

The Millennial of Castile (1943): the Historical Culture of Spanish Fascism

Abstract

The creation of new symbols and historical myths were common practices of nationalistic politics, especially in Fascist regimes. In 1943 the Franco regime organized the most impressive historical commemoration celebrated in postwar Spain: the *Milenario* of Castile. With its heterogeneous mixture of history and spectacle, the *Milenario* of Castile was by far the greatest historical commemoration promoted by the State during the nineteen-forties. Taking the commemoration of the *Milenario* as case study, this article examines the historical culture of Spanish Fascism, and the attempts of the Falangist intellectual elite to impose a concrete national narrative in postwar Spain. At the same time, the article analyses the historical discourses and aesthetics displayed throughout the commemoration, underlining its Fascist character, and consequently the transnational dimension of the Fascist politics of the past. Finally, the article reflects on the scope and limits of the process of Fascistization in Franco's dictatorship, especially in its commemorative culture.

Keywords:

Francoism, Fascism, Commemorations, Historical Culture, Historiography.

Introduction

In September 1943, the small Castilian city of Burgos found itself transformed into a magnificent stage. The most important political authorities of the Spanish New State - including the dictator Francisco Franco, military commanders and representatives of the Catholic Church - flocked to witness, along with thousands of civilian spectators, one of the greatest public spectacles of the early postwar period.

The occasion for this impressive mobilization of human and material resources was to commemorate the ‘Millennial of Castile’, which celebrated 1,000 years of Castilian history. The hero at the centre of the festivities was Count Fernán González, the first autonomous count of Castile: a semi-legendary figure who laid the foundations of the Castilian Kingdom.ⁱ

Through my analysis of the Millennial of Castile and the historical discourses embedded within it, I intend to deepen our understanding of the historical culture of Spanish Fascism, and of the image of the past propagated by the Spanish New State.

Otherwise referred to as *Geschichtskultur* or *culture historique*, the term ‘historical culture’ originated in the 1980s following a profound theoretical debate around the concepts of narrativity, cultural memory and the process of identity construction.ⁱⁱ The concept alludes to the relationship that a community sustains with its past - a relationship articulated through an endless web of narratives, ideologies and attitudes.ⁱⁱⁱ The notion of historical culture forces us to transcend superficial analyses of discourses, and to include the analysis of all media and institutions involved in the exchange or imposition of a concrete representation of the past.^{iv}

It is through the so-called ‘politics of the past’ that collective historical identities are articulated.^v In this sense, historical commemorations can be viewed as an important tool in the construction of national pasts. By condensing historical narratives into public spectacle, these celebrations constituted a potent weapon within the politics of the past. Moreover, as historical events in their own right, the celebrations had a performative element that, as Peter Burke points out, enabled them to “canonize particular events, in the sense of giving them a sacred or exemplary quality, making them historic as well as historical.”^{vi} From this perspective, commemorations can be viewed as dynamic spaces: places of intersection

between history and politics; between the corporate (and semi-private) spaces of history and the public ones; between scholarly exercises and propaganda; and, ultimately, between the past and its exploiters in the present. A transitory ecosystem (given the ephemeral nature of commemorations) in which countless agents and a wide range of agendas coincide, either to collaborate or to compete.

Analysing the commemoration of the Millennial of Castile in 1943 will allow us to deepen our characterization of Falangist historical culture, and its links to international models of Fascism, as well as to reflect on the process and limits of fascistization in Francoist Spain. In the first section of this analysis, I will attempt to analyse what I will be referring to as the ‘fascistization’ of the national past. That is to say, the strategies used by fascist intellectuals to colour the accepted interpretation of Spanish history according to their particular world-view. To achieve this, I will try to untangle the historical discourses that the Millennial of Castile was intended to popularise, which represented a classical Falangist conception of the national past. Secondly, I will focus on analysing the celebrations and commemorative ceremonies of the Millennial itself, in order to deepen our understanding of commemorative culture and the aesthetics of National-Syndicalism, and its attempt to develop a modern representation of the past. Finally, I will reflect on the seductive capacity of historical images, and the way in which Fascism used them to illustrate the contrast with the ‘decadence’ of modernity (itself a thoroughly modern concept), which came to constitute one of the key leitmotifs of Fascist ideology.

