonso XIII did not manage to divest himself of the image that was slowly constructed of him, that of a representative of the oligarchy accompanied by conservative institutions like the Church and a military ceremonial that, though renewed, represented the army's privileged position. This reality already had little to do with the interests of a mass society that was experiencing the surge of alternative identities and was pre-occupied by its daily economic straits. As a result, this society responded with indifference and even disaffection to a sovereign who, paradoxically, led an elitist lifestyle of luxury and entertainment.

It was really during the authoritarian regime of General Primo de Rivera (1923–1930) that Alfonso XIII began his transition to the true symbolic role that befitted him but that he never accepted, as is demonstrated by his constant intervention in politics, especially since the crisis of 1917 and during the years 1920–1923 of the Rif War (1911–1927). Although it is true that he continued to exploit his image and that of the Church through royal visits and trips, the military and institutionalised Spanish symbols like the flag, the authoritarian regime's nationalisation 'from above' aspired to build a modern nation state resembling the European dictatorships of the 1920s that substituted liberal-monarchical Hispanicism through the monarchy's effective destruction.<sup>52</sup>

During the dictatorial regime, new organs of mobilisation appeared like Somatén—an auxiliary force for the maintenance of public order—Unión Patriótica—the regime's only party—and an excess of military parades that henceforth defined public celebrations. National Catholic discourse understood religion as the essence of identity while the link to the glorious past was incarnated in the king's figure and what Diego Tortosa y Nicolás in 1927 called his 'fervent patriotism'.<sup>53</sup> That is, royal visits, which had been eminently monarchical celebrations until 1923, were transformed into national feasts of ethnic exaltation where Alfonso XIII, in addition to king, also became spectator. Between 1925 and 1927, the monarch was already perceived as a captive of the military regime that he himself had supported, in theory, to favour authoritarian modernisation. But by supporting Primo de Rivera the king was disloyal to liberalism and forgot his symbolic status as the nation's supreme incarnation. He lost his influence and his status as the national guide of a supposed modern regeneration. For this reason, he was not able to become the neutral mediator of evolution towards democracy. In addition, he had demonstrated a certain incapacity when it came to joining the rich cultural diversity that defined his kingdom. The national identity defended during Alfonso XIII's liberal phase and afterwards during the authoritarian regime was fundamentally Castilian and had religious and military values

that in the 1920s and 1930s collided as much with the modernisation that was supposed to be taking place as with the social sectors that supported alternative national projects: Catalanism, Basque nationalism and to a lesser extent Galician identity. In order for the monarchical institution to become truly popular it would have had to combine tradition with modernity, that is, monarchy with democracy.

## Conclusion

In Spain, the construction of the modern State was determined by a centralising model where recreating national identity implied reinventing monarchical functions. Dynastic liberalism's programme for the monarchical institution recognised the need to popularise it through periodic contact with the people established through trips, excursions, inaugurations, and parades. This programme for nationalising the monarchy also had a second aspiration: to readapt its function from a traditional power to a neutral power that was symbolic of modern liberal national identity. Like their European counterparts, liberal governments and Spanish monarchs transformed the institution decidedly in order to turn monarchs into symbols of the nation, and ensure the institution's permanence in the new constitutional reality. The court's old ceremonial was replaced by more open and popular practices where royal trips and visits were a very exploited resource.

Isabel II, Spain's first constitutional sovereign, initiated royal tours through the kingdom that were part of public state policy and that undertook to approximate the Crown, her own image, and that of the royal family to the people, reaching true heights of popularity for the national identity during the final stage of her reign, after the difficult experience of the 1854 revolution. But this harvest yielded few fruits in the face of a society that saw in the queen's image the crisis and corruption that defined the political system.

After the triumph of the 1868 revolution King Amadeo I, of the Savoyard dynasty, also resorted to visiting the principal regions and cities of the kingdom that had been 'given' to him, with the aim of lending his dynasty a social dimension and adding national identity to the new democratic monarchy he envisioned. Reality showed, however, that it was not possible to link a democratic monarchy to a society that still had Old Regime values. Tradition and history determined a popular memory that thought it impossible that a foreign dynasty could adapt to the 'fatherland of the Alfonsos'.<sup>54</sup>

In this adaptation of the monarchical institution to modern reality the figures of the successors of the Bourbon dynasty, the son and grandson of Isabel II—Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII—and the government teams contributed to recreating a national consciousness, making Spain live in the places to which they travelled. They were both key to developing the Crown's symbolic and identity functions by exalting military and religious values above all, an aspect that likened them to most European monarchs.<sup>55</sup> Alfonso XII reached a popularity evident since his first marriage, wrapped

up in a romantic aura that connected with the emotionality of national sentiment. Although this projection would be interrupted by the monarch's early death in 1885, his widow, regent María Cristina of Habsburg, was able to perpetuate the institution between uncertainty and a certain difficulty.

