

Part III Mapping Humanities

Writing Spatial Relations and Dynamics. Movements in urban space (Barcelona, 16th – 19th century)

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Abstract In this contribution, I intend firstly to show at a theoretical level and then demonstrate in a practical way the advantages of viewing urban space from the perspective of the historical actors. Here we are more concerned with applying urban space dynamically, which means we no longer view the perceived and described spaces as something given nor do we set them in rigid maps. Moreover, our view is focused, firstly more upon the perception of movement in urban spaces, or changes in this area, and secondly, on the awareness of hierarchies in urban spaces (in dichotomies such as centre – periphery, old – new, inner – outer) and, if appropriate, hierarchical changes during the course of time. Finally, in this context, the following question arises: is it at all possible to map movements within urban space or to map the perceptions of urban spatial transformations including urban hierarchies together with any concomitant changes?

1. Introduction

Although the following contribution is once again dedicated to the city of Barcelona,¹ the focus has shifted. It is now less a case of concentrating on the structures of urban space or the historical development of urban space as recently portrayed in a very succinct way by Antònia Casellas (Casellas 2009), but instead we are now focusing more on the perception, use and description of urban space from the perspective of the historical actors themselves. However, this approach could be described as subjective, and thus be rejected as a non-scientific method, but this would be a gross misconception because what is being dealt with here is how we

¹ Cf. the essays in this volume by Manel Guàrdia Bassols (Mapping long-term Urban Space Structures. Barcelona as a Case Study) and Ekkehard Schönherr (Elements of historical knowledge about urban spaces. Reflections on the requirements for a dynamic map).

can study the subjectivity of the actors from a purely scientific perspective. In this contribution, I intend firstly to show at a theoretical level and then demonstrate in a practical way the advantages of viewing urban space from this perspective. Here we are more concerned with applying urban space dynamically, which means we no longer view the perceived and described spaces as something given nor do we set them in rigid maps. Moreover, our view is focused, firstly more upon the perception of movement in urban spaces, or changes in this area, and secondly, on the awareness of hierarchies in urban spaces (in dichotomies such as centre – periphery, old – new, inner – outer) and, if appropriate, hierarchical changes during the course of time. Finally, in this context, the following question arises: is it at all possible to map movements within urban space or to map the perceptions of urban spatial transformations including urban hierarchies together with any concomitant changes?

2. Urban Structure – Perception – Description

In what follows, my starting point is that the best way to perceive towns is to see them as spatial configurations, which – both concretely and figuratively – have been constructed as well as being perceived, experienced and represented (Rau 2013: 153-155). This approach differs from a purely historical architectural perspective in so far as this method is more concerned with the use made of urban spaces and their significance as well as with the formation of spatial relations and hierarchies arising from social interaction. Thus it distinguishes itself from any perspective based on the constitutional history of the city, mainly concerned with questions of autonomy and civil law. At the same time, this perspective is not be confused with the very recent, innovative media-based historical approach because our interest is not confined to the medial constructions or to representations of towns and cities, but we are more interested in the perceptions and practices of individual actors or groups as well as noting any urban spatio-temporal changes. This actor-centered viewpoint is fully aware of the fragmentary nature of human perceptions as well as any possible contradictions in behavior while at the same time it makes no attempt to reconcile these contradictions.

Since the advent of digital methods to present information visually and to map historical spatial relationships, a technique which is by no means a closed door to historians (cf. Knowles 2008), it would seem to be obvious that a geo-information system had be set up for this purpose. Usually, a huge research input is necessary in this medium to be able to do justice to the presentation of the comings and goings, observations, interpretations, creation and destruction of the towns and cities by the historical actors.² This is why in the first instance I chose to stick to a more

² Nevertheless, at the University of Erfurt, we have digitalized individual travelogues in a three-year project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). The digital maps comprise

traditional, text-based method and to rely on the insights of Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991), the philosopher and urban theoretician, and also on Michel de Certeau S. J. (1925-1986), a philosopher of culture.

At a very fundamental level, Lefebvre contributed to the introduction of the category of space into Marxian social analytical theory. In the meantime he has become widely recognized in the field of the sociology of space. It was important to him to stress the fact that space is not a pre-set, given entity but something that is socially constructed. For his analysis of social spatiality, he had proposed regarding space at three levels, which can intersect, support or contradict one another: *espace perçu* as space as it is generally perceived, felt and used, *espace conçu* as the envisaged space which had been deliberately conceived and planned and *espace vécu* as the space one actually experiences (Lefebvre 2000: 48-49). De Certeau's main interest focused on the daily praxis of the actors in their urban space (de Certeau 1990: 170-191, cf. also Füssel 2014). His higher aim was to show that individual actors do indeed possess power and are not merely agents subject to a higher disciplinary power, as it has been *bis dato* described by Michel Foucault. De Certeau proposed making a distinction between place and space as a basis for a set of analytical tools: only by the activities and dealings of the actors would (inanimate) places be transformed into spaces. This concept was neatly formulated in his now famous saying: "l'espace est un lieu pratiqué" (space is a place which is experienced) (de Certeau 1990: 173). He made a distinction between map (*carte*) and tours (*parcours*) to be seen as two basic approaches to space. The map represents a more panoptic, topographical presentation of space whereas the "parcours" (tour) envisages space – in a more concrete and descriptive way – by movement to and fro with the actors' comings and goings.³ These alternative conceptions of urban spaces are not intended in any way to replace standard approaches based on town planning, or constitutional or social history, but instead, to complement them. The two theoreticians, however, were of the opinion that a town or city could not be fully represented from the perspective of a space planner, cartographer or urban sociologist.