The Millennial of Castile and the Fascistization of the National Past

Several decades after the slaughter of the Civil War, in one of the more unusual attacks of conscience amongst the victors, Dionisio Ridruejo - formerly a prominent Falangist - summarised his experience of Spanish history as “like an illness”. History, according to Ridruejo, was an malady that plagued the Spanish people, “emptying out their will, and delivering them to dangerous hallucinations”.^{vii} Ridruejo spoke from experience, as one of those who had helped to lay the foundations of Francoism: “I know the illness because in its

hallucinatory dimension I have experienced it in my own youth, when I imagined that we would find in the reconquest of the great overseas venture - in transcendent nationalism - the remedies for our current miseries.”^{viii} Ridruejo was right to recognise the power of these “historical hallucinations”, experienced as transcendent realities by many Spaniards in the post-war era, who were fascinated by a narrative that posited them as bearers of the national destiny - key players in the rebirth of the fatherland.

What is clear is that the manipulation of the past by Fascist or Fascist-influenced ideologies, and specifically by Francoism, surpassed its legitimizing function to become an integral aspect of the Fascist utopian project.^{ix} Fascist ideologues understood the triumph of their respective regimes as the inauguration of a new historical epoch that had come to bring order to the nation’s history and establish an immovable horizon for the future.^x

As various authors have shown, this transcendent image of the past would eventually become one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Fascist ethos. In relation to the *Zeitkultur* of Nazi Germany, Martin Sabrow highlights the limited presence of the future, remarking that “the future was almost completely dissolved into the presence and was virtually reduced to the resolution of the past”.^{xi} A similar conception of national history can be traced in Italian Fascism, which found in images of Roman and Renaissance glory “tools of combat to head out in pursuit of the future”.^{xii} Mussolini himself spoke of this transcendent value of the past that “instead of being a dead end of our existence will be a boost, a ferment of life”.^{xiii} In each of these cases, the present became a natural end point of the redemptive process which Fascism claimed to represent, and was raised to utopian status as the ‘end of history’.

In his 1937 conference entitled “History as Meaning” [«La Historia como sentido»], Antonio Tovar, Professor of Latin Studies at the Universidad de Salamanca, established the view of historical study championed by the intellectuals of the Falange.^{xiv} In his attempt to overturn Positivism and Historicism, which he considered decadent products of Liberalism, Tovar proposed “mythos” as a mode of historical insight.^{xv} He did so through assimilating concepts such as *Erleben* (experience) and *blutmäßiges Empfinden* (‘blood-feeling’), which

were put into circulation by Nazi historians.^{xvi} Tovar's conception of history was sensory and intimate - visceral, even - and he directed it to serve the political needs of Falangism. Tovar wanted to annihilate the autonomy of the historical discipline and transform it into a weapon "that guides our instinct, that illuminates our duty to Destiny": in summary, a historic discipline that would give "clarity to what our blood demands".^{xvii} In other words, Tovar abandoned the path traced by the first generation of professional historians, who had promoted the modernization of Spanish historiography. He transforms the historian into a mere builder of "mythhistories".^{xviii} This concept of history was demonstrated by the historiographical discourses that emerged around the commemoration of the *Milenario de Castilla*.

The Falangist historical imagination was built on pre-existing ideological foundations. For example, the Castilian essentialism of the veteran Philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal had a notable influence on Fascist narratives about Castilian history. Indeed, he was invited to speak as one of the key intellectual figures of the Millennial celebrations. In his conference entitled "The Primeval Character of Castile", Menéndez Pidal reaffirmed the existence of a national popular tradition (a sort of Castilian *volkgeist*), describing the specifically Castilian characteristics that had formed, since the birth of the kingdom, the spiritual sustenance of the future Spain.^{xix} He saw these characteristics as being reflected in the great anti-Islamic push of the Castilian Reconquest; in its judicial liberalism based in customary law; and, finally, in the development and expansion of the Castilian tongue. For Menéndez Pidal, primeval Castile owed its existence to an incomplete process of Romanisation, which had allowed an Iberian substrate to persist. This pre-Roman substrate, along with the conditioning of the Reconquest, led to the appearance of an 'ethos' (*Weltanschauung*) that ultimately imposed itself over the rest of the Spanish territories.^{xx} This process was aided by the strength and momentum of Count Fernán González, an anti-Islamic leader of "unquestionable tenacity".

