

From Pleasure Gardens to *Places Dures*: Continuity and Change in Barcelona's Public Spaces

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Barcelona has historically reinvented itself with ingenuity and dramatic flare. Waves of euphoric urban design, extravagant architecture, and art on the cutting edge have continually renewed the city. Yet, paradoxically, this city of metamorphic impulse is also a city of remarkable stability. Below the churning surface lies an indelible substratum of shared experience and sensibility that provides a counterbalance and a context for the extreme gesture. As a consequence, Barcelona has evolved incrementally, absorbing, and adjusting to ostensibly radical shifts in the governing paradigm.

Confined between the Mediterranean Sea and the Collserola mountain range, the densely populated city has developed no small part of its paradoxical character in response to real and perceived pressures from central authorities in Madrid. Traditionally, the city has underscored its autonomy by preparing for international expositions, Olympic festivals, and other notable events, all commemorated in spectacular monuments and urban transformations.

As Hobsbawm, Nora, Serrano, and Álvarez Junco have demonstrated in their historical analyses over the past two decades, nineteenth- and twentieth-century European societies often sought to invent traditions and symbols of cultural and national unity. In the case of Barcelona, the process of continual invention and reinvention has created a vibrant society in which the city has evolved as a setting for the so-called theater of daily life. Moreover, with the coming of the democratic municipal government in the



late 1970s, Barcelona's tendency to celebrate itself through grand gestures has allowed the players behind the scenes to present dramatic new expressions of urban culture.¹

In Barcelona, such dramatic expressions are revealed in the history of its parks and gardens. Far from being innocuous open spaces, parks and gardens have been the battleground for culture wars. They reflect the city's struggle for monumentality, its propensity to express itself through spectacle, and its ability to excite the metamorphic impulse that perpetuates shared patterns and values. They are a measure of Barcelona's urban complexity and a means of transforming it with verve and intensity while retaining its enduring qualities. The parks and gardens also provide Barcelona with a "memory" of its deep structures and contribute to the city's ability to avoid much of the banality and anonymity that are the bane of cities everywhere.

The Eighteenth-Century Origins

By the late eighteenth century, the walled city of Barcelona remained virtually devoid of green spaces. Burdened with material, political, and military problems, it had yet to develop the kinds of urban gardens that were beginning to evolve elsewhere. Inspired by French, English, and Italian garden estates, the moneyed elite began to commission their own protective garden enclosures with follies and fanciful statuary far above the city. Even within these self-contained spaces, conspicuous displays of greenery, and follies provided backdrops for the social theater

of the aristocracy as well as objects of fantasy for the city's middle class.

The most notable example survives in Horta. In 1791, the Marquis d'Alfarràs i de Lluçà commissioned the Italian landscape architect Domenico Bagutti to construct a labyrinth of cypresses at the center of which was placed a statue of Eros. A thousand workers were said to have labored to make a greensward as part of this complex homage to classical antiquity in the dryness of the Collserola range. Mirrored stairs, which frame a grotto enshrining Echo and Narcissus, lead to an upper level where two symmetrical pavilions are dedicated to Danae and Ariadne. Higher yet stand a pavilion, a pool, and a fountain devoted to Egeria. All are stages, both intimate and grand, and by the end of the nineteenth century, the garden had become a site for extravagant social gatherings as well as formal theatrical productions. Adrià Gual directed a number of performances at the estate through his *Teatre Íntim*, and the labyrinth lingered in the imagination of Barcelona, even though it would remain a private reserve of the aristocratic family until 1969.

When it was restored by Joaquim M. Casamor and opened to the public as a municipal garden in 1970, hundreds of thousands of visitors rushed to see the 9-hectare garden complex. The elegant private reserve became a window into a realm long hidden from the public's view but central to its imagination. Further restoration by Patrizia Falcone has returned the labyrinth to its original condition, and since 1994 this historic garden at the edge of the city in the Horta-Guinardó district has been designated as a "garden museum."

Pleasure Gardens and the Rise of Public Leisure Space

While the gardens of the Marquis d'Alfarrà i de Llopà continued to expand in the nineteenth century with romantic motifs, including a lake and meandering paths, pressure grew for the development of green spaces for the denizens of the walled city below. As a result, in the second decade of the century, General Francisco de Castaños set in motion the creation of the Jardín del General, a triangular garden space of .5 hectare bordered by a green wooden picket fence, which was strategically situated next to the fortress of the Ciutadella (Citadel). Its success stimulated interest in public gardens on the Barcelona plain, and in 1821 the Passeig de Gràcia was initiated as Spanish administrators continued to fear the volatility of the population and the spread of epidemics. Under duress, the city created a nursery, the Criadero, that became a garden spot open to the public, and soon the Tívoli, the Jardines de la Ninfa, the Fuente de Jesús, and other commercial gardens provided the populace with green spaces and the promise of new kinds of entertainment.