Why, of all places, was Barcelona selected as a field of investigation? For the majority of people, football is probably the first idea that comes to mind in association with this city. It is also well known that this Catalan city on the Mediterranean has during the last few years become a top-ranking tourist destination: in 2011, 7.3 million tourists visited the city and 15.5 million overnight stays had been listed for the same year.⁴ This increasing interest is probably connected with the successful marketing of Barcelona as a tourist destination since the Olympic

the first stages for producing a digital atlas of towns and cities. Cf. Geschichte und Kulturen der Räume in der Neuzeit, URL: <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/index.php?id=23985>. Accessed 6 Aug 2013.

³ For an application of this concept to the mapping of two early modern urban spaces (Geneva and Lyon), see Rau 2011.

⁴ Tourists and overnight stays, 2007-2011, URL: <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/angles/dades/anuari/cap13/C1302010.htm>. Accessed 4 Aug 2013.

Games of 1992. A major factor for the choice of Barcelona is the fact that spatial layers and material from a variety of epochs have been preserved in the city, ranging from one century before the Christian Era up to the present time, even though they were appreciated with varying degrees of interest by the travelers. What, however, is somewhat less generally well known is the fact that Ildefons Cerdà's (1815-1876) city plan for the extension for Barcelona (1859) can fairly be regarded as the moment of birth for the field of modern town planning and that, in the wake of this project, Cerdà developed his *Theory of Town Planning* as well as a *General Theory of Urbanization*. According to the plans, the area of Barcelona was to be extended on a large scale and to be open to constant expansion; *de facto* only a small part of the plan was realized during Cerdà's life-time. The history of this planned extension can be regarded as well researched even though there is still a need to integrate a perspective on the history of perceptions of the city (Rodríguez-Lores, 1980; Sabaté Bel 1985; Zimmermann 2000: 149-165; Santa-Maria Batlló 2009). In 2009/10 on the 150th anniversary of Cerdà's City Plan, Barcelona celebrated the "Any Cerdà" (Cerdà Year) with exhibitions, guided tours and conferences. This is a sign that the history of the Great Plan together with its concomitant alterations of urban forms has now even been incorporated into the city's marketing strategies and that the history of the city's transformation is now being marketed as an element of its identity: the updating of the historical city as spatial constellations in motion to the present time. This assumption can by no means be taken for granted with regard to towns whose transformations would be an interesting topic for research.

A brief glance at a modern city plan will suffice to recognize the present structure of the city. Casellas divides the city into roughly three areas: in the first instance, the old medieval city centre is still intact with its numerous old buildings and its remaining narrow, winding streets (Ciutat Vella). The Eixample forms the second area, which is a mainly residential quarter and arose as part of Cerdà's extension plans. The third area comprises firstly, the former villages which were being incorporated into the city from the middle of the 19th century onwards and secondly, the new city quarters which started being built in the 1960s. Also the latest alterations in the marina area can hardly be missed (Casellas 2009: 816). This structure was not always as it is now. In what follows, it will be shown what impression the city made on the eyes of the beholders who observed the city before its great extension.

It goes without saying that suitable sources are a prerequisite for investigating observations made during earlier periods of time on spatial relations and their changes: the first requirement of these sources is that they should deal directly with the topic of spatial relations in urban societies; the second is that such sources should be spread over a long period of time. Up to the present time, descriptions of urban space can be found in municipal chronicles, historical topographies or chapters taken from descriptions of whole countries. Usually these are official documents, often commissioned by the relevant authorities or frequently written as encomia to the said authorities in order to gain some office or position or even

for a regular payment (a kind of grant). A completely different kind of source material comprises the so-called ego-documents such as letters or diary entries containing opinions on building projects, written by the town's inhabitants. However, it cannot be relied upon that either historical topographies or ego-documents will be available in sufficient quantities over a suitably long period of time. The sources which best fulfill these conditions are travelogues. Even though they have the disadvantage that they are not usually written by the city's inhabitants, but instead by strangers, it can generally be seen to be the case that the local people have a much more limited view of urban spaces than strangers to the city who have to rapidly find their bearings on arrival at unknown territory. This necessity generates a completely different awareness of the spatial relationships within the city. Secondly, these sources contain data supplied by the local people, which entered into the travelogues via a variety of communication channels – ranging from conversational exchanges to reading material such as almanacs or chronicles. In addition, this data would also go the rounds via a great variety of channels to diverse destinations including their readers, other travelogues and various books. In the 18th century, particularly during its second half, the number of titles had increased to three to four times the number compared with the previous century so that this could be regarded as a mass literary phenomenon (Roche 2006). In addition, there was the secondary use and circulation of this literature. Thus, at least in the 18th century, a discourse had taken shape, in which numerous male writers and a few female authors refer to, copy from or correct one another. The descriptions of the city contained in these travelogues should not be used to reconstruct the physical structures of the city at various points in time as this source is not primarily suitable for this task. Instead, the travelogues should, following Michel de Certeau, be seen as narratives of space (de Certeau 1990: 170-191; also Rau 2011: 173; Rau 2013: 113-114, 178), thus as texts, subject to the narrative form, which, on account of their distribution, are capable of influencing the discourse on the city, also on any spatial relations and various changes taking place.