Falangists were eager to appropriate Pidal's ideas. They used them to challenge liberal nationalism, hoping to replace it with a transcendent nationalism, infinitely superior to "those nationalities recently invented by nationalism, pure vanities that would soon cease to exist,

because in reality they never existed”.^{xxi} Building on Pidal’s ideas, Falangist historian Manuel Ballesteros described life in the Castile of 1,000AD as “a violent existence of lacerating struggles, nationalist passion and a virile sense of Catholicism”. Ballesteros’s vision of ancient Castile clearly constitutes a retrospective projection of Falangist ideology.^{xxii}

A recurrent element of Falangist historical narrative, and a vital ingredient in the Falange’s mystical belief in national regeneration, was its positing of violence as the motor of history. In an echo of Mussolini’s well-known adage, Antonio Tovar asserted that “History can not be made with the mind. History is blood.”^{xxiii} If violence was the inner motor of history, it was also an essential factor in forging the Castilian kingdom - either, as Ernesto Giménez Caballero claimed, because of the imperative of the landscape, or because of the bitter struggle against Islam.^{xxiv} For the historian José Antonio Maravall, the Castilian people had always been driven “by warlike ends”, as the “constant and intimate state of war” experienced during the Reconquest evolved into a “constitutive element” of Castile’s existence.^{xxv}

In each of these dramatized retellings of history, the individual hero played a decisive role as a personification of national virtues.^{xxvi} They transformed Count Fernán González into a “rebel leader” (“*caudillo rebelde*”) and, in the words of Giménez Caballero, as an “genuine *Gauleiter* of Aryan lineage”.^{xxvii} In accordance with Falangist populism, Fernán González was characterized as a popular hero who had read the destiny of his people and led them spiritedly towards its fulfilment.^{xxviii}

Along with the immutable character of Castile, which they presented as interchangeable with Spain as a whole, the Falange’s ultranationalist discourse also offered a powerful message of redemption locked into a virtuous circle that linked the past with the present. This mytho-historical sleight of hand enabled them to link the triumphs of 10th-century Castile with the victory of the military uprising against the Second Republic.^{xxix} As an ‘apocalyptic regime’ (to borrow a term from John Gray), Falangist palingenesis demanded a glorious resurgence of the nation.^{xxx} The Millennial of Castile was to play an active part in this rebirth. Indeed, for Fascist mysticism, the Millennial could not constitute a nostalgic or

melancholy memorial to the past. As Antonio Tovar warned in *La Vanguardia*: “The Millennial will be useless if it simply commemorates past glories, without hope of new ones”.^{xxxii} Rather than “archaicizing” or obsessing over glorious pasts, Tovar wanted Castile to lead a new Middle Age that would restore Spain to its true essence.^{xxxiii} This was a project upon which the country had already started in 1936, but which would need constant maintenance:

“We continue in the same vein. Today, one thousand years later, Spain once more possesses a *Caudillo*, a natural leader of men who has returned us to a unified Spain. Let us prepare, then, to follow our eternal path, which is no other than that of St. James, the path along which Providence has led the Falange. The path of Salvation for that which we call Christianity, Latin heritage and Spanishness.”^{xxxiii}

These historiographical upheavals and breakdowns reached their apex in the publication of *The History of the Earldom of Castile*, a three-volume written by the Benedictine friar Justo Pérez de Urbel for the occasion of the Millennial.^{xxxiv} In the two volumes which he authored (the third was a collection of documents), the learned Benedictine tackled the history of Castile from the Muslim invasion of 711 until the beginning of the 11th century. Reiterating platitudes long discarded by pre-Francoist historiography, Pérez de Urbel’s fairytale retelling of Castilian history centred both on Fernán González and on Castile herself, transformed into a heroine of historical progress guided by the Falangist “unity of destiny in the universal”. Pérez de Urbel took Pidal’s ideas and vulgarized them to impossible extremes, so that “what in Menéndez Pidal was a terminology borrowed from conservative essayism or from his own analyses of epic literature became in Fray Justo a repertory of authentically Falangist expressions”.^{xxxv}

As an example of postwar state revisionism, *The History of the Earldom of Castile* stands out for its degradation of the basic standards of historical study.^{xxxvi} Pérez de Urbel is a paradigmatic example of the corruption of the ethics that had previously guided the discipline, as he renounced one of the historian’s key responsibilities: “to distill the past from fables and chimeras”.^{xxxvii} Pérez de Urbel’s defects and anomalies were ignored by a complacent and

hyper-patriotic academic establishment, which showered him with praise as a “diligent historian” possessed of “shrewdness and fine critical instinct” as well as an “effusive love of old Castile”.^{xxxviii} In a natural culmination of its destiny, Pérez de Urbel’s *History* was awarded the Premio Francisco Franco.

Against this background, the celebrations of the Millennial of Castile attempted to stage this mythical Castillian past, bringing to life the historical images propagated by Falangist intellectuals and historians.

