

Elements of historical knowledge about urban spaces. Reflections on the requirements for a dynamic map.

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Abstract Various interpretations of Barcelona's urban space are presented in this paper in connection with the city's key structural changes during the early modern period. In line with certain utilitarian perspectives, the contemporary actors at various points in time came up with diverse models of spatial structuration. In addition to the apparently natural division of Barcelona into two parts, an administrative division into four quarters had been established since the Middle Ages. However, this division was not directly linked to the pre-dominant, binary interpretation.

Both in descriptions of the city by German speaking authors and in artistic depictions, binary structurisations of the city remained in the forefront. However, alongside the dominant perception of the city as being divided along the inner city wall and the Ramblas, alternative interpretations made their appearance, based on the old Roman city wall or the city's later extensions.

Modern maps of historical space should not depict merely established and pre-dominant interpretations, but their task is also to present alternative and minority structurisations. In addition, there is an indication in this process of the danger which is inherent in the mapping of urban spaces: complete mapping of the historical city often gives the impression that the whole of the city space is covered by our knowledge. We are, however, confronted with huge informational gaps as far as the historical general image of the city is concerned. This is because generally only a select number of building types are depicted or described, or, alternatively, these depictions and descriptions refer only to a narrowly defined area. – This information gap should also be recognized in maps portraying the historical city. Just as the representation of our knowledge is essential, it is also equally important to represent our information gaps.

Essential features of the urban development of Barcelona, 1714-1854

During the 16th and 17th centuries there had been no radical changes in Barcelona's urban structure. Later historians had seen this as a symptom of the city's stagnation, or even of its decadence (see García Espuche 1998: 13-17). Only during the last two decades has this view of Barcelona undergone a change. Gabriel García i Espuche has shown how, in the decades around 1600, a new hierarchized urban structure was emerging in Catalonia, with Barcelona at the head. A key element among these changes was that a large proportion of the production was moved to the towns in the surrounding area, which then enjoyed a period of considerable growth with the consequence that Barcelona had an even more important role to play with regard to the marketing of various products. (García Espuche 1998) Its economic boom in the 17th century was accompanied by numerous architectural changes, which at the micro-architectural level were manifested mainly in architectural fashions together with the adding of extensions to individual buildings; in addition, this process included not only the construction of numerous new commercial buildings but also the founding of a whole range of new religious houses. (Perelló Ferrer 1996)¹ Except for this conventualisation, which mainly affected the Raval situated in the western part of the city, the main municipal structures were largely unaffected by these developments and remained in a basically unaltered condition from 1516 to 1716. (García Espuche 1998: 74-75)

Since the "Reapers' War" (cat.: Guerra dels Segadors, 1640-1652) fighting for Catalanian independence, Barcelona had been frequently besieged (and sometimes for a very long time) up to 1714. The building expansion of the various fortifications during this period prefaced the dominant role with regard to municipal building which the military had played after the end of the last great Siege of Barcelona (September, 1714). Catalonia's defeat in the Spanish Wars of Succession from 1701-1714 (cat.: Guerra de Successió Espanyola) signified the end to its special privileges and resulted in Catalonia's integration into the Spanish unitary state. A citadel was completed by 1719 in the north eastern area of the fortification sites in order to provide military security for Barcelona. This new fortress did not only cater for the external defence of the city but, together with the older fortress on the Montjuich and numerous barracks scattered over the city area, it was also responsible for controlling the city. A significant section of the northern part of Barcelona was demolished to make way for the construction of the Citadel, which had a deleterious effect, however, on the most economically active city centre. (Busquets: 85-88, see also the article by Guàrdia Bassols in this volume)

The construction of the Citadel marked the first great breach from Barcelona's medieval city structure. This change was initiated and maintained by the military

¹ In addition, the demographic trends analysed by Manel Guàrdia Bassols (see his contribution in the present volume), demonstrate the vitality of what had been assumed to be a stagnating city.

as was the case with the two other major intrusions of the 18th century: firstly, from 1753 the *extramuros* construction of the Barceloneta built on the alluvial sand next to the harbor and secondly, the demolition of the inner city wall from 1775. (Fig. 1)