For our research purposes roughly 450 travelogues from various sources and languages (German, Italian, French, English, Spanish) covering a period of time from the 16th to the 19th centuries were used with the great majority issuing from the 18th and 19th centuries. The constitution of this corpus has been described in another place.⁵ Suffice it to state at this point that the comprehensive coverage of this bibliography is utopian and will continue to be so. The bibliography is, however, sufficiently dense in material so that both repetitions and deviations in the documents can be established. The reports containing usable descriptions of Barcelona's city space were then reduced to 150. And even here the majority has been taken from the 18th and 19th centuries. In the assessment stage, special notice was taken of the descriptions of the whole city, and the following significant alterations were noted: the building of the Citadel as a result of Barcelona's defeat at the

⁵ Bibliography for the city of Barcelona, URL: <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/projekt-geschichte-kulturen-neuzeit/bibliographien/>. Accessed 6 Aug 2013.

end of the Spanish War of Succession (1701-1714), the construction of Barceloneta (1753) – the area situated on the city's built-up peninsular where the workers at the harbor and the military lived – the transformation of the Rambla into a promenade, the development of the Raval, an area in the western part of the city which for a long time had remained a relatively uninhabited quarter, the inner city conversions (sites made into esplanades and places), the demolition of the Citadel, the Cerdà project and finally, the projects which were not carried through.

3. Observations on Space as Described in the Travelogues of the 16th and 17th Centuries

This was connected with our first result – and at the same time it put into perspective and gave concrete form to Michel de Certeau's rather generalized thesis: the travelers of the 16th and 17th centuries paid scant attention to spatial elements or relations of the city, but certainly, the urban topographies in the travelogues on hand did not exactly play a major role. There was some reference to spatial relations in the reports, but their main focus was on data concerning distances between the towns and other locations on their journeys (in terms of time or miles), in other words, on their itineraries, and, at times, on their arrival at the city gate and, finally, on specific locations within the city.

In the memoirs of Sigmund Freiherr von Herberstein (1486-1566), who passed through Barcelona on a consular mission in 1519, hardly any reference to the city is made, but he was more concerned with the diplomatic negotiations with the then King Charles, the future Holy Roman Emperor. The only city places mentioned was the harbor and an inn (with no further reference), although there is more information on the place of disembarkation because Barcelona did not have a harbor, but just "ain Sannd unnd seicht" (sandbank and shallow water) (Chmel 1846: 39), so that the ship could not land there and so the travelers had to be carried ashore on the backs of crew members.

In the middle of the 17th century, the Württemberg Privy Counselor Hieronymus Welsch (1612-1665) described his entry into the harbor when the party was welcomed with volleys. After giving a brief description of Catalonia's location, the writer then mentions its capital city by referring to pleasure gardens, the Academy, towers, the harbor, the Palace of the Viceroy, armory, Lonja (exchange) and weighing house, without, however, giving any information on their geographical location nor on how the buildings stood in relation to one another. Only the harbor (on account of the ships and merchants) and the Palace (in which the travelers were allowed to stay) gave the impression of being 'lively places' in de Certeau's use of the term (Welsch 1658: 230-231). There is a host of other such examples to support the impression that the travelers of the first half of the Early Modern Period made little effort to integrate urban topography or defunct thoroughfares into their narratives. This impression, however, contradicts the present state of research

(which, as far as the towns and cities are concerned, both in general (Lestringant 2012: 8) and in particular (Conley 1997)) reflects the fact that the Renaissance claimed to prioritize space over time. In my opinion, this applies particularly to the geographical writers, to global travelers as well as to the makers of global maps (which had to be adequate for navigational purposes), even though this does not apply to all types of travel writers.

It is necessary to look around for other writers to learn more about urban spatial elements. On the one hand, geographical writers provide a useful source of information and on the other hand, the same applies to travelers who were not involved in diplomatic missions. An example of this type of writer of travelogues was Hieronymus Münzer (about 1437-1508), a physician and geographer, who, at the end of the 15th century, collaborated with Hartmann Schedel in Nuremberg to produce his world chronicle. From 1494/95 he traveled to the Iberian Peninsula. Setting off from Gerona, he reached Barcelona and immediately described the city's location as would only seem to be appropriate for a Humanist: situated by the sea, framed in by an 'amphitheater' formed by the mountains; the city itself is surrounded by a fortified wall in the middle of which arises a cathedral. On the outside of the wall, but within its vicinity there are about 30 religious institutes (Münzer 1991: 7-21). On the inside of the walls he pays particular attention to the Lonja, the Casa del Infante (the Infante's Residence) and two Menorite monasteries. He was invited to the homes of two German merchants who were temporarily based in Barcelona. At the end of the travelogue, the city's subterranean, invisible space, i.e. the sewage system (*las alcantarillas*) is mentioned. As a whole document, the Münzer text can be seen as a panoptic cartographic description of space. The city and its environs are described in terms of concentric circles (wall – monastery belt – mountains) with the Cathedral at the centre, thus symbolically raising this building to the religious centre of the city. Individual city locations (the Lonja or the monasteries) are only slightly lively (on account of anonymous merchants, monks or nuns). Only the houses of the German merchants appear as lively places, in which Münzer and his fellow travelers were invited to a banquet and to a musical evening where there was a lot of eating, drinking, listening to music, dancing and making friends. However, nothing is written about the location and appearance of these houses.