In April 1853, the inauguration of the most celebrated garden of the area—the Camps Elisis—was announced with great fanfare. Even before the growth of trees and foliage, the *Diario de Barcelona* of 12 April, as quoted by Balaguer, visualized a pleasance with giant statues and luxurious vegetation that would, in time, astonish all those who came to the park:

Desgraciadamente aún le faltan á los Campos Eliseos la brillante vestidura de vegetación y las galas del follaje;

pero no tardará en tenerlas, amigas mías. Dejad que crezcan y se yergan ufanos esos árboles que solicitan el beso del sol primaveral como un niño ansía las caricias de su amorosa madre; dejad que esas acacias en flor muestren sus perfumados ramilletes; dejad que esas gleticias caprichosas extiendan sus ramas cargadas de bordadas hojas, que esos plátanos orgullosos balanceen su penacho al soplo halagador de la brisa matinal, que esos sauces lastimeros inclinen sobre las murmurantes aguas del estanque sus desmayado follaje; dejad que el suelo se alfombrase de flores, que las enredaderas cubran las glorietas, que las yedras trepen por entre las gigantes estatuas de los estanques, que los lirios asomen su casta frente por entre las aguas en que eternamente se bañan, y entonces los Campos Eliseos acabarán por ser el orgullo de los catalanes y la admiración de los extranjeros. (II 65)

Places of ephemeral luxury, worlds of escape beyond the constraints of the walled city, these spaces were remarkable in their proximity in character to the pleasure gardens of the expanding cities of Europe. Not Hispanic in origin or manner, they were nonetheless a virtually spontaneous response to popular and middle-class expectations for entertainment, leisure, and recreation. Like the populace itself, these pleasure gardens were complex and democratic, befitting a freewheeling society eager to see and to be seen in fashion. Long before the Midway of Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, these gardens were incipient amusement parks reflecting the *joie de vivre* of a hard-working society that was eager to play.

Suspended in an intensely developing city, the evanescent domains of the

Passeig de Gràcia could not compete with the pragmatic needs of an ambitious population. In the season following the inauguration of the Camps Elisis and after nearly two decades of discussions regarding the city's expansion, burgeoning industries, demographic pressures, and an enterprising middle class, as well as concern for alleviating the unhealthy conditions of the city, finally forced the demolition of the walls. In 1854 the walls came down, and within five years a plan formulated by Ildefons Cerdà was approved for the building of the Barcelona Eixample (Extension).

Ildefons Cerdà's Eixample

Originally formulated in 1855, revised and approved in 1859, and revised again in 1863, the Cerdà plan was a rational solution to the problems of developing a new city on a grand scale. It resulted in a grid or network of street blocks measuring 113x113 meters, with chamfered corners and central gardens. Designated by Cerdà as "interways," these squares were not to have been built on all four sides but to have remained open on at least one side, thus allowing gardens to be an essential part of the Eixample, as well as of each street block. For Cerdà, they were both an agreeable distraction and a hygienic necessity:

For the tenants who have the exclusive right to walk on and cultivate these gardens, they are a comfort which, up to a certain point, tends to make up for the lack of space which they feel within the dwellings. For those who cannot enjoy this privilege, it is a pleasant distraction to be able to contemplate Flora's most brilliant displays, her

most colourful finery. And finally, for the whole vicinity of each 'interways,' gardens act as air tanks from which each of the houses is supplied, in the same way as the main rooms of these houses supply [air to] the bedrooms. (235)

Cerdà's vision also extended far beyond the gardens within each street block. As Tarragó Cid has pointed out, by 1859 Cerdà had achieved a comprehensive plan for creating green spaces in the city, including the development of gardens and parks on Montjuïc and along the Besòs River:

A controlled gradation of greenery extending into the agricultural landscape outside the city could be seen in the rows of trees, spaced 8 meters apart, on either side of the streets—100,000 for the city as a whole; in the private gardens behind the houses together with the public gardens inside each street block; and finally, in the progression of urban parks for each sector and two great suburban parks along the Besòs River and on the hill of Montjuïc. (88)