The development of mass society in Europe since the end of the nineteenth century—a critical context for the survival of monarchies—led to Spain undertaking to redefine the institution. This was Alfonso XIII's great objective, especially since his constitutional phase (1902–1923): to legitimate the institution through permanent contact with the people by means of trips through the kingdom. All this clearly contributed to popularising the monarch's image and at first also the institution's. In fact, the king aimed as much to popularise the monarchy as to nationalise the population through the monarchy by exalting military, religious, and cultural values. This reality, however, strengthened a unitary and conservative national identity, leaving sub-state nationalisms—identities that had come to define political reality during his reign—without due consideration. In addition, his constant interference in political life and his implication in the colonial war in Morocco with supposed responsibility in the Annual disaster (1921) would mark the final phase of his reign.

After the Great War, monarchies were very weakened, and many disappeared. Spain's Crown followed a course similar to Italy's—and Portugal's, some years previously—as King Alfonso XIII became a tyrannical and corrupt anachronism who used an authoritarian government covered up by technocracy to bring over a century of constitutional tradition to a close. The fact that in 1923 his survival was linked to the dictatorial regime of Primo de Rivera opened the doors to republican sentiment and in April 1931 the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed.

Constitutional monarchy would arrive again in Spain in the last quarter of the twentieth century as a key element of the transition to democracy after Franco's dictatorship, with Juan Carlos of Bourbon—Juan Carlos I—in 1975. It was the third Spanish monarchical restoration, and new proof of the institution's resilience.

## Funding

This work was supported by Spain's Ministry of Science, Innovations and Universities under Grant [PGC2018-093698-B-I00] and Spain's Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness under Grant [HAR2015-66532-P].

## Notes

- 1 Translated from Spanish by Carolina Armenteros.
- 2 Tortosa y Nicolás, 1927: 272.
- 3 Billig, 1995; Olechnowicz, 2007. On state folklorism: Thiesse, 1999. On the idea of imagined communities: Anderson, 1983.

- 4 Bagehot, 1964 [1867].
- 5 Moreno-Luzón, 2013.
- 6 This conversion of sovereigns in regard to social consensus through historical continuity in times of great conflict also had a component of territorial delimitation. Geertz, 1993.
- 7 Álvarez Junco, 1994.
- 8 Villares, 2016.
- 9 San Narciso, 2019b: 368.
- 10 In this respect: San Narciso, 2017.
- 11 Burdiel, 2010: 536 and 573.
- 12 Burdiel, 2003.
- 13 On Isabel II's trips see the works of San Narciso, 2019a: 6–10; Núñez García, 2019; Naldi, 2018; Barral-Martínez, 2012 and 2015; Fernández Albéndiz, 2007; Carasa, 2007; Riego, 1999.
- 14 Among the official chronicles and albums: Rada y Delgado, 1860; Flores, 1861; Cos-Gayón, 1863; Tubio, 1863; Ortiz de Zárate, 1865; Cisneros, 1858; Fontanella, 1999.
- 15 *Gil Blas* (Madrid), 05-01-1871.
- 16 Pérez Galdós, 2007 [1907–1910]: 579.
- 17 Williams, 1997.
- 18 Pi y Margall, 1970 [1873]: 54.
- 19 Mira-Abad, 2011: 295.
- 20 Bolaños Mejía, 1999: 24.
- 21 Pirala, 1870: 203.
- 22 Mira-Abad, 2011: 315 and 316.
- 23 For an overview of the trips and image of the monarchy of Amadeo I: Barral-Martínez, 2019a, Mira-Abad, 2007. On Amadeo I's travel chronicles: Roca, 1871.
- 24 Pirala, 1870: 276, 345, 376, and 389. *La Iberia* (Madrid), 01 and 03-10-1871.
- 25 *El Combate* (Madrid), 29-12-1872.
- 26 *El Pensamiento Español* (Madrid), 7-1-1871.
- 27 On nobles' rejection of the new dynasty: Sánchez, 2019.
- 28 *El Eco de Galicia* (Lugo), 08-08-1872.
- 29 Archivo Municipal de Ferrol (AMF), Exp. C-699/14. Letter of the Lieutenant Priest of San Julián, Nicolás Silva and letter of the General Military Vicar of Ferrol, Vicente Alcayde, to the Mayor of Ferrol, José Calvet, 14 and 16-8-1872.
- 30 *La Esperanza* (Madrid), 26-8-1872.
- 31 Lario, 1999: 57–63.
- 32 San Narciso, 2019c: 41.
- 33 On the education of Alfonso XII: Forsting, 2018.
- 34 Seco, 2007: 13–14. Dardé, 2001: 37.
- 35 Lario: 2003a: 15 and 21–22. Lario, 2003b: 171–178.
- 36 Dardé, 2001: 87–91.
- 37 On the trips of Alfonso XII: Barral-Martínez, 2019b; Fernández Albéndiz, 2007; Morillas Molina, 2018; Fernández Albéndiz, 2007.
- 38 Minguet [manuscript], 1894–1893. Jerez Perchet and Muñoz Cerissola, 1877. Serna, 1875.
- 39 *La Época* (Madrid), 26-07-1877.
- 40 Fernández Sirvent, 2010.