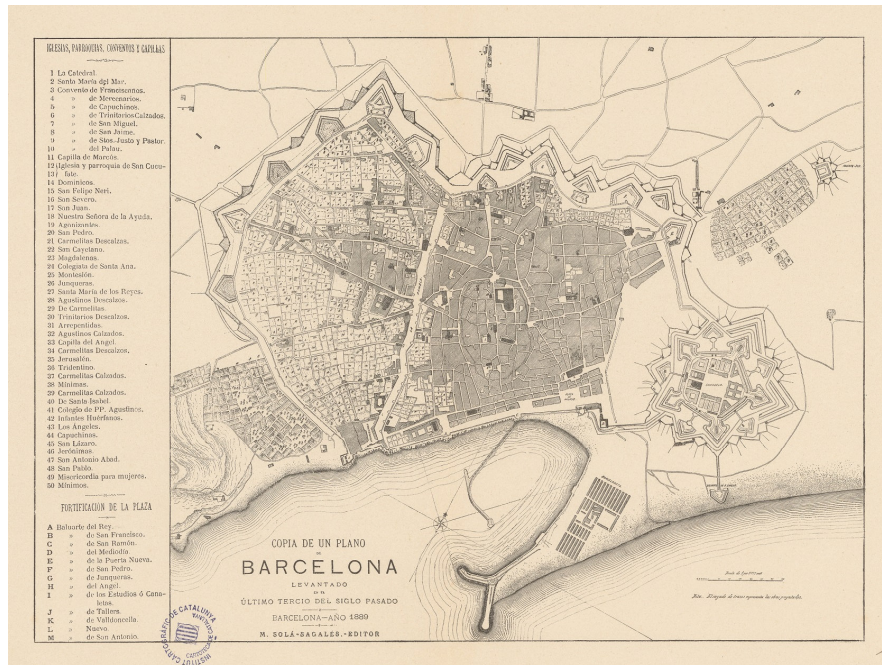


Fig. 1. M. Solá-Sagalés, Copia de un plano de Barcelona levantado en el último tercio del siglo pasado, 1889, (State approx. 1775) (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM.42027)

In the second half of the 18th century Barcelona had to face the lasting problem of a rapidly growing population. It increased, between 1759 and 1787, from 53,000 to 95,000 inhabitants. (Vilar: 43-44) This growth obviously could not be accommodated by the new district of the Barceloneta. Because of the fortifications, the city could not expand outwards. So solutions had to be found inside the walls. The answer to the population explosion was the development of the Raval district, which up to that time was mainly used for agriculture. To promote this project, which began in 1775, the inner city wall was demolished and the Rambla was transformed into an avenue. This attempt was not very successful, but, ten years later, after the opening of the street Calle del Conde del Asalto, an intensive process of opening up new streets began to take place in the Raval. That was the moment at which the citizens of Barcelona representing their private interests once again began to play an active role in the city's development. By opening up new streets until 1808 (see Fig. 2), the character of the Raval changed completely and in the early 19th century, the quarter became the most important industrial and workers' district. (Garcia and Guàrdia: 72-74; Guàrdia, Monclús and Oyón: 70, 74)



Fig. 2. J. Moulinier, Plano de la ciudad y del puerto de Barcelona, 1807 (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM.19425)

However, the Raval was not the only area that was subject to planning changes. In 1797 construction work for another promenade began on the esplanade of the citadel. Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century, there were promenades on three sides of the active city: the Paseo de San Juan, the Muralla del Mar and the Ramblas. In the city center a road-straightening policy was implemented. From 1820 on, the Plaza del Palacio was extended from the harbor to the entrance to the city. (Garcia and Guàrdia: Fig. 77)

The most significant changes, however, involved those which reinforced the area around the Ramblas. The ecclesiastical confiscations of Mendizabal from 1836 provided the basis for this reinforcement. These confiscations enabled the areas which had been formerly occupied by churches and monasteries to become accessible to the urban development again. (Garcia and Guàrdia: 80) The traditionally high density of churches and monasteries in this area was now a decisive advantage for its development.



Fig. 3. R. Alabern, Plano de Barcelona, 1857 (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM.49231)

The Plaza de San Jose and Plaza Real, both situated in the immediate vicinity of the Ramblas, were constructed on the area where former monasteries had been situated. Also the Gran Teatro del Liceo at the Ramblas was built on the grounds of a former monastery.