Yet from the beginning, real estate speculators and builders resisted the elegant openness of Cerdà's plan. As street blocks were built up on all four sides, the rapidly expanding city devoured its own gardens. In the twentieth century, city authorities exacerbated the process of transforming the squares into densely built blocks. As Jurià i Torné has demonstrated, the history of the building ordinances dating from 1891 to 1976 chronicles the expansion of the built areas in the courtyards of the Eixample. Isolated and unseen except from the rear windows of in-

dividual apartments, the confined and besieged gardens never contributed to the concept of the Eixample as a garden with buildings. While the façades of the buildings resembled stage settings, they were disconnected from the inner gardens, which became the private stages of domestic entertainment. Fortunately, many of the interior spaces have survived a century of opportunistic construction and scores are returning to the public domain.²

Although Cerdà's vision of huge parks to be situated on Montjuïc and on the Besòs River was never realized, the city that was beginning to think of itself in terms of Paris and London still clamored for a substantial park. Coinciding with Barcelona's urban expansion were demands for the creation of large green areas for use by the city's residents. During the revolutionary Sexenio of 1868–1874, authorities in Madrid were more responsive to Barcelona's interests. By 1873, Josep Fontserè i Mestres had begun construction on the Parc de la Ciutadella (Citadel Park), on the site where in 1715 Philip V had built a fortress to control and intimidate the rebellious city. Under Fontserè, an expansive urban park of 30 hectares was made available for civilian use. By incorporating amenities similar to those of Lonchamp, La Bagatelle, and other Parisian gardens designed by Baron von Haussmann and his chief gardener, Adolphe Alphand, in the 1850s and 1860s, the Parc de la Ciutadella was to be a means for Barcelona to display its modernity.

Festooned with statuary devoted to historic and allegorical figures, a cascade fountain on which the architect Antoni Gaudí worked, and plantings, ponds, and whirlash paths, the Parc de la Ciutadella

signified the first opportunity for the people of Barcelona to enjoy complex garden designs that had once been the prerogative of the wealthy. It was a shrine as well as a pleasure devoted to developing middle-class culture, allowing citizens to experience a semblance of the exotic private estate of the Marquis d'Alfarràs i de Lluçà.

Prompting expansive thoughts of the city's possibilities, the cultivation of the Parc de la Ciutadella also contributed to plans for an international exposition. By 1888 the former fortress site had become the venue of Barcelona's own International Exposition; the park was transformed into a collection of symbolic structures honoring Barcelona's sophistication and industrial prowess, as well as Catalonia's cultural heritage. Like the world fairs of London, Paris, and Brussels, the exposition was predicated on a faith in both the material progress and the cultural legitimacy of the city in which it took place. And like many nineteenth-century exposition sites, the Parc de la Ciutadella would prosper after the exposition as a green space with monumental architecture, informing both the development of urban parks, and the city's built landscape. With Josep Vilaseca's grandiose Arc de Triomf providing a vista between the Parc de la Ciutadella and the Passeig de Sant Joan, the dramatic cityscape has inspired successive generations of Barcelona's administrators to consider grand events as a means to transform the city in their own image.

Park Güell

A poignantly original garden emerged in contrast with the grid of the Eixample at the turn of the century. Be-

ginning in June 1900, the architect Antoni Gaudí and his patron, the industrialist and entrepreneur Eusebi Güell, began construction on a vast garden suburb above the city in the Barri de la Salut in Gràcia. Intended to be an antidote to the rectilinearity, paucity of greenery, and secular culture of the city as it had evolved on the Barcelona plain, Park Güell became a different kind of garden—a supreme monument in a monumental city.

For fourteen years, Güell and Gaudí collaborated on what had begun as a garden suburb for sixty families set on 37 acres of rugged terrain on the Collserola range. In contrast to the rationally conceived grid of Cerdà's Eixample on the Barcelona plain, Park Güell rose in elevation from 150 to 210 meters through gullies and hillocks. Unlike the landscaped courtyard gardens of the Eixample, wildness in nature was both celebrated and protected. Oaks, carob trees, Spanish broom, rosemary, and other indigenous plants were preserved. No tree greater than 15 centimeters and 1.5 meters in height could be removed without penalty of fines.

Sixty families were to live in an urbanized garden that could not be filled with additional constructions, as in the city below. Individual houses were to be subordinated to the garden, and no private structure could obstruct the view of others. Whereas all four sides of the street blocks of the Eixample had been constructed to the detriment of gardens, in Park Güell no wall could be higher than 80 centimeters and no hedges or other obstructions were permitted.