Genesis and Praxis of a Fascist Mass-Spectacle

The celebrations of the Millennial included a wide variety of acts. There were solemn masses, civic-religious processions, academic lectures (like the one given by Ramón Menéndez Pidal), and the archaic oath-taking participated in by Burgos authorities over the tomb of Fernan González. As well as the official ceremonies, the Millennial also had a festive, popular dimension that was expressed in *verbenas* (neighbourhood street parties), bullfights, firework displays and fairground rides. In short, a repertoire of acts and attractions that responded to a traditional model of commemoration ceremonies refined during the 19th century.

However, what had initially been projected by the Burgales authorities as an eminently local and parochial celebration ended up being transformed into a Fascist mass spectacle of national importance. In this process, the office of the Vicesecretary of Popular Education played a decisive role. Created on May 20th, 1941, and dependent on the General Secretariat of the Movement [*Secretaría General del Movimiento*], the office of the Vicesecretary of Popular Education [*Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular*] was a product of the merging of the National Services of Press and Propaganda. The merger involved the implantation of a system of totalitarian control over the press and popular culture, creating a bureaucratic post similar to the Nazi German *Reichminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* or the *Ministero della Cultura popolare italiano*.^{xxxix}

Ultimately, it was the Vicesecretary [VSEP] who was responsible for adapting the Millennial to suit the commemorative culture of Spanish Fascism. Falangist technicians and intellectuals linked to the Vicesecretary established the narrative of the event, designed its spectacular and technically ambitious *mise en scène*, and oversaw media coverage and publicity of the event (including a special report by NO-DO, the state controlled news outlet).^{x1} In summary, it was the Vicesecretary's office that transformed what was essentially a humble, small-town affair (inspired in its turn by traditional rituals) into a Fascist mass-spectacle. In the run-up to the Millennial, the VSEP sent out a circular to its various provincial delegations emphasising the need to commemorate the Millennial in the rest of Spain, thus expanding its geographical reach and turning it into a nationwide celebration.^{xii} The organisers also secured the collaboration of the Francoist youth organisation the Youth Front [*Frente de Juventudes*], who would be attending the commemoration in a political-mystical pilgrimage. More importantly, they also obtained the goodwill of the Head of State, which translated into considerable logistical and financial support in the months leading up to the Millennial.^{xlii}

The commemoration of the Millennial was unprecedented in postwar Spain. The spectacle designed by the Falangist technicians of the VSEP was vibrant and dynamic – even theatrical – in representing the warlike violence of the primitive Castile. Despite their limitations, the medieval-themed festivities of the Millennial of Castile constituted one of the most successful attempts in post-war Spain to create a representation of the past according to Fascist-influenced aesthetics.

On the afternoon of September 5th, 1943, a crowd of around 10,000 people congregated around the *Campo de Laserna* to attend the medieval games. Through an entrance-way flanked by towers, pennants and flags, the medieval procession advanced haltingly towards the centre of the field. More than 200 characters paraded past the audience in rigorous formation: peasants dressed in bright colours; heralds and town criers on horseback; warriors wearing horned helmets, dancers and spearmen; a “King of Arms” accompanied by various “field judges”; several bands of horsemen with streamers; and a

group of “sixteen damsels on horseback, escorted by servants and bearing shields on their reins”. Bringing up the rear was a group of twenty knights armed with lances.^{xliii} The costumes of the participants - flowing robes of angular cut, decorated with geometric motifs - were firmly ahistorical. Far from a faithful attempt to reconstruct the realities of medieval dress, the schematic rendering of the court and its paraphernalia represented a naive and idealised vision of the high-medieval period, emphasising its supposed simplicity. The *Caudillo* and his family took pride of place in the main grandstand, accompanied by soldiers, church dignitaries and nearly a hundred high-ranking state officials.^{xliv} Directly opposite them, and suggesting a parallel that could not possibly have gone unnoticed, another grandstand hosted the ‘King of Arms’ and his cohort of warriors.