From 1825 a link between the Ramblas and the Paseo de San Juan was constructed in several stages. Also today's Plaza de San Jaime has been enlarged. In this connection, the new main axis formed by the Calle de Fernando VII and Calle de la Princesa created a new urban cross which completed and, in parts, replaced the traditional inner city's structure, which up to then was still defined by the Roman *cardo* and *decumanus maximus*. (Guàrdia, Monclús and Oyón: 74; see Fig. 3)

The most important buildings of political and economic administration remained. To maintain that the center was translocated would be an exaggeration as it was, in fact, only enlarged. However, visitors' perceptions of the city experienced fundamental changes. In this context, the Ramblas area became dominant.



Fig. 4. N. Fer, Barcelonne. Ville et port fameux d'Espagne, 1690 (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM. 215332)

Representations of Barcelona's urban space in maps of the early modern Age

The first maps of Barcelona were made in the 17th century. Like the first city views, these maps are not indigenous productions, but commissioned works for outside entities such as monarchs or the military. Accordingly, the fortifications are particularly important in these maps, which, however, are very inaccurate. The fortifications are exaggerated and the roads bear little correspondence to reality. (see fig. 4, for the early cartography of Barcelona see the contributions in Montaner and Nadal)

The relation between the Raval quarter and the genuine city is of particular interest. Although the Raval is mainly used for agriculture and is very sparsely populated, both parts appear identical here. Little or nothing points to the fundamental differences between the two parts of the city and even the road network appears with a similar density.

In the context of the sieges between 1640 and 1714, a large number of maps were made of Barcelona in the decades around 1700. Here the technical and methodological improvements in the French cartography are visible. According to their military function, the main focus of these maps is again on the fortifications. Often, downtown areas are no longer shown.



Fig. 5. Mortier, A True and Exact Plan of all the Old & New Fortifications of Barcelona, 1708 (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM.221454)

Sometimes only the external system is represented. More often, however, the map shows the inner city wall, thus emphasizing the bi-partite division of Barcelona. (see Fig. 5)

Frequently, the labels "old" and "new" were used for these two parts. Both are defining attributions that may be based on pragmatic decisions, but they are not very coherent. Given the completely different nature of the two parts, it is questionable whether the Raval is even part of the city although this question was apparently answered positively because of the existence of the closed city wall. However, the words "old" and "new" cease to apply as relevant terms if the wall is to be seen as being the defining element of the city.

This is because the construction of the wall around the Raval started after the construction of the wall around the densely populated city had begun, but this part was finished much sooner. The terms "old" and "new" are no longer a meaningful category for the entire system of fortifications. Moreover, the supposedly "new" town at the time of the making of these maps had been defined by the walls for over 200 years.

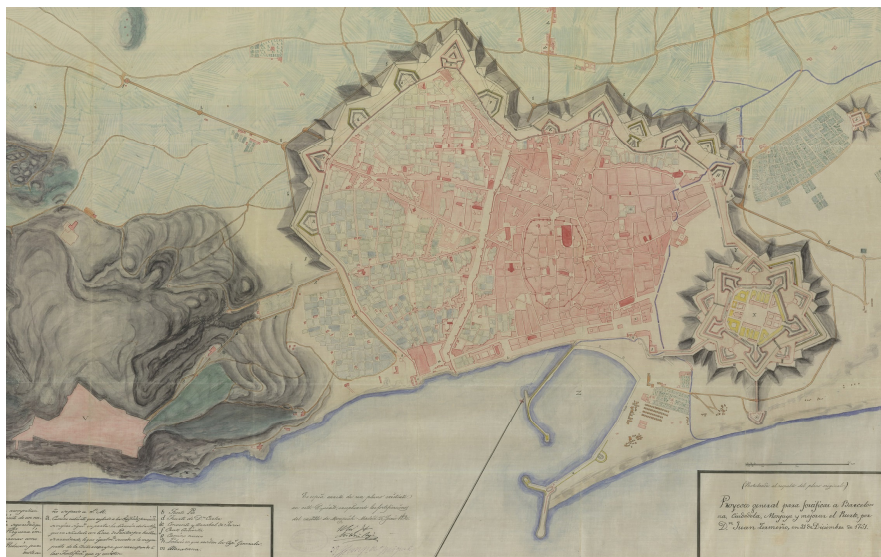


Fig. 6. Zermeno, Proyecto general para fortificar Barcelona, Ciudadela, Monjuïc y mejorar el Puerto, por D. Juan Zermeno en 31 Diciembre de 1751 (Copy from 1890, Detail) (© Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, 02973)

After the conquest by Castilian and French troops in 1714, military cartography experienced a boost of professionalization. Soon, a large number of standardized maps of the whole city were produced in the city itself showing its quarters and streets including items such as construction projects. In the context of military mapmaking during the second half of the 18th century, some maps appeared with representations of a new element, unknown until this moment in city maps of Barcelona. At a time of highly precise cartography, this new element, representing the Roman city walls, could be seen in maps, but not in reality because the Roman Wall had been integrated into downtown houses. Even this element was shown in these maps.