In contrast to the rectilinear grid of Cerdà's ways and interways, the Park Güell road and path system was an interlocking network. In his petition to the city

of Barcelona, dated 26 October 1904, Güell proposed ruralized thoroughfares that were as complex and disciplined as those proposed by Cerdà for the Eixample, yet were predicated on a radically different principle of organization:

The thoroughfares have been adapted to the topography of the land and to the placement of the building sites, harmonizing them with existing streets in the area and with those which are to be made in the urbanization project. These roadways are in four categories: promenades or principal avenues with a minimum width of 10 meters and with very slight incline; ordinary roads for carriages with a width of 5 meters, more pronounced grades and occasional semicircular turnabouts; roads/paths for pedestrians 3 meters in width to serve to link the wider roads and to reach different areas of the park without having to follow the longest distance; and, finally, walking paths [*dreceres*] with steps, which will shorten the distance between the different roads where steep inclines do not permit avenues, roads, or 3-meter-wide paths.

And yet Parc Güell was not designed as a secular park garden project or nature preserve. Incorporating hieratic symbols and constructing features that resonated with the conservative religious culture of his time, Gaudí created the garden with a series of references to Paradise. Through allusions to the sacred mountain of Montserrat and the grottoes and shrines of traditional Catalonia that he incorporated into the site's layout, Gaudí presented the garden suburb as a striking antidote to the secular culture of the modern city. He made the park's thorough-

fares meaningful in terms of the pilgrimages that had been revived at the end of the nineteenth century. The gate-lodge constructions in *volta de maó de pla* (thin shell vaulting) and *trencadis* (broken tile design), as well as similar experiments in the grotto-bridge *pòrtics*, were Gaudí's renditions of traditional Catalan craftsmanship. The brilliantly tiled bench that wraps around the central theater of the park makes coy references to popular piety and traditional religious devotion. Even the commercial failure of the project did not inhibit Gaudí from constructing a massive stone Golgotha at the park summit.

Today, the park stands as a monument to a vision born of a period of social and ideological conflict; it is a supreme exemplar of values that Gaudí was also exploring in the Sagrada Família, the crypt at the Colònia Güell, and other urban monuments of the time. The garden-suburb conception was also a poignant product of the monumentalist impulse that was energizing Barcelona. The park's Doric-style hypostyle hall provided a dramatic space for civic functions and the theater itself became the site where Gaudí's contemporaries and later generations celebrated local festivities and danced the Sardana in programs honoring Catalan culture.³

Planning the City for the Twentieth Century

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Barcelona's culture wars were being fought through urban planning. The Park Güell experiment could not be transferred to the city as a whole, but conservative forces led by Josep Puig i Cada-

falch still sought to undo Cerdà's rationalist Eixample. From 1901 to 1909, the city government under the Lliga Regionalista searched for a culturalist model to channel the city's continued growth. In 1903, the city opened a competition for alternative plans to the Cerdà grid under the guise of developing avenues to link Barcelona with surrounding municipalities. In 1905, the entry that won the competition was the visionary plan of Léon Jaussely, a young French architect sympathetic to the English garden-suburb movement identified with Raymond Unwin.

The Jaussely plan was never realized, and with the defeat of the Lliga in 1909, there was no political support for a grand vision that included large green spaces, imposing new avenues, and a plan to open Barcelona to the sea. The city itself was abandoned to haphazard growth that neither respected nor transformed Cerdà's Eixample. Nevertheless, just as the Eixample remained as a grid upon which the city grew and monoliths and other monuments were erected, Jaussely's unexecuted plan was a conceptual substratum that survived in the collective memory of planners and architects. He not only conceived of the green space that would eventually become the Parc del Guinardó, but also initiated consideration of the current graduated system of urban green spaces categorized by their use and characteristics. And like Cerdà, Jaussely gave tacit license to urban planning on a grand scale.⁴

When the Lliga returned to power in 1914, Jaussely's plan was no longer perceived as the agency for transforming the city. As Abad has pointed out, in 1915 Francesc Cambó invited Jean-Claude-Nicolas Forestier, an expert with impec-

cable credentials as a garden planner, to develop gardens on Montjuïc as part of an international exhibition project. These preparations—another “strategic operation” to transform the city—would finally be realized nearly a decade and a half later in the International Exhibition of 1929 when sophisticated gardens decorated the mountain and Carles Buïgas’s Font Màgica illuminated the night as the city’s greatest spectacle.