- 41 *El Diario de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela), 26-07-1877.
- 42 Archivo General de Palacio (AGP), RA12, C<sup>a</sup>. 8641. Letter of the Dean and Counsellor of Santiago, Antonio López Ferreiro, to King Alfonso XII, Santiago, 28-06-1877. Letter of the Mayor of Santiago de Compostela, Joaquín Botana, to King Alfonso XII, Santiago, 30-06-1877.
- 43 AGP, RA12, C<sup>a</sup>. 8641. Petitions for aid and alms directed to King Alfonso XII.
- 44 *Gaceta de Galicia* (Santiago de Compostela), 17-8-1881.
- 45 *La Época* (Madrid), 12-08-1881, on the visit to Ferrol in the summer of 1881.
- 46 Reyero, 2015: 203–204.
- 47 Tusell and Queipo de Llano, 2001.
- 48 Moreno Seco and Mira-Abad, 2016.
- 49 On royal trips during the reign of Alfonso XIII: Barral-Martínez, 2016a and 2016b. See also Javier Moreno-Luzón's chapter in this book.
- 50 Castillo-Puche, 1961: 149.
- 51 AGP, Exp. 15.622/10. Maura, 10-10-1908.
- 52 Quiroga Fernández de Soto, 2008.
- 53 Tortosa, 1927: 272.
- 54 *El Eco de Galicia* (Santiago de Compostela), 06-08-1872.
- 55 Barral-Martínez, 2016b.

## Bibliography

- Álvarez Junco, José (1994): 'La invención de la Guerra de Independencia', *Studia historica. Historia contemporánea*, 12, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca.
- Anderson, Benedict (1983): *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London and New York, Verso.
- Bagehot, Walter (1964 [1867]): *The English Constitution*, London, C.A. Watts.
- Barral-Martínez, Margarita (2012): *A visita de Isabel II a Galicia en 1858*, Santiago de Compostela, Sotelo Blanco.
- Barral-Martínez, Margarita (2015): 'Performing Monarchy and National Identity in the Liberal Culture: The Case of Galicia (1858)', *Ler História*, 68: 69–84.
- Barral-Martínez, Margarita (ed.) (2016a): *Alfonso XIII visita España. Monarquía y nación*, Granada, Comares.
- Barral-Martínez, Margarita (2016b): 'Introducción: Las visitas reales como medio de nacionalización. El caso de Alfonso XIII en España', in Margarita Barral-Martínez (ed.): *Alfonso XIII visita España: monarquía y nación*, Granada, Comares, 1–25.
- Barral-Martínez, Margarita (2019a): 'Socialización española de la monarquía saboyana: La visita a Galicia de Amadeo I', *Hispania*, 79/262: 389–414.
- Barral-Martínez, Margarita (2019b): 'La identidad nacional-monárquica en Galicia durante el reinado de Alfonso XII', in Raquel Sánchez (ed.), *Un rey para la nación. Monarquía y nacionalización en el siglo XIX*, Madrid, Sílex, 105–130.
- Billig, Michael (1995): *Banal Nationalism*, London, SAGE Publications.
- Bolaños Mejía, Carmen (1999): *El reinado de Amadeo I y su monarquía constitucional*, Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.
- Burdiel, Isabel (2003): 'Monarquía y nación en la cultura política progresista. La encrucijada de 1854', in Encarnación García Moneris, Mónica Moreno Seco and Juan Ignacio Marcuello (eds.): *Culturas políticas monárquicas en la España liberal. Discursos, representaciones y prácticas (1808–1902)*, Valencia, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 213–232.