Although the attributions "old" and "new" here are no longer explicitly present in the map, they are chronologically useful at this point. Since the Roman Wall did not exist as a continuity in the city's image, an interpretation is needed to explain why it was shown in the maps. It is not likely that this wall still had military importance at this time. Thus, its appearance may be understood as an expression of a different, more historically-determined interest in the city.

As we shall see, the division of Barcelona with reference to the Roman city walls can also be found in some travelogues. It seems that at the beginning of the 19th century, this reference was no longer used in the maps of Barcelona, but, in the middle of the century, it appears again as a dominant element in Ildefonso Cerdà's and Miguel Garriga y Roca's plans for the inner city's reform. This time the function of this item is obvious. Beside the ideas of monument protection, it's easier not to come into contact with the city walls if you want to built a new broad road through the city center.

As these maps with the inscribed Roman walls were military maps, it is not very probable that they reached broader publication. However, in the 19th century, they could be copied and published, as we can see from Fig. 1, dated from 1889.

The perception of early modern Barcelona as a city comprising two parts which were divided by the inner city wall, seems to be immediately obvious. The maps focus on the walls which are crucial from a military perspective, but it can be assumed that these walls had an impact on the contemporaries' general perception of the city even in a non-military context. Nevertheless, the subdivision of the city on the lines of the medieval walls was neither natural nor necessary, but based on utilitarian principles representing particular interests. This can be seen both in the military maps which refer to the Roman Wall and in the division of the city's structure into its constituent administrative districts. Since the Middle Ages, the administration had divided Barcelona into four quarters by two main axes, which initially crossed at the Plaza del Angel and later at the Plaza de San Jaime. (Brotos i Segarra: 24) For this division, the city wall of the Ramblas was of little importance and, therefore, administratively more permeable than the main roads. It was not until 1770, thus shortly before the inner city wall had been pulled down,

that the Raval was defined as an administratively independent quarter. (Brotons i Segarra: 69)



Fig. 7. R. Alabern, Plano de Barcelona, 1857 (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM.49231)

In the middle of the 19th century, it can also be seen that the improvement of cartographic techniques does not necessarily lead to objectification or depolitization of maps. In this example (Fig.7), the placing of the map index just above the citadel is highly significant and can only be understood as a political statement. This symbolic extinction of the fortress anticipates its actual demolition by 11 years.



Fig. 8. J.C. Vermeyen / F. Hogenberg, Barcelona. Barcino, que vulgo Barcelona dicitur, 1572 (state of 1535) (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM.4165)



Fig. 9. A. van den Wyngaerde, Barcelona, 1563 (Wikimedia)

Barcelona's urban space in city views and travelogues

Although the early maps represented the city in a fairly unspecific way, they were at least an attempt to capture the city as a whole. This also applied to the first city views.

There are two well-known, very early examples. Both show the view of the city, taken from Montjuïc, the hill beside Barcelona.

The *veduta* of Wyngaerde is often singled out for praise for being extremely detailed and “of almost photographic fidelity”. (Galera, Roca and Tarragó: 15) However, in the representation of the Raval the limits or the cost of such accuracy are clearly visible. To make room for the presentation of the actual city, the Raval has shrunk in this view, for which a significant deformation of the inner city wall has also been adopted. This change is the opposite case compared with the maps made a 100 years later, which showed the tendency to portray the Raval as a fully valued part of a relatively homogeneous city. (Fig. 4)

Wyngaerde also made the first view from the seaside. After 80 years of copying the Hogenberg view, it took until the middle of the 17th century for the new *vedutas* to be produced. Now the view from the seaside has become the standard.