In contrast how much more informative with regard to urban spatialities is the travelogue written by Thomas Platter (1574-1628), a student from Basel, who at the end of the 16th century had travelled through France, Spain, England and the Netherlands. Platter's travelogue begins with a review of the city's history since its foundation and then goes on to describe both the state of Catalonia and the city's location (Keiser 1968: 337-354).⁶ Platter likens the city's shape to a half moon and seems to be delighted with the 2000-meter-long city wall, along which

⁶ Platter based his historical details on the "Städtebuch" by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (Keiser 1968: 338).

runs a pleasant footpath ideal for walks.⁷ After that, the reader is guided through the city as if following a parcours: starting from the harbor and Montjuich he goes across the numerous squares and on to the “kaufhauß” (emporium) where he had to pay customs duty, then continuing through city streets, he pays particular attention firstly, to a tailor, then to a surgeon and finally, he proceeds onto the “Casa de la Deputacion [= Diputación]”. In an another extract, he visits social venues such as houses of ill repute, taverns, wine drinking places, inns, and then onto the open air comedy theaters for which a city square “plätz (*theatra*)” was set up (Keiser 1968: 347), and finally, onto the hospital. In the “neüwen oder vorstatt” (new quarter or suburb) (Keiser 1968: 348) he watched a French tightrope walker for some time. On his return to the historical city centre, he visited churches, then the medical college, which particularly interested him for obvious reasons (he had gained a medical degree in Montpellier). Platter is, however, not just a passionate walker, but he also had an eye for city structures and for changes in urban space. He regards the city he described as half-moon shaped and divided into two parts: „Unndt ist diese statt in zwo stett abgetheilet, die alte unndt die neüwe oder die vorstädt.“ (And this city consists of two parts, the old part and the new or the outskirts) (Keiser 1968: 342) By the ‘new part’ he was probably referring to the Raval which at that time was only thinly populated. Platter also had an eye for extensions of the city which had taken place in the past and he was able to discern past periods from architectural remnants: he wrote that it could be seen from the old town walls that Barcelona used to be a small town, which had twice been extended since that time and that the city had had thick walls and splendid towers twice built around it.⁸ A few lines later, strolling between the fertile gardens and the pleasure houses, he makes the following point: if the old town wall were to be removed, you would never think that there had ever been two towns (Keiser 1968: 535). In this way, he may well have maintained that the former division did not play a role in the everyday lives of the town dwellers. One final point can be noted with regard to Platter’s narration on space because, with regard to the harbor, an information gap is revealed between Herberstein’s reports on the one hand and Welsch’s travelogue on the other: he points out that the harbor had been relatively

⁷ „Es ist diese statt wie ein halber mon gegen dem meer gebauwen, welches an die stattmauren schlachtet gegen levant, unndt ist ein überauß schöner spatzier weg in der statt an der mauren gegen dem *lustigen* meer *gestadt* hinaus erhöht, daß man auf der stattmauren sitzen kan; ist bey fünfzehn hundert schritt lang unndt ettwan 20 schritt breit, darauf auch, ohngefahr in der mitte, des (viceroy) königs statthalters behausung mitt einer galerien biß an daß meer hinauß gebauwen ist, da man auch albereit hatt angefangen, ein ander port zemachen, wie folgen wirdt.“ (Keiser 1968: 339)

⁸ “Als wier zu Barselona wahren, gungen wier für die alte statt hinauß, *dann man noch an den alten mauren gespüret, daß sie vorzeiten ein klein stettlin gewesen unndt vom gestad des meers eins roßlaufs wegs abgelegen; hatt vier porten gehept mit hohen mauren, welche einer gleichen weite von einander stehen undt sich zu der welt vier örteren richteten, welche yetz aldo mitten in der statt stehen. Da aber die einwohner an der menge aufwuchsen, ist die statt zweymahlen mit zierlichen heüßern unndt herrlichen kirchen vermehret, ist auch zweymahl mit gewaltigen mauern unndt prächtigen thürnen umbzogen.*” (Keiser 1968: 353)

recently extended.⁹ Foreign galleons and large ships could now land here, which was advantageous for the city's trade.

Platter's travelogue is the first one to deal with movement in urban space in a double sense, firstly, with regard to alterations in the city's architectural structures and secondly, with reference to bodily movement through urban space. Both these are narrative constructions; the first, because the writer makes his own selection amongst the transformations (he describes forms and often gives his own assessment of them); the second because the narrated parcours hardly corresponds to the one he actually went on, as Platter was in Barcelona altogether for only six days, and so must have viewed the city in stages whilst at the same time creating the impression that he had completed one single (uninterrupted) walking tour. There are other examples of these movement descriptions in 18th and 19th century travelogues.

4. Observations on Space before the Great Extension in the 19th Century

When the travelers describe the structure of the city as a whole, they continue the tradition of the formal basic pattern by dividing the city into two parts: into old and new or, in other words, into a "ville vieille" and a "ville neuve". With this division, it has always been about the visible architectural structure, which refers to the two parts as being divided by the inner city wall – which in 1775 was transformed into a wide promenade (*las Ramblas*). Only rarely are other possible divisions mentioned by the travelers, but the one exception was made by Joseph Townsend (1739-1816), a British physician and geologist, when he showed more interest in the administrative districts and church plays than in the basic architectural structure.¹⁰

Within the field of urban forms, there are further variations. A French traveler at the beginning of the 18th century maintained that the capital city of Laletans (*Lalétains*) had a square shape. For his contemporaries he described the shape as being halfway between a square and a rectangle: "d'une forme entre la quarrée & l'ovale, & grande à-peu-près comme Naples" (Alvarez 1715: 600-601). Henry Swinburne, who visited the city in November 1775, described its shape as "almost