Planning for the transformation of Montjuïc from the middle of the second decade of the century would shape the character of Barcelona’s parks and gardens for the next six decades. As head of the parks and gardens of Paris since 1898, Forestier was sufficiently skilled to bring urbanity to the gardens and undeveloped spaces of the city. And he was sufficiently cosmopolitan to conceive of parks and gardens in the context of the Mediterranean landscape. Beginning work in 1915 from his office in Paris, with the assistance in Barcelona of the young architect Nicolau Maria Rubió i Tudurí, Forestier designed the Jardí Laribal, as well as the Font del Gat, the Colla de l’Arròs, and other gardens in a nucleus on Montjuïc leading to the Teatre Grec.⁵

As in the case of Bagutti and the labyrinth in the 1790s, Forestier represented a direct intervention in Barcelona’s gardens by a cosmopolitan European. Yet unlike Bagutti, Forestier provided a sophisticated garden paradigm more responsive to the climate and soil of the region. With special sensitivity to indigenous flora, Forestier brought into relation the commercial exoticism of Paris of the 1880s and the garden culture of the Mediterranean. With the assistance of Rubió i Tudurí,

he created the Plaça d’Armes (1916) of the Parc de la Ciutadella and the first stage of the Parc del Guinardó (1918).

In 1917, Rubió i Tudurí’s long-term commitment to Barcelona’s parks and gardens was assured when at the age of 26 he was named director of public parks for the city of Barcelona as well as professor of gardening at the Escola de Bells Oficis of the Mancomunitat. Avoiding both Léon Jaussely’s visionary excesses and the symbolic intensity of modernism, Rubió i Tudurí traveled to London, Paris, and Amsterdam to refine his sophisticated sensibility. By 1920 he had developed an urbane vision for the public parks of Barcelona and in 1926 he presented a lecture titled “Legislación en materia de urbanismo” at the 11th Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos in Madrid.⁶ Moving from the French influence of Forestier, Rubió focused on the gardens of the Italian Renaissance as he evolved a “Mediterranean” landscape vision. Among his seminal works are the garden reforms in the Parc de la Ciutadella (1924) and the gardens of the Palau Reial de Pedralbes (1925–1927), the Plaça de Francesc Macià, the Parc de la Font del Racó (1926), the gardens of the Diagonal (1932), and the Parc del Turó (1933–1934).

As described by Oriol Bohigas (“Arquitecte”), Rubió i Tudurí was a cosmopolitan who avoided both risk and excess without relinquishing his right to do battle for a social cause. A Europeanist who founded a new Catalan gardening tradition and cultivated urbane habits of mind, Bohigas’s Rubió above all has served as inspiration for many who have provided Barcelona with perspective and sophistication:

En l'immens i meravellós conjunt de jardins de Rubió i Tudurí, cal també veure-hi una voluntat de posar el país a l'altura d'una manera de fer europea, cosmopolita. La batalla no és tant conceptual o estilística com social. És ell qui funda a Catalunya l'art de la jardineria. Fundar, obrir perspectives, escoltar, difondre, integrar-se en la formalitat civilitzada, no barallar-se pels accidents formals ni ideològics, ser un eclèctic com a acte de bona educació. Aquest és el gran valor de Rubió i el seu bon exemple. Potser el noucentisme ja havia perdut la capacitat de fer, però ja havia sublimat la capacitat d'ensenyar. (41)

The Franco Era

Returning from eight years of exile in 1945, Rubió i Tudurí was not invited to coordinate the expansion of Barcelona as a city of parks and gardens for obvious political reasons. His urbane vision, which had elevated the public spaces of Barcelona to subtle monumentality, was no longer relevant in the Franco era. While the city of Barcelona grew more chaotic and congested, Rubió devoted himself to constructing exquisite gardens in hotels and private residences throughout Spain, ingeniously mixing Renaissance and landscape garden motifs, Japanese gardens, and influences drawn directly from California gardens. These discreet garden projects have provided inspiration for contemporary landscape architects working in the city.