Fig. 10. Daumont, Barcelone, Ville capitale de la Principauté de Catalogne située sur la mer méditerranée, 1739-1748 (© Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, RM.215203)

Partial views do not appear in a considerable number before the last third of the 18th century. They also generally showed the sea side of the city, the harbor and the Plaza del Palacio. Later, in the 19th Century, the Ramblas appeared as another

central motive. Furthermore, there were also thematically determined motifs: religious sites such as churches and monasteries from inside and outside, the administration buildings at the Plaza de San Jaime and the city palaces. Frequently, there are also depictions of rural scenes, with either a full or partial view of Barcelona in the background. But there are hardly any pictures of inner-city areas, which go beyond this framework – industrial areas for instance or poor quarters. Exceptions that do go beyond are mainly depictions of historical events. At a very early stage, there are representations of the storming of the city in 1714 and then, later depictions of urban unrest and riots. Finally, the demolition of the walls led to an increased production of pictures of the city wall as seen from outside. (see Galera, Roca and Tarragó, CCCB/IMhB 1995)

The travel reports also provide only a very incomplete picture of the urban area. At least travelogues are the most complex type of source mentioned here, which also have a very long tradition. Since the Middle Ages there have been travelogues with references to Barcelona. The almost entirely positive description of the town is a striking feature of these reports, and Barcelona was often praised for its cleanliness and well-paved streets. These early reports offered only very brief accounts of the city and the most frequently discussed item was the port and its state. This is probably explained by the fact that travelers to Spain in the Middle and early modern Ages did not come across Barcelona, when they took the land route. When they took the sea route, they often went ashore here to continue to Toledo or Madrid. Due to the poor conditions of the harbor, this endeavour was for a long period of time both a complicated and newsworthy process.

Extensive descriptions of the city had been published in a greater density since the second half of the 18th century and had become numerous in the 19th century. Now the ascent of Montjuic and a description of the entire city was a regular item on the traveler's program. Here the predominant representations were those which described the city as divided into two by the Ramblas. This was what the maps had also shown. However, over a long period of time, there are also perceptions where the Ramblas division does not play a role. These authors also referred to the Roman city walls, around which the medieval town had developed and to which the Barceloneta had been added.²

² Examples are: "It [Barcelona] is situated by the Mediterranean Sea and seems to be divided into two cities, one of which forms the inner city, which has high walls and four gates lead through these four walls corresponding to the four areas of the heavens and this part is called the Old Town. The other city is built around the Old Town and, likewise, has strong walls and solid towers and can be called the New Town." (M. 1704: 461); "Actually, it [Barcelona] consists of three cities: the Old Town and the New Town, and the Barceloneta with its harbour. The New Town almost comprises the whole city as it encompasses the Old Town, whose walls are still completely intact in many places. The building of these walls is often attributed to the Romans because the Spaniards, who know very little about architecture and the Ancient World, ascribe everything to the Romans." (Loning: 21).

With the extension of the city, the downtown area is increasingly seen as a unit, which forms a stark contrast to the extension area. The Ramblas constitute the new center of this unit. Especially in the 19th century, they form the core of the reports on Barcelona. Beside the Ramblas, usually only the Muralla del Mar and the Calle del Fernando VII appear as a coherent space. Similar descriptions with a "space-like" reference refer perhaps to the Plaza Real, Plaza de la Constitución and Calle de Escudellers. Thus, the focus is on a continuous, newly-designed urban space. The descriptions of the port and the Barceloneta, which are often understood as a unit, are also quite large and numerous. There are also more localized descriptions, as we know them from the city views: churches (which generally also includes a description of the interior), monasteries, palaces and the seats of the municipal and provincial administration, the new cemetery, and also the Citadel. Even after the demolition of the Citadel, reports regularly referred to its being there on site. In addition, special interests are cultivated by the authors, who described, for example, hospitals, libraries or collections of paintings. It is noteworthy that the newly designed Paseo de San Juan is almost irrelevant - it is probably too remote. Also virtually no references are made to the newly developed area in the Raval, or, at most, in a summary manner, in the form of: "In recent decades, many new roads were opened here and there was a lot of construction." The old industrial area of San Pedro in the north of the city remained completely ignored.

Atypical cartographic representations

Up to this point I have presented relatively unambiguous spatial references from various sources, which refer to diverse functional interests and to individual features from a variety of text types. The situation becomes more complicated when the concrete, historical map represents a complex network involving processes of map production and copying, anachronisms, outlines and even 'wishful thinking'.