⁹ "Daß port ist von menschen händen bey mans denken gemacht worden in daß diefe meer hinein, dergestalt: man hatt grosse stein von dem berg Monjuy in daß meer hinein gesecket, so haufte auf einander, biß sie über daß meer hinauß gesehen haben, ettwan 20 schu hoch; demnach hatt man es mitt kalch unndt sandt wie ein kitt überschittet, ettwan 12 schritt breit unndt 500 schritt lang unndt gradt in das diefe meer hinaus, unndt ist sich zeverwunderen, daß daß meer gleich von dem gestaad auß so dieff ist, dahär daß port desto sicherer unndt besser." (Keiser 1968: 341)

¹⁰ "Barcelona may be considered as divided either into districts or into parishes; the former being five, the latter eight, including the cathedral." (Townsend 1792: 134)

circular, the Roman town being on the highest ground in the center of the new one” (Swinburne 1787: 24). Similarly, for a German traveler, it is once again round (Volkmann 1789: 352); another German describes it as a “Halbzirkel” (semi-circle), reminiscent of Platter’s half-moon shape (Delius 1834: 28).

The attribution “ville neuve” or “Neustadt” (new town), however, no longer refers solely to the Raval in the second half of the 18th century, but also to the newly established settlement around the harbor. According to Giuseppe Baretti (1719-1789), a writer and the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Arts, who visited Barcelona in 1760, the city can be categorized in this way: “Les uns l’appellent *La ville neuve* d’autres *Barcelone la neuve*, & même *Barceloneta*.” (Baretti 1777: 85). *Barceloneta* was presented as the work of the Marquis de la Mina¹¹, the Governor of Catalonia, who had spared himself no trouble in order to support the enterprise. Up to that time, there were already 3,000 inhabitants living there, including some merchants (Baretti 1777: 87). Johann Jacob Volkmann (1732-1803) still upheld the bi-partite division of the city into old and new, but from 1752, he added that there was still “another little town called *Barceloneta*”, which in 1775 already comprised 2,000 houses and 10,000 inhabitants.¹² He claimed that it was “an elongated rectangle” and had about “20 fine, straight, wide streets” (ibid.). For Townsend *Barceloneta* is a suburb¹³, and the same applies to Delius, a man from northern Germany: a suburb on a peninsular (Delius 1834: 31-32); for Charles Didier, a Frenchman, it is more than a suburb, but rather “a town within a city”, inhabited mainly by seamen and merchants.¹⁴ Pierre Chantreau (1741-1808), a French linguist and publicist, suggested for the first time that there were three towns instead of the frequently quoted “2 + 1 structure” – a new town, an old town (referring to the former Roman town), and *Barceloneta*, situated by the harbor.¹⁵ Adolf Loning

¹¹ Jaime de Guzmán-Dávalos y Spínola, marqués de la Mina (1690-1767) (Vicente Alguero 1984).

¹² “Er legte, weil die Stadt wegen der Festungswerke nicht vergrößert werden konnte, auf der in die See gehenden Strecke Landes, welche den Hafen formirt, 1752 eine neue kleine Stadt *Barceloneta* an, welche 1775 schon aus mehr, als 2000 Häusern und gegen 10000 Einwohnern bestand. Sie macht ein längliches Viereck aus, und hat ohngefähr 20 schöne gerade breite Gassen.” (Volkmann 1789: 354, translation by John Gledhill)

¹³ This is taken from a supplement to the French translation (Paris: Dentu, 1809, p. 70-71): “*Barcelonetta*, ou *Petit Barcelone*, est une espèce de faubourg de Barcelone, situé en dehors de la porte de la Mer en formant un des côtés du port. [...] On estime que ce faubourg contient 13,000 âmes.”

¹⁴ “*Barcelonette* est plus qu’un faubourg, c’est une ville dans la ville; [...]. *Barcelonette* est une construction entièrement moderne; elle ne remonte pas au-delà du dernier siècle [...]. Il y règne une grande activité; c’est là qu’on fabrique les ancres, les voiles, les cordages, tout ce qui concerne la navigation, et l’on y construit même des bâtiments marchands de toutes grandeurs.” (Didier 1841: 33-34)

¹⁵ “*Barcelonne* [...] est sur un amphithéâtre de forme circulaire [...]. Elle renferme trois ville en une; la moderne, l’ancienne et *Barcelonette*, où est le port: la moderne en forme presque la totalité et enclave l’ancienne, dont les murs subsistent encore très-intacts dans beaucoup d’endroits; on les attribue aux Romains, parce que les Espagnols, très-ignorans en architecture et en antiquités, leur attribuent tout.” (Chantreau 1792: 203-204)

(Loning 1844), a German army officer, also adopts the three-town model. However, the most extraordinary description was made by a French traveler called Cornille. For him Barcelona was a “ville bâtarde”, a city of opposites or a town that is neither one thing nor another: here – the merchants quarter, there – the financiers and speculators; here – the Spanish part, there – the French quarter, a meeting point between North and South, where one can at the same time feel the wind of the Pyrenees and the wind of Andalusia (Cornille 1836: 227-228).

Most travelers take note of the harbor. Unlike the 16th century, the harbor is seen from then on to be wide, safe, deep, well laid out, and sometimes even as beautiful or convenient. Many travelers took an interest in the infrastructure of the harbor: the mole, the storehouses, the machines used for loading and unloading, the quay and the lighthouse. It seemed to be generally agreed that the harbor made a contribution to the commercial development of the city. Many travelers go so far as taking a register of the number of exports and imports, thus revealing the wide-ranging economic networks connected to the city.