Rubió's successors in Parcs i Jardins—Lluís Riudor i Carol and Joaquim Casamor de Espona—followed the elegant gardening tradition of the 1920s within the

material limits of the Franco era. Riudor created the Parc del Turó de la Peira, and in 1965 he inaugurated the Parque de Cervantes and the rose garden in Pedralbes. Among Casamor's many works, perhaps those that best symbolize the elegant continuity of eclecticism and cosmopolitanism are the thematic parks of Montjuïc, devoted to three poets: Mossèn Costa i Llobera, Mossèn Jacint Verdaguer, and Joan Maragall. All inaugurated in 1970, they are garden jewels—focused respectively on cacti, lilies, and exquisite French design—each of which would find a place within the ambitious reconstruction of Montjuïc in the present time.⁷

The few well-bred gardens of the late Franco era were insufficient to ameliorate Barcelona's randomly developed urban fabric. Even existing gardens were poorly maintained and were occasionally "occupied" by immigrants drawn from the south and the Spanish hinterland to work in the city's factories. Creeping close to the gardens of Montjuïc, a shantytown grew in stark contrast to the faded refinement of the designs of Forestier and Rubió i Tudurí. Overrun by workers who were unimpressed with the neglected relics of a bygone era that surrounded them, Montjuïc succumbed to wear and tear. By the same token, for the middle-class families of Barcelona, the unvisited gardens faded in the shadow of Montjuïc's fortress—an ominous symbol of repression where Catalan Republicans were imprisoned and in whose moat many were executed. The moneyed elite, who had traditionally erected various kinds of monuments and gardens in their own honor, no longer regarded Barcelona in the Franco era as propitious for celebrating nor as a

realm for which they could proclaim themselves to be custodians.

In 1961, Jaime Gil de Biedma, in a poem dedicated to architectural historian Fabián Estapé, evoked the decay of the environment with bittersweet recollections of his family's place, both in the old gardens and in the industrial history of the city. "Barcelona ja no és bona, o mi paseo solitario en primavera" makes Montjuïc the site for reviewing the twisted facets of the city's twentieth-century history and the class from which the poet descended.

For the cultured poet, the courtly stroll through a landscape of decadence elicited ambivalent reveries. The grandson of Santiago Alba did not long for the lost grandeur of a family that had contributed to the building of industrial Barcelona and that had begun to fade even during the time of easy money in the 1920s. As Gil de Biedma indicates in the last two stanzas of his poem, he would also not be a part of the world of the immigrants—his cautious, secretive audience—as he ambled through an "amphitheater" of twisted roots and bourgeois nostalgia in the mountain's untended gardens.⁸

Significantly, Gil de Biedma's consciousness of the failures of the city was not unique. Contemporaneous with his stroll through Montjuïc was Oriol Bohigas's formulation of his own theories regarding the crisis of the city. In 1963, Bohigas published *Barcelona entre el Pla Cerdà i el barraquisme*, based on essays he had written in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Bohigas also postulated a conception of urban planning that he believed would transform and humanize the city.

Parks and Gardens in the Democratic Era

Franco's death in 1975 served as the catalyst for change, and the promise of democracy ushered in an era of intensive planning. In 1976, the institution of the *Pla General Metropolità* was a first step in the formulation of a conceptually coherent urban design. The first democratic city government in 1979 resulted in the 1980 appointment of Bohigas as head of l'Àrea d'Urbanisme. By 1981, Narcís Serra, as the mayor of Barcelona, and Juan Antonio Samaranch, as the head of the Olympic Movement, agreed to advocate Barcelona as the site for the 1992 Olympics. In 1986 the city was chosen, and by 1992 Barcelona would be transformed to accommodate the international sporting spectacle, an event comparable to the magnificent world's fairs of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it was an all-engrossing occasion that served to give focus to the transformation of the city's infrastructure, especially with regard to its transportation and highways, and to the sophisticated development of its public spaces. As Santacana has pointed out, this was also an era of intensive strategic planning.

Transforming Barcelona into an "Olympic city" was the pretext for a more fundamental urban metamorphosis. For Bohigas, the task was to develop strategies with which to regenerate the city, connect its fragments into a whole, and awaken a collective consciousness. Focusing on neighborhoods as units with which to rebuild the city, Bohigas sought to revitalize areas that he believed had succumbed to neglect and overbuilding. He aimed to elevate those neighborhoods by

providing formal dignity to open spaces through design, art, and monuments. For Bohigas (*Reconstrucció*), it was a vision that reached the public spaces of Barcelona's most peripheral neighborhoods:

Cal, doncs, reordenar, urbanitzar aquests espais—'monumentalitzar-los,' en el sentit que el terme ha adquirit ja en les propostes més progressives dins de l'urbanisme—amb criteris de centralitat, donant-los els valors significatius de la col·lectivitat, aquells valors que encara continuen més o menys baldats en la ciutat històrica. (20)