- Burdiel, Isabel (2010): *Isabel II: Una biografía (1830–1904)*, Madrid, Taurus.
- Carasa, Pedro (2007): *La reina en la ciudad. Usos de la historia en la visita de Isabel II a Valladolid*, Valladolid, Ayuntamiento de Valladolid.
- Castillo-Puche, José Luis (1961): *Diario íntimo de Alfonso XIII*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva.
- Cisneros, Andrés María de (1858): *Álbum de vistas monumentales de Santiago, dedicado a S.M. la Reina*, Santiago, Litografía de Jorge Osterberger.
- Cos-Gayón, Fernando (1863): *Crónica del viaje de SS. MM. y AA. RR. a Andalucía y Murcia en septiembre y octubre de 1862*, Madrid, Imprenta nacional.
- Dardé, Carlos (2001): *Alfonso XII*, Madrid, Arlanza.
- Fernández Albéndiz, María del Carmen (2007): *Sevilla y la Monarquía. Las visitas reales en el siglo XIX*, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla.
- Fernández Sirvent, Rafael (2010): 'De "rey soldado" a "pacificador". Representaciones simbólicas de Alfonso XII de Borbón', *Historia constitucional*, 11: 47–48.
- Flores, Antonio (1861): *Crónica del viaje de sus Majestades y Altezas Reales a las islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón en 1860, escrita de orden de su Majestad la Reina*, Madrid, Imprenta de R. Rivadeneyra.
- Forsting, Richard Meyer (2018): 'Military Habitus and Networks in Prince Alfonso de Borbón [sic] Education (1857–1874)', *Aportes*, 96: 127–148.
- Fontanella, Lee (1999): *Clifford en España. Un fotógrafo en la corte de Isabel II*, tr. J.A. Torres Almodóvar, Madrid, El Viso.
- Geertz, Clifford, (1993): 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in Sean Wilentz (ed.), *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 13–88.
- Jerez Perchet, Augusto and Nicolás Muñoz Cerissola (1877): *Crónica de la visita de S.M. el rey D. Alfonso a la ciudad de Málaga en marzo de 1877*, Málaga, Establecimiento Tipográfico de El Museo.
- Lario Alonso, Ángeles, (2003a): 'Alfonso XII. El Rey que quiso ser constitucional', *Ayer*, 52: 15–38.
- Lario Alonso, Ángeles (2003b): 'Alfonso XII, católico y liberal', *Bulletin d'histoire contemporaine de l'Espagne*, 32: 171–178.
- Lario Alonso, Ángeles (1999): *El Rey, piloto sin brújula. La Corona y el sistema político de la Restauración (1875–1902)*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva/Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.
- Minguet Toussaint, Rafael (1893–1894): Descripción de los viajes, salidas a la guerra, salidas a jornadas, paseos diarios, casamientos y visitas a poblaciones víctimas de terremotos, calamidades, epidemias, etc., verificados por S. M. el Rey Don Alfonso XII desde la fecha de su proclamación para Rey de España (28 de diciembre de 1874) hasta la de su muerte... el 25 de noviembre de 1885; y diario de la familia real de 1893 [manuscript], Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid (BPR), II/4247 and II/4248.
- Mira-Abad, Alicia (2007): 'La imagen de la Monarquía o cómo hacerla presente entre sus súbditos: Amadeo y María Victoria', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 37/2: 173–198.
- Mira-Abad, Alicia (2011): 'La monarquía imposible: Amadeo I y María Victoria', in Emilio La Parra, (ed.), *La imagen del poder. Reyes y regentes en la España del siglo XIX*, Madrid, Síntesis, 283–331.
- Moreno-Luzón, Javier (2013): 'Alfonso el Regenerador. Monarquía escénica e imaginario nacionalista español, en perspectiva comparada (1902–1913)', *Hispania*, 73/244: 319–348.