However, the Citadel (1714-1718) was less a centre of interest; nonetheless, when it is referred to by the foreign travelers, it usually becomes a subject of admiration.¹⁶ For a traveler – who was probably a Catalanian – and who wrote under the pseudonym Poco Mas, the Citadel was “a small fortified town within the city” (Mas 1845: 372). He reports that one can read in the old chronicles that 600 houses, a church and three convents had to be pulled down in order to build this fortress. The first attempt at demolition – in the context of the 1841 People’s Uprising – is recorded in the same year by Alfred von Bergh: at that moment, 1,100 people were working on the demolition of the Citadel (von Bergh 1841: 109). Towards the middle of the 19th century, the Citadel is no longer just politically and militarily in the wrong place at the wrong time, it is also taking up room, which could be put to good use by the city’s population. Mas summed up the situation as follows: “I believe to be, that the population, the working population especially, of Barcelona has increased to such an extent that, being a fortified city, the people are now cramped for room.” (Mas 1845: 373) Other travelers during 1840s also were aware of the necessity of expanding the city. August Ludwig von Rochau, a German publicist, goes so far as to attribute the cause of the political unrest to the inadequate spatial provision within the city. According to him, the houses are full right up to the rooftops, the traffic is threatening to come to a standstill in the narrow streets, rents are outrageously high, and there is no room for any commercial growth.¹⁷

¹⁶ Chantreau mentions that it was built as a defence against the Cataloneans without, however, referring to its position: “La citadelle a six bastions qu’on eût pu réduire à deux, car ils en imposent plutôt aux Catalans mêmes qu’à l’ennemi, qui ne perdrait pas son temps à attaquer cette citadelle pour se rendre maître de la ville, parce qu’elle est dans un fond que la ville la domine, et qu’une esplanade immense l’en sépare.” (Chantreau 1792: 70)

¹⁷ “Auf der entgegengesetzten Seite der Stadt, in der Nähe des Thores, welches nach Gracia führt, ist eine ähnliche Bresche vorhanden, an die man bis jetzt noch gar nicht Hand gelegt hat, da es im Plane ist, die Stadt nach dieser Seite hin zu erweitern. Die Mauern von Barcelona sind

5. Projects Planned, But Not Realized

Although the projects which had not been carried out obviously cannot be viewed, planned projects which had been executed halfway or even not at all are still part and parcel of the city's planning and transformations. A brief glance in this direction can, on the one hand, highlight the difficulties – whether political, financial or technical – the actors sometimes had to contend with; on the other hand, this aspect shows that even imagined urban spaces need to be incorporated into a spatially oriented history of the city. This point is supported by the fact that some contemporary observers were also fascinated by this aspect.

In connection with Barceloneta, Baretti argued that, in the foreground of this site, an alternative was possible. Even before this time, there were plans to demolish the fortifications in order to extend the city. According to Baretti in his 76th letter, the governor had rejected this idea and had decided in favor of this site for the “new town” (Baretti 1777: 85). In November 1775, when Swinburne was in Barcelona, he had come across a project to build a canal, which would be controlled by a group of foreign investors: “Some years ago a company of Dutch and English adventurers offered to bring the river into the port by means of a canal, if government would allow them a free importation for ten years. This project might have cleared away the sand-banks, but might also have given a fatal check to the infant manufactures of the country, for which reason the proposal was rejected.” (Swinburne 1787: 25) Volkmann, who had received Swinburne's report, took an active interest in this project, but invoked the same reasons for its rejection (Volkmann 1789: 353). Johann Gottlob von Quandt (1787-1859), an art historian, writes in October 1846, that people are at the moment busy with plans to move the harbor to another location; however, obstacles from all sides arose preventing the execution of this plan (von Quandt 1850: 22).

jedenfalls zu eng geworden für die mit jedem Jahr wachsende Bevölkerung, und diese würde sich wahrscheinlich weniger ungeberdig zeigen als in den letzten Jahren, wenn man ihr mehr Raum zum Athmen und mehr Raum und Freiheit zur Bewegung gäbe. Das allgemeine Verlangen, das gebieterische Bedürfniß der materiellen Raumgewinnung ist ohne Zweifel eine sehr wirksame Mitursache der heftigen Volksbewegungen gewesen, durch welche Barcelona in dieser Zeit erschüttert ward. Die hohen Häuser sind bis an die Dächer vollgepfropft mit Menschen, der lebenskräftige Verkehr droht in den schmalen Gassen der Stadt zu ersticken, die Miethpreise stehen übertrieben hoch, und für neue gewerbliche Anlagen ist es unmöglich, Platz zu gewinnen, so daß z.B. die Zahl der jetzt in der Stadt arbeitenden Dampfmaschinen (etwa vierzig) dem Beschluß der städtischen Verwaltung zufolge nicht überschritten werden soll. Ein beträchtlicher Theil der Barceloneser Industrie hat sich nach Gracia hinausgeflüchtet, aber die Stadt sieht in solchen Auswanderungen natürlicherweise nur Verluste, die sie mit Unmut duldet.” (Rochau 1847: 86-87)