Under the mentorship of Bohigas, J. A. Acebillo and a group of young architects attempted to reconstruct the city along lines that Francesc Manuel Muñoz Ramírez (255–58) argues were based on the assumptions of the Italian architect Aldo Rossi. As the city razed its factories, warehouses, energy plants, railroad facilities, and l'Escorxador (the municipal slaughterhouse), the architects hastened to transform the sites into attractive spaces to be used and appreciated by people. The zealous planners and architects gave attention to a myriad of local spaces, neighborhoods, streets, passages, parks, and gardens in order to reshape the city as a grand sum of discrete social, cultural, and historic environments.

Their parks and gardens were polemical, rarely resembling classic parks and gardens in which visitors move along either axial lines or meandering paths and amid comforting annual plants and shrubs. Many were *places dures* (paved, hard plazas), often derisively dismissed as "concrete squares." Even with methodical rows of formulaic plantings of palm trees

and pines, they were generally unyielding to the lawns, parterres, hedges, and shrubs of earlier generations.⁹

If the parks were not green, they were certainly monumental. Parks became open areas with prodigious statues identified with the high art of modernism and postmodernism, often beside the giant chimneys of the city's "smokestack industries" included as symbolic representations of the historical landscape from which the new spaces were emerging. Sufficiently magnificent in their isolation to accompany the lean towers of modernist and postmodernist sculpture, the relics of the industrial age anchored many of the new parks and served as points of reference and definition.

Newly opened spaces rendered emblematic through giant sculptures have to some extent brought the contemporary cityscape more into relation with the nineteenth-century city as monument rather than fulfilling the needs of twenty-first-century urban communities. And yet these parks were clearly conceived as a benefit to the social life of neighborhoods. Sculptures serve as props for the theater of daily life, and the multivalent open spaces have proved to be ideal for in-line skaters and active sportsmen, as well as for casual encounters among local residents. Although nature was subsumed through regimented plantings in the great architectural and planning vision, the resulting parks and gardens with their token "green gestures" have undeniably enhanced the informal sociability of the people of Barcelona. In time, these parks and gardens inspired gardeners and communities to explore ways to make "architect's parks" more ecologically sound and physically comfortable.

On the site of the municipal slaughterhouse, l'Escorxador, there would be no relic of the complex's original function. Yet in a space of 4.7 hectares, the Parc Miró (1983)—a signature “architect’s park” for the 1980s, created by Antoni Solanas, Beth Galí, Manuel Quintana, and Andreu Arriola—features Joan Miró’s heroic 22-meter statue, *Dona i Ocell* (Woman and Bird). In addition to the *plaça dura* that is the environment of the Miró statue, two extensive rectilinear plantings—one of palms, the other of pines—delineate the architectural clarity of the space as opposed to the semblance of a natural landscape. Nevertheless, in this contrived landscape a library, a children’s playground, a dog walk, tracks, a bicycle path, and commercial cafés recall aspects of the mid-nineteenth-century pleasure gardens of the Passeig de Gràcia. Just as the nineteenth-century city erected statues in honor of civic figures, bankers, scientists, and explorers, Miró’s statue of a woman and a bird celebrated art in the late-twentieth-century city.¹⁰

Not far from the Parc Miró is the Parc de l’Espanya Industrial (1985). Designed by the Basque architect Luis Peña Ganchegui, the park also makes use of a space—the steam-powered cotton factory of the Muntadas family, established in 1847—that had been devoted to utilitarian uses. Near the Sants railroad station and the Plaça del Països Catalans, this 4.6-hectare site is an architect’s park with dominant lighthouse structures framing the space. Overlooking a lake whose sinuous outer bank is ringed by weeping willow trees, the enormous towers contrast with natural elements that recall a nineteenth-century landscape garden and, indeed, even features of the Parc de la

Ciudadella. Mediating the row of towers and the shallow lake of the park is an amphitheater, which makes allusion to the nineteenth-century urban park’s function as a theater of daily life for the middle classes. The Parc de l’Espanya Industrial makes clever reference to Barcelona’s and Europe’s park and garden traditions with its lake, trees, statues, and allusions to the park as a promenade for genteel spectators.