- Moreno Seco, Mónica and Alicia Mira-Abad (2016): '¿Un rey viril para una España fuerte? La masculinidad de Alfonso XIII y la nación', in Nerea Aresti, Karin Peters and Julia Brühne (eds.): *¿La España invertebrada? Masculinidad y nación a comienzos del siglo XX*, Granada, Comares, 101–135.
- Morillas Molina, Miriam (2018): 'La imagen de los viajes y desplazamientos de Alfonso XII como herramienta propagandística', PhD thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Naldi, Federico (2018): "Ante la imagen de la Virgen de la Monarquía y sobre la tumba del restaurador de la misma". I viaggi della famiglia reale al santuario di Covadonga in età contemporanea (1858–1918)', *Spagna contemporanea*, 54: 33–61.
- Núñez García, Víctor Manuel (2019): 'Monarquía y nación a través de la visita de Isabel II a Andalucía en 1862. La dimensión cultural de las ceremonias reales', *Hispania*, 29/262: 331–357.
- Olechnowicz, Andrzej (2007): 'Historians and the Modern British Monarchy', in Andrzej Olechnowicz (ed.): *The Monarchy and the British Nation: 1780 to the Present*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Ortiz de Zárate, Ramón (1865): *Viaje de la Real Familia a las Provincias Vascongadas. Recibimiento y festejos en la provincia de Álava el 30 de agosto, 12, 13, 14 y 15 de septiembre de 1865*, Vitoria, Imprenta de Cipriano Guinea.
- Pérez Galdós, Benito (2007, 1996 [1907–1910]): *Episodios Nacionales. Quinta Serie: España sin rey y Amadeo I*, ed. Francisco Caudet, Madrid, Alianza.
- Pi y Margall, Francisco (1970 [1873]): *El reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y la República de 1873* (preface by Antoni Jutglar), Madrid, Seminario y Ediciones.
- Pirala, Antonio (1870): *El rey en Madrid y en provincias*, Madrid, Impresor de Cámara.
- Quiroga Fernández de Soto, Alejandro (2008): *Haciendo españoles. La nacionalización de las masas en la dictadura de Primo de Rivera*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.
- Rada y Delgado, Juan de Dios de la (1860): *Viaje de SS. MM. y AA. por Castilla, León, Asturias y Galicia, verificado en el verano de 1858*, Madrid, Aguado Impresor de Cámara de S.M. y de su Real Casa.
- Reyero, Carlos (2015): *Monarquía y Romanticismo. El hechizo de la imagen regia, 1829–1873*, Madrid, Siglo XXI.
- Riego, Bernardo (1999): 'Imágenes fotográficas y estrategias de opinión pública: los viajes de la reina Isabel II por España (1858–1866)', *Reales Sitios. Revista de Patrimonio Nacional*, 139: 2–13.
- Roca, José Pastor de la (1871): *Crónica del viaje a Alicante de SS.MM. Amadeo I y María de la Victoria en marzo de 1871*, Alicante, Imprenta de la viuda de Juan J. Carratalá.
- Roca Vernet, Jordi (2018): 'Los nacionalismos banales en la Revolución liberal a través de las fiestas cívicas', in Alejandro Quiroga and Ferran Archilés (eds.): *Ondear la nación. Nacionalismo banal en España*, Granada, Comares, 43–71.
- San Narciso, David (2017): 'Celebrar el futuro, venerar la Monarquía. El nacimiento del heredero y el punto de fuga ceremonial de la monarquía isabelina (1857–1858)', *Hispania*, 77/255: 185–215.
- San Narciso Martín, David (2019a): 'Being a Nation through the Crown? Banal Monarchism and Nation-Building in Liberal Spain, 1833–68', *European Review of History*, 27/4: 474–493.

- San Narciso Martín, David (2019b): '¿Una familia real en el trono de España? Ritualidad política y ceremonias dinásticas en la construcción del Estado liberal (1833–1868)', *Hispania*, 79/262: 359–387.
- San Narciso Martín, David (2019c): 'Bajo el discreto encanto de la nación. La monarquía española en la Europa postrevolucionaria (1830–1870)', in Raquel Sánchez (ed.): *Un rey para la nación. Monarquía y nacionalización en el siglo XIX*, Madrid, Sílex, 21–43.
- Sánchez García, Raquel (2019): 'Política de gestos. La aristocracia contra la monarquía democrática de Amadeo de Saboya', *Pasado y memoria*, 18: 19–38.
- Seco, Carlos (2007): *Alfonso XII*, Barcelona, Ariel.
- Serna, Agustín Fernando de la (1875): *La Restauración y el Rey en el ejército del Norte*, Madrid, Imprenta de Aribau y Compañía.
- Thiesse, Anne-Marie (1999): *La création des identités nationales. Europe: siècles XIX-XX*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil.
- Tortosa y Nicolás, Diego (1927): 'Rey patriota y católico', in Lucas Argilés y Ruiz del Valle (ed.): *España bajo el reinado de Alfonso XIII, 1902–1927*, Madrid, Tipografía J. Pugés y Compañía, 271–277.
- Tubio, Francisco María (1863): *Crónica del Viaje de SS. MM. y AA. a Andalucía en el año 1862*, Sevilla, Imprenta La Andalucía.
- Tusell, Javier and Genoveva G. Queipo de Llano (2001): *Alfonso XIII. El rey polémico*, Madrid, Taurus.
- Villares, Ramón (2016): 'Prólogo', in Margarita Barral-Martínez (ed.): *Alfonso XIII visita España. Monarquía y nación*, Granada, Comares, xi–xviii.
- Williams, Richard (1997): *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria*, Hants, Ashgate.