After the arrival of the procession, a herald approached the *Caudillo*’s grandstand and “in a gallant manner” proceeded to read a poetic piece composed of various different passages of the “Poem of Fernán González”.^{xlv} Immediately afterwards, the large audience that had gathered in the Campo de Laserna - who found themselves organised according to a rigorous hierarchy of spaces - were able to enjoy what was intended as a complete immersion in the mythical Castilian past. The ‘medieval games’ began with a dance recital. A powerful megaphone system started playing the melody of a musical arrangement composed of fragments of *Las Mocedades del Cid*, to which had been added “warrior touches of the era”.^{xlvi} Flanked by dozens of peasants and maids, the central part of the Laserna field played host to a series of equestrian displays intended to transport the spectators back through the centuries to the legendary era of heroic Castile. There was a jousting competition in which various knights galloped towards each other with spears and attempted to cause injury. The “Juego del bohordo” display was similar, except that instead of targeting one another, the horsemen tried to knock down a series of miniature model castles that had been erected in the field. The complex choreography of the performances - rigidly orchestrated by the technicians of the VSEP - left no room for improvisation or error. At the end of the display, the victorious knights approached the *Caudillo*’s grandstand to receive their trophies, which were bestowed upon them by the female guest of honour, Franco’s daughter.



Figure 1, 2, 3, 4.

Images of the Milenario of Castile. Source: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de la Administración, Fondo Medios de Comunicación Social del Estado, caja F/00847, sobre 17.

The medieval festivities can be viewed as an attempt to synthesize the Falange's idealised, primitivist vision of Castile. The organisers did not even try to create a historicist recreation of the medieval period, but rather to realize and stage the Falangist historical imagination. They were not interested in historical authenticity so much as in communicating, with as much sensory impact as possible, the values of a mythicised past that they felt must be revived in the service of the present. Along with the scenery and the aesthetics displayed, it is this intention to mobilise the past - to transform it into an ideological tool - that allows us to include the celebrations in Burgos in the 'organic modernity' proposed by Fascism, which viewed the present as the culmination of a perfected past.^{xlvi}

In these shared spaces of international Fascism we can clearly see the similarities between the Millennial of Castile and the *feste rinascimentali* of Fascist Italy.^{xlviii} Italian Fascism had reinvented the Florentine *Calcio*, the *Palio* of Sienna and the *Giostra del Saracino* in Arezzo, responding to this intention to subdue History by transforming it into drama, overcoming previous models of historical representation through what Claudio Fogu refers to as the “thaumaturgic paradigm”.^{xlix} Despite the peculiarities of and differences between Francoism, Italian Fascism and Nazism, it can be clearly seen that Fascist political culture was transnational in nature - a fact underlined, in this case, by their shared commemorative culture. These circumstances reinforce the need to analyse said political culture from a transnational perspective.¹

Conclusion: The Millennial of Castile and the Limits of the Historical Culture of Spanish Fascism

While it is possible to trace the germ of what we might call a National-Syndicalist philosophy of history, destined to overturn the old paradigms of liberal historicism, the reality is that it never managed to impose itself. This is not to say that there were no Falangist historians. In fact, there was an extensive roll-call, including figures such as Antonio Tovar, Juan Beneyto, Pérez Bustamante, Melchor Fernández Almagro, Carlos Alonso del Real, Manuel Ballesteros, Santiago Montero, and the archaeologists Martínez Santa-Olalla and Almagro Basch. Casting the net more widely, one could name many other Spanish historians whose views have been tainted to some degree by the Falangist conception of history. This article is not the place to discuss the evolution and fortune of this group of “little dictators”, who controlled the study of Spanish history for decades.^{li} Nevertheless, it might be worth noting that as the Franco regime wore on, this clique of Falangist mandarins increasingly found themselves having to compete with National-Catholic historians linked to *Opus Dei*.

The years following the Millennial saw the rise of a National-Catholic philosophy of history influenced by the views of Manuel García Morente, in which the centrality of

Providence and Free Will precluded any attempt to systematise history, whether from a Marxist, idealist or sociological perspective. Indeed, for García Morente, such systematisation implied a de-spiritualisation that, for the Andalusian philosopher, was tantamount to blasphemy.^{lii} This same assumption, in vary degrees of crudeness, reproduced itself throughout conservative Catholic thought, from the well-known Berdiaeff and Dawson in the interwar period through to Ludwig Dehio and Romano Guardini. In a more subtle incarnation, this idea would go on to form a fundamental component of Christian Humanism, which was viewed with indulgence by many so-called ‘reformers’ of the historical discipline, such as the ‘Christian gentleman’ José María Jover.^{liii}

Together with these elements that configured the role of the historian under the dictatorship, we must underline “the collapse of the human and institutional environment of the historical profession” and the profound alterations in historical thought that were introduced by the Nationalist victory in 1939.^{liv} In historical circles, the embrace of Francoism represented a rupture with liberal tradition, with the consequent dislocation of the old methodological, ethical and social channels upon which the profession had relied for decades. Moreover, this rupture would prove to be of a greater magnitude and longer duration than that in other Fascist or Fascist-influenced European regimes.^{lv} In short, as Miquel Àngel Marín argues, Francoism introduced a “new reformulation of Spanish history in mythical terms; that is, in a simplified and uncritical narrative sequence that juxtaposed valorative statements characterizing political forms, characters, actions and ideas with an eminently presentist purpose of consolidating the social order and political regime it served.”^{lvi}