6. Observations on Space in the Context of the Great Extension Plan (ca. 1850-1870)

Around the middle of this century, travelers observing the city were often fascinated by the topic of the city's extension. Urban spatial movements and alterations now became the central focus of their interest. Less is written about the shape of the city: Alexander Ziegler suggests that the shape of Barceloneta is that of a right-angled triangle (Ziegler 1852: 95). The bi-partite division into old and new still appears now and then, but the city's earlier shape gradually dissipated so as to become hardly recognizable. According to Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer (1816-1877), a writer, old Barcelona is on the Montjuich side whereas "new Barcelona" is situated in the direction of the Citadel because here it is more splendid and livelier and because the shops, stores and vaults are all crammed next to one another, and this is the mark of an up and coming city (Hackländer 2006: 107-108). Baumstark, who had read many travelogues, questions the assumed bi-partite division of the city into old and new. To him the division was "keineswegs besonders schroff" (in no way clear cut) (Baumstark 1869: 20). Obviously, the Rambla emphasizes the division of the city into two unequal halves. The waning interest in the shapes (circle, rectangle or half-moon) is evidenced by the fact that the city wall at this time was losing its defining inner/outer demarcation. Its demolition began to take place in 1854 (Busquets 2004: 122-124), and thus the former separated areas were able to merge more and more into each another. Gracia, a former suburb situated to the north of the city, had become a part of the main city according to an English traveler writing in 1868 (Pemberton 1868: 326).

The travelogues written in the middle of the 19th century show less interest in the geometric shapes than in the movements within the city, and indeed not only in popular movements (von Rochau 1847: 87; Heinzelmann 1851: 35), in which the people expressed their dissatisfaction but also in urban spatial changes (Hackländer 2006: 100-140). Von Quandt maintains: "Barcellona ward mehrmals vergrößert und verschönert" (Barcelona was extended and improved many times) (von Quandt 1850: 13), which, in the following passage, no longer refers to the changes since antiquity, but rather to those of the previous century: the construction of Barceloneta, the renovations connected with the destruction from the revolutionary period and the widening of calle (street) Fernando VII. Valeska Voigtel-Bolgiani (1830-1876), publishing under his pseudonym, Arthur Stahl, offered the following glance into the future: "Only after some years will Barcelona attain its full splendor. The fortified walls which had fallen down in 1843 and then leveled down just like those in Vienna, have given the cramped city unlimited space for expansion. The new buildings which have been designed according to a set plan will become a most impressive sight."¹⁸

¹⁸ In the original German version: "Zu ihrer vollen Schönheit wird sich Barcellona erst nach einigen Jahren erheben. Die Festungsmauern, seit 1843 gefallen und gleich denen von Wien abgetragen, haben der eingeengten Stadt unbeschränkten Raum zur Ausdehnung gegeben. Die Neu-

Most of the travelers at this period of time moved on foot through the city, or, in other words, they walked from one place to another or one sight to another, and either presented their own impressions or reproduced what they had read. The only travelers whose routes are difficult to follow are those who enjoyed only a brief stay in the city or who failed stylistically to write a travelogue based on experience. These writers tend merely to offer their general impressions and a few facts. A few city walkers deliberately climbed a hill (usually the Montjuich) in order to gain a panoramic view of the city, which in the middle of the 19th century had between 150,000 and 200,000 inhabitants and, as a result, it was difficult for travelers on flat ground to find their way about without a map. Friedrich Heinzelmann walked up onto the Montjuich and noted five points between which Barcelona was “eingekeilt” (wedged in): Fort Montjuich, Fort Atarazanes at the foot of a mountain, the (renovated) Citadel together with Fort Pio and Fort Canaletas (Heinzelmann 1851: 34). He linked these external fixed points to the city’s narrow streets, in which any army trying to take over any part of the city would be defeated. Franz Lorinser (1821-1893), a clergyman, also begins his description with a panoramic view, in order to be better able to compare Barcelona with other beautiful Spanish cities such as Murcia, Granada and Toledo. He describes Barcelona from the bird’s eye point of view for the reader and, in conclusion, he regrets the fact on account of such a wonderful view that the omnibus due to take him back to the Fonda (his lodging) is not able to fly him back like a bird. This means that the raised position was, in fact, pure fiction. However, according to so Lorinser, it is possible to have an idea of the view depicted by the clergyman if one climbs up to Fort Montjuich.¹⁹

bauten, nach einem gewissen Plan ausgeführt, werden einen höchst imposanten Anblick gewähren.” (Stahl 1866: 215, translation by John Gledhill)

¹⁹ “Man denke sich einen Halbkreis mäßig hoher, zierlich geformter blauer, felsiger Berge, die in fruchtbaren Hügeln allmählich gegen das Meer hin sich verflachen und nur im Süden einen mächtigen, steil abfallenden Felscolloß in’s Meer vorgeschoben, – und im Schooße dieses Halbgürtels eine bis unmittelbar an das Gestade sich ausdehnende Ebene, die von einer gewaltigen Häusermasse bedeckt ist, welche durch eine breite, mit Bäumen bepflanzte Straße, die am Hafen beginnt und am westlichen Thore endigt, in zwei ungleiche Hälften getheilt wird, und aus der eine Menge sich sehr ähnelnder Thürme, die alle oben platt abgeschnitten sind, emportauchen, und daneben die unermeßliche, stahlblaue Fläche des Meeres, in welche eine mit weißen Häusern bedeckte, sich krümmende Landzunge (Barceloneta) hinausläuft, – und gegen Norden eine langgestreckte Küste, an der wie blendende Edelsteine die beiden Städtchen Badalona und Matarò liegen, – und über Alles eine prächtige Beleuchtung ausgegossen, – und, um das Bild zu vollenden, im Vordergrunde wilde Felsparthieen und colossale Agaven, und man wird ungefähr eine Vorstellung des Anblicks erhalten, der sich vom Fort Montjuich, wenn man das Gesicht nach Norden wendet, darbietet. Das wäre Barcelona aus der Vogelperspektive. Zu solchem Fluge vermochte freilich der Omnibus, der uns vom Bahnhofe in die Fonda führte, sich nicht zu erheben.” (Lorinser 1855: 58-59)