Fig. 11. Juan Zermeño (?), Plano de Barcelona, - (Copy from 1891, Detail) (© Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, 02551)

Figure 11 displays an extremely interesting artifact as these parameters cross each other. The copy of the original map was produced in 1891 and was based on a military map of Barcelona drawn up around the middle of the 18th century.³ Both the medieval inner city wall and the Roman Wall are clearly visible. The maker of this map can in all probability be ascribed to Juan Zermeño, who was both a military engineer and cartographer (see also Fig. 6). It can be seen from the divergent version of the Raval and the city centre that the city plan has still not been completed. However, the features which can be recognized from Barcelona's streets, are very exact. (Galera, Roca and Tarragó: 2005) The clearest anachronism is the representation of La Ribera as completely intact in the state it was before its partial demolition, and as it was before the construction of the Citadel, thus in its original state before the Siege of 1714. Alongside this, the extensions of the fortifications refer to a future version as this was after the time when the original map must have been produced. The southern link to the sea accessed by the *Puerta de la Madrona* town gates had never been implemented in this particular form. It is highly probable that this city plan was part of a draft drawing for an extension of the fortifications. In addition to this anomalous presentation of the past as manifested in the north and in the fortification plans referring to a future date in the south, an element of pure fiction had entered into the Raval area: the gardens laid out in a clearly baroque design are completely devoid of any historical foundation.

Conclusion

The maps of Barcelona presented here relate to the city in its totality. I have tried to show that they depicted clearly distinguishable images of the city, depending on the state of the art of cartography at the time and depending also on specific tasks and political interests. Overall, they tended to emphasize the urban dichotomy caused by the inner city wall and the Ramblas. In the 2nd half of the 18th century representations of the city appeared which showed the Roman city walls as another structuring element of the territory. We encounter this interpretation, over a longer period, even in isolated travelogues.

I referred to the administrative division into four as an alternative organization of space where the inner city wall was irrelevant. Pictures of the city provide more concrete images, which, however, only very late and then in a highly selective fashion also deal with inner-city areas.

The situation with travelogues is quite similar. It is noteworthy, but probably also not surprising, that similar spaces are described in travelogues and city views.

³ The references to various 19th century copies of 18th century military maps in this article are based on my own work at the AHCB – *Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona*, (the city's administrative archives) to which the copies have been bequeathed. In addition, this also refers to Barcelona's interest in its own history in the context of the Catalanian *Renaixença*, which was crucial for the production of these copies.

In the field of pictorial representations, this is applicable especially to the harbor, the Ramblas and religious institutions, and thus to the churches and monasteries. Especially the travelogues of the mid-19th century preferred to describe areas that had been recently restructured such as the Ramblas together with the connecting streets, Fernando VII and Escudillers.

The question which arises, is: how can the differing spatial relationships, such as those we encounter in the different sources, be represented? Activities may include not only the actual urban development, but also the interpretations of urban space, which are manifested in its various representations. From the above, a few considerations can be derived:

1. Georeferencing is an important tool for a representation of items referring to space and for the comparisons of these items with each other. In addition, it is an essential criterion for assessing historical maps. However, in certain circumstances, it can become too constrained when creating new representations. Georeferenced maps of the whole city simulate a spatial objectivity, which fails to be true to most of the sources relevant for this mapping. This is particularly the case for travelogues, but it also applies even to maps and cityscapes, which (quite rightly) are highly rated on account of their exactness. The significant, most informative differences can be found just in these deviations and so they should be brought to light. There is no obligation to georeference.
2. Historical maps tend to allow for no ambiguities and thus often make urban data seem to be clearer than actually is the case. Generally, representations of the city as a whole do not correspond with individual experiences of the urban space. As can be seen from the travelogues, only a partial view of the city is represented. However, even here, there are some conventions, which can be represented. A representation can be tried by using cartograms, but then the blank areas would be lost. These unknown items also need to be representable. Strategies need to be developed to avoid a spurious clarity for those situations which are not clearly unambiguous. Alongside the “blank areas”, there could be “dying data”. This means data with a limited duration of validity. If there isn’t new evidence, which either guarantees continuity or change, then this data could fade away with time before disappearing entirely.

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All maps by The Cartographic Institute of Catalonia (ICC – Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya), Historic Archive of the City of Barcelona (AHCB – Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona) except Fig. 9 (by Wikimedia).

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