All of this led to a setback in the process of professionalisation from which Spanish historiography would take decades to recover. For, as Gino Germani notes, Fascism attached itself to societies that were already modern and developed, causing a process of “inverted modernisation”: a destructive modernity that, in the field of historiography, devastated the modernising impulse that had pushed the professionalisation of Spanish historiography since the beginning of the 20th Century.^{lvii}

In any case, the epistemological limits of National-Syndicalist historical culture - which also reflected the limits of the process of fascistization during the Francoist dictatorship - can also be seen in the commemorative culture of the regime. The fate of the office of Vicesecretary of Popular Education was symptomatic of the decline of Fascist commemorative culture after the experiments of the immediate post-war era. Significantly, in 1945 the VSEP was assigned to the Ministry of Education, cutting its initial link with the Falangist General Secretariat of the Movement. Moreover, the *Departamento de Actos Públicos y Plástica*, who had organized the *Milenario*, was progressively reduced to a marginal role. After 1945, the Francoist commemorative culture fell back on more traditional models of commemoration, making the *Milenario* an exception in the sparse commemorative landscape of the post-war era.

The limits of Fascist ritual can clearly be seen when we compare the *Milenario* with the great historical commemorations that the regime organised in later years. The centenary of the Catholic Monarchs in 1951 and 1952, held under the leadership of the National-Catholic intellectual elite, had a much more traditional format, which reflected the explicit abandonment of any attempt to emulate the spectacular aesthetic and mass character of the Millennial. Severing its links with the Fascist mass-spectacle, the commemorative culture of Francoism soon took refuge in the rigidity of official ceremonies, the slow pace of civic and religious processions, and the solemnity imposed by state authorities. The same can be said of the celebrations of the fifth centenary of the death of Carlos V in 1958, or the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the War of Independence, also in 1958, which had a marked military character.^{lviii}

The political scenery of the regime itself suffered notable mutations. Official commemorations provide both concrete and symbolic examples of these changes. For example, the 1939 transfer from Alicante to Escorial of the remains of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the much-worshipped former leader of the Falange, involved a spectacular and bewildering torchlight procession. However, his 1959 burial in the Valle de los Caídos was relatively functional by comparison.^{lix} Indeed, in 1964, when the regime decided to celebrate

its own dominance in a ceremony entitled '25 Years of Peace', it did so via a technocratic commemoration ceremony largely inspired by the aesthetic of the World Fairs.^{lx}

All of these changes were clearly symptomatic of the process of defascistization initiated in the wake of the Nazi defeat in 1945, and the new power balance between the different ideological factions that comprised the Francoist regime. However, these facts should not obscure the success of Falangist factions in establishing their own commemorative models, distinct from the National-Catholic varieties employed by the regime.^{lxi}

The celebration of the Millennial of Castile exemplified the Falangist desire to impose the aesthetics of Fascism, and create a model of historical mass-spectacle that coincided with their interpretation of the National Past. We can therefore characterise the Millennial as an experiment in Fascist aesthetics and modes of representing the past: an experiment that, due to both material reasons and the ideological evolution of the regime, did not achieve the hegemony and continuity for which its promoters hoped.