7. Summary and Conclusions

At the beginning of the 19th century, an anonymous traveler, in Barcelona writes that one can identify the various “Zeitpunkte” (key points in time) of its history by examining the remains of the city wall.²⁰ An analytical exposure of the spatial layers together with their tendency to merge into one another by no means conveys a picture of history progressing chronologically in a straight line, but creates more an image of the interwoven complexity of various periods of time and epochs, of changing sites, of expansions, which incorporate diverse parts of the old within the new. A traveler can be compared to an archaeologist trying on the one hand to uncover the different layers of history and on the other hand having to decide what to make of remains he has uncovered. However, whatever the case, his excavations bring materializations of time in space to the light of day, which can be described as a *chronotopos* as defined by Michail Bachtin, the Russian cultural scientist (Bachtin 2008). Only in this way will the changing space-time configurations of a city become recognizable. A differentiated consideration of perceived times in space can be transferred analogically to the perceived spatialities. Just as linear chronologies are inadequate for the analysis of past societies, three-dimensional spatialities fall short here because the spatial praxis of the actors would be inadequately described.

In this context, if the question is once again posed as to how one can map historical urban spaces, it first has to be decided as to exactly what kind of “space” do we want to map. It is absolutely obvious that the space of geographers, cartographers, city planners, city fathers or social-geographers is not the same space as that recorded, analyzed and covered by everyday users of space such as, in our case, the travelers themselves.

Before the actual mapping of historical urban spaces can take place, methodology demands that the following steps need to be observed and the following questions to be cleared up:

- Which spaces (urban space types – such as streets, town squares, buildings – shapes, hierarchies, relations, distances etc.) are to be taken into consideration and mapped?
- What are the perspectives (including fictive ones) taken by the observers? What kinds of instruments or media do they use to enhance their perception of space? In what ways do they find their orientation in urban space?
- Which spatial modalities are the observers aware of or, alternatively, which do they deem to be worth recording? Obviously this does not just concern the

²⁰ “Noch erkennt man an Barcelona’s verschiedenen Einlassungen die unterschiedenen Zeitpunkte seiner Geschichte. Anfänglich lag sie auf einer Höhe unfern dem Meere, fast wo jetzt der Mittelpunkt des Ortes ist. Noch sind viele Thore dieser alten Ringmauer vorhanden. So wie unter Aragoniens Königen der Wohlstand Barcelona’s zunahm, wurden auch dessen Ringmauern verlängert und vergrößert. Der gegenwärtige Umfang ward der Stadt nach den Kriegen in der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts.” (T. 1817: 114)

static space of the city, but also both changes of space and bodily movements. In this way, spaces are often created, which are then translated by the writer into a narrative.

From this, the general direction for social geography with regard to historical urban research will acquire a critical and necessary opening up of perspective which involves the inclusion of perceptions, movements and transformations.

The various modalities need now at the very latest to be taken into account, in which temporality in urban space appears or is created. Alterations in urban space do not progress in the mode of time moving forward in a linear direction. The descriptions of the transformations show how far they are subject to narrative constructions or intertextual dependencies. Finally, the observers need to be aware of the multi-layering within space and the co-presence of several time layers in space.

With all this in mind, now would be the time to map movements in urban space, perceptions of urban spatial transformations or urban spatial hierarchies together with their changes.

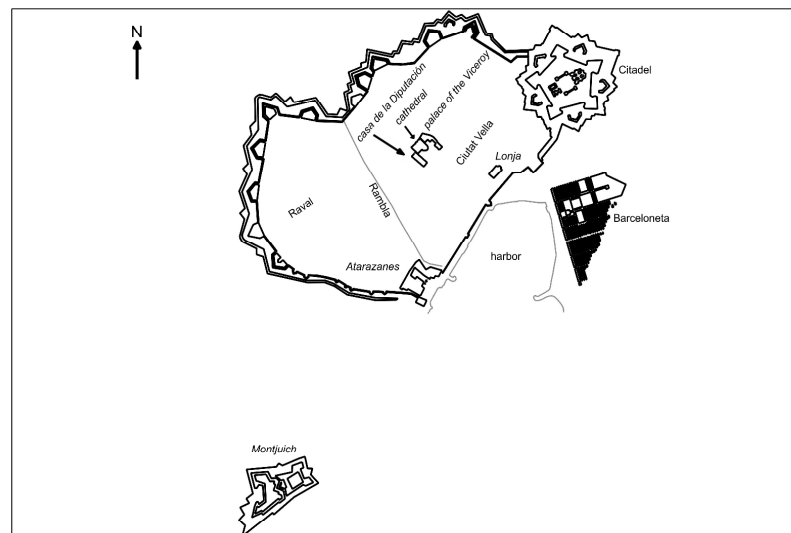


Fig. 1. Places and areas visited by early modern travelers - map: Leif Scheuermann, 2013

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