Notes

- i Rodríguez, Sánchez-Biosca, *NO-DO. El tiempo y la memoria*, 224-227.
- ii Rösen, “Was ist Geschichtskultur? Überlegungen zu einer Art, über Geschichte nachzudenken”, 3-26.
- iii Grever, “Fear of Plurality: Historical Culture and Historiographical Canonization in Western Europe”, 54.
- iv Iggers, “Cómo reescribiría hoy mi libro sobre historiografía del siglo XX”, 25.
- v Niethammer, *Kollektive Identität*; Marín, “*Subtilitas Applicandi*. El mito en la historiografía española del Franquismo”, 133.
- vi Burke, “Co-memorations. Performing the past”, 106.
- vii Ridruejo, *Escrito en España*, 45.
- viiiIbid, 45.
- ix I understand the Franco dictatorship as a fascistized regime. Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, XI; Saz, “Fascism, fascistization and developmentalism in Franco's dictatorship”, 342-357. The bibliography on the “nature of the regime” is almost endless. A brief summary of this issue can be found in Saz, “Paradojas de la historia, paradojas de la historiografía: Las peripecias del fascismo español”, 143-176.
- x Cobo, “El franquismo y los imaginarios míticos del fascismo”, 117-151.
- xi Sabrow, “Time and Legitimacy: Comparative Reflections on the Sense of Time in the Two German Dictatorships”, 351-369.
- xii As Mussolini stated: “Noi siamo grandi perché noi fummo grandi. No! Noi saremo grandi quando il passato non sarà che la nostra pedana di combattimento per andare incontro all'avvenire!”. Mussolini, «La bandiera dei Volontari» in Susmel, *Opera Omnia di Benito Mussolini*, Vol. XX, 306.
- xiiiIbid, 306.
- xiv Tovar, “La Historia como sentido”, 79-84. See also, Saz, *España contra España*, 204-216.
- xv Note the influence of Spengler at this point. Spengler, *La decadencia de Occidente*, 237-247.
- xvi Schleier, “German historiography under National Socialism. Dreams of a powerful nation-state and German *Volkstum* come true”, 179.
- xvii Tovar, “La Historia como sentido”, 82.
- xviii Mali, *Mythistory. The Making of a Modern Historiography*, 1-35; Lorenz, “Drawing the Line: “Scientific” History between Myth-making and Myth-breaking”, 35-55.
- xix Menéndez Pidal, “Carácter originario de Castilla”, 383-408.
- xx On the nationalism of Ramón Menéndez Pidal see Juaristi, “Nación e historia en el pensamiento de Ramón Menéndez Pidal”, 79-89.
- xxi Montes, “Castilla tiene la misma edad que Europa”, *Arriba*, Septembrer 5 1943, 4. This opposition to liberal nationalism was previously expressed by Ramiro Ledesma Ramos in his *Discurso a las juventudes de España*, 38-39.
- xxii Ballesteros, “Personalidad milenaria”, *Arriba, suplemento Sí*, August 29 1943, 9-11.

- xxiii Tovar, “Epílogo en 1936”, 77.
- xxiv Giménez Caballero, “Paisaje militar de Castilla”, *Arriba*, September 4, 1943, 6.
- xxv Maravall, “El hombre de Castilla y su paisaje”, *Vértice*, 1943, 21-23.
- xxvi Demèlas-Bohy, “L’héroïsation d’une seule Espagne. Les héros du franquisme (1936-1975)”, 43-69.
- xxvii Giménez Caballero, “Genio de Castilla”, 1946, 136.
- xxviii Beneyto, “La secesión unificadora”, *Arriba, Suplemento Sí*, August 29, 1943, 4. As Juan Beneyto stated, “Behind Fernán González was a people, a people of peasants and soldiers who left behind their women and children to free their beloved Count”. Translated by the author.
- xxix Ibid, 4. Once again, the Law professor Juan Beneyto reaffirmed the parallelism between the Castilian past and present, emphasizing the similarities between the unification of Castile in 943 and the 'Crusade' of 1936: “Y es que aquella actitud, como la nuestra del 18 de julio de 1936, separándose de una tierra querida que se iba deshaciendo -incapaz de ordenar su propio ser en manos de cantonalismo y federalismos- como en la hora de Fernán González, fué una ruptura de unidad aparente para la elaboración la unidad verdadera, no sobre una simple proclamación legislativa, sino en la carne y en la sangre del pueblo entregado al Conductor que le sabe llevar a la Victoria y que aplica en este siglo los mismos elementos que dieron a Fernán González la fuerza de adhesión que precisaba.”
- xxx Gray, *Black Mass. How Religion Led The World Into Crisis*, 68-81.
- xxxi Tovar, “Desde el Milenario de Castilla”, *La Vanguardia*, August 31 1943, 6.
- xxxii Ibid, 6. On the importance of the medieval utopia in the interwar Europe see Carreras, “Edad Media, instrucciones de uso”, 15-28.
- xxxiii González, “El milagro de España”, *Arriba, suplemento Sí*, August 29, 1943, 12. Translated by the author.
- xxxiv Pérez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, 1945.
- xxxv Pasamar, *Historiografía e ideología en la postguerra española*, 314.
- xxxvi Marín, “Revisionismo de Estado y primera hora cero en España, 1936-1943”, 363-406.
- xxxvii Peiró, “Ausente no quiere decir inexistente: La responsabilidad en el pasado y en el presente de la historiografía española” 11.
- xxxviii S[ánchez] A[lonso], review of *Historia del Condado de Castilla* by Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Revista de filología española* 30 (1946), 143 -46.
- xxxix On the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular see, Bermejo, “La Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (1941-1945): un «ministerio» de la propaganda en manos de Falange” 73-96 and Ruiz, “La Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular, 1941-1945: la propaganda, de Madrid al suelo”, 211-233.
- xl Rodríguez and, Sánchez-Biosca, *NO-DO. El tiempo y la memoria*, 224-227.
- xli The reports from the respective Provincial Delegations of Popular Education can be found in the Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid. Folder (03) 060.000 Delegación Nacional de Prensa, Propaganda y Departamento de Propaganda Radio. 1174. 31 Sección Provincias, Box 778.

- xlii The budget of the Milenario de Castilla can be found in the *Cuenta general de los gastos realizados durante las fiestas conmemorativas del Milenario de Castilla celebradas en esta ciudad de Burgos*, Archivo Municipal de Burgos, Burgos, Sig. 14-978, piece 17. After the commemorations, the government gave an extraordinary credit of 1.570.551,50 pesetas. See, Ley de 26 de mayo de 1944, Boletín Oficial del Estado, May 27, 1944, 4.142.
- xliiii *Diario de Burgos*, September 7, 1943, 5.
- xliv *Milenario de Castilla Protocolo. Listas de invitados y alojamientos de los mismos*. Archivo Municipal de Burgos, Burgos. Sig. 14-978, piece 4.
- xlv *Milenario de Castilla. Memoria de los actos de evocación histórica que se han de desarrollar en el Stadium de la Serna de Burgos con motivo de la conmemoración del Milenario de Castilla*, Archivo Municipal de Burgos, Burgos. Sig. 14-978.
- xlvi *Ibid*, 4.
- xlvii Sabrow, “The Use of History to Legitimise Political Power: the case of Germany”, 97; Schleier, “German historiography under National Socialism 176-188...” 176-188; Fogu, “To Make History Present”, 33-49; Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 219-227; Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity*, 61-62; Zunino, *L'Ideologia del fascismo*, 164.
- xlviii Cavazza, *Piccole patrie: feste popolari tra regione e nazione durante il fascismo*, 1997, 198-244; Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected. Architecture, Spectacle & Tourism in Fascist Italy*, 2004; Lazzaro, Crum (eds.), *Donatello among the Blackshirts*, 2005. An analysis on the political use of the *Risorgimento* by Italian fascist in, Baioni, *Risorgimento in Camicia Nera*, 2006.
- xlix Fogu, “Il Duce taumaturgo: Modernist Rhetorics in Fascist Representations of History. Of Museums, Archives and Thaumaturgic Representation”, 41 and Fogu, *The politics of history in fascist Italy*, 2003.
- l On the importance of the comparative approach to fascism, see Iordachi, “Comparative fascist studies: an introduction” and Iordachi, “Fascism in Interwar East Central and Southeastern Europe: Toward a New Transnational Research Agenda”, 161–213. For the Spanish case, see also Alares, “Ruralismo, fascismo y regeneración. Italia y España en perspectiva comparada”, 127-147.
- li Peiró, *Historiadores en España: historia de la Historia y memoria de la profesión*, 52.
- lii García Morente, “Ideas para una filosofía de la historia de España”, 129-229.
- liii See Peiró, *Historiadores en España: historia de la Historia y memoria de la profesión*, 119-92 and 162-85. On the historian José María Jover, Peiró, “La metamorfosis de un historiador: El tránsito hacia el contemporaneísmo de José María Jover Zamora” 177-234.
- liv Peiró, “La aventura intelectual de los historiadores españoles”, 16.
- lv Pasamar, *Historiografía e ideología en la postguerra española*.
- lvi Marín, “Subtilitas Applicandi. El mito en la historiografía española”, 140.
- lvii Germani, *Sociologia della modernizzazione*, 1971, quoted in Mason, “Italy and Modernization: A Montage”, 136.
- lviii [Name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process]
- lix Box, *España, Año cero. La construcción simbólica del franquismo*, 160-177; Box, “Pasión, muerte y glorificación de José Antonio Primo de Rivera”, 191-218; Sánchez-Biosca, “El Ausente,

¡Presente!: el carisma cinematográfico de José Antonio Primo de Rivera, entre líder y santo”, 66-87.

lx On the Commemoration of the “25 Years of Peace”, see Aguilar, *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política*, 189-206.

lxi On the National-Catholic influenced commemorations, see Di Febo, *Ritos de guerra y de victoria en la España franquista*, 2002.

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