Unfortunately, the grandstand-like benches in the faux-amphitheater, designed for spectators and meant to be more symbolic than functional, have often been used as steps to the dismay and accident of unsuspecting pedestrians, who think of stairs rather than chairs in contemporary urban parks. The towers designed as pedestrian lookouts over the park and the city have been closed for security purposes, the giant dragon at the edge of the park has been protected from vandals and vagrants, and the shallow lake is a fetid pool. And although the gardens themselves require minimal maintenance, the crafted piles and ornaments of the garden are difficult to replace. Nevertheless, the power of the vision has transformed the once depressed industrial area, and through the persistence of local residents, a range of public facilities has been included in the park.

Standing in quirky opposition to the Parc de l’Espanya Industrial is the vast open space of the contiguous Plaça dels Països Catalans (1981–1983). Brilliantly understated in front of the Sants railroad station, the Plaça dels Països Catalans was designed by Albert Viaplana and Helio Piñón in collaboration with Enric Miralles. Devoid of vegetation of any kind due to the rail facilities below the site,

the Plaça dels Països Catalans nevertheless influenced the parks and gardens of Barcelona and the metropolitan area during the 1980s. For Viaplana and Piñón, the process of its creation was a metaphysical exercise in urban reform that ranged far beyond the solution of technical problems:

Lo más singular fue cuanto más nos concentrábamos en cada parte del proyecto, más vacía aparecía la ciudad, más espacio se abría a la duda, a lo ignorado y a lo opuesto de lo que allí se afirmaba. A pesar de todo, la desolación era ahora insoportable. (175)

The Parc de la Creueta del Coll, designed by Bohigas's associates, Josep Martorell and David Mackay, between 1981 and 1987, is an architect's park carved from a quarry in the Collserola range. With a vertical sculpture placed at the entrance by the American Ellsworth Kelly and a remarkable cement sculpture by Eduardo Chillida suspended by four cables over the crater/pool of the quarry, the Parc de la Creueta del Coll is an artistic tour de force on 16.4 hectares of rugged terrain. The crater has become a swimming pool surrounded by grandstand benches that recall the contemporaneous Parc de l'Espanya Industrial and Beth Galí's Fossar de la Pedrera close to the cemetery of Montjuïc. All are environments that privilege art and monuments and celebrate the architect's role as designer of spaces for public spectacle.

The Plaça de la Palmera (1982–1984) exemplifies the power of progressive strategic planning to create spaces that help to provide Barcelona with urbanity and coherence. In collaboration with the sculptor Richard Serra, the architects Pedro

Barragán and Bernardo de Sola have created an architect's park that has shaped and given life to the otherwise undistinguished outlying area of the Eixample between the streets of Puigcerdà, Maresme, Andrade, and Concili de Trent. Serra's tall light tower stands above a small park that includes a neo-Victorian bandstand set in a geometrically organized forest. At the center of the space stands a magnificent palm tree that is balanced between an open *plaça dura* and the forest of trees protected by a pair of curved cement walls with openings that invite people to pass from one half of the *plaça* to the other.

In 1986, Daniel Freixas and Vicente Miranda transformed the RENFE shops into a park of 3.5 hectares, the Parc del Clot in Sant Martí. Preserving features of the location's past as a train station and rail shop, a row of stone arches from the original installation has become an aqueduct ending in a waterfall. A bronze waterfall—Bryan Hunt's *Rites of Spring*—resembles a frozen "spring" located in a small pavilion on the site. A chimney remains as an allusion to the site's function in the industrial era. The park also features a sports track and an exclusively Mediterranean collection of trees. In 1991, in conjunction with another American sculptor, Beverly Pepper, the architects Andreu Arriola and Carme Fiol created a park from the old Estació del Nord. Mounds of green grass and mosaic-covered sculptures inspired by Gaudí have transformed the site of an old railroad station into another variation of the architect's park.

Among the most successful garden creations of the 1980s are the prize-winning Jardins de Vil·la Cecilia by José Antonio Martínez Lapeña and Elias Torres Tur. In designing a garden around a villa

that has become the neighborhood civic center, the architects achieved a balance between architectural sophistication and serious landscape architecture. In a mere 1.5 hectares, the Jardins de Vil·la Cecilia succeed in surprising the visitor with a small labyrinth of cypress trees, a linden tree walk, and a complex canal scheme. Understandably, with such a demonstration of sensitivity to the possibilities of green spaces as well as the built environment, the architects were charged with the restoration of Park Güell.

The Barcelona Seafront and the Vila Olímpica

The architect Manuel Solà-Morales provided the first rejuvenation of the Barcelona seafront at the old city port when he created the Moll de la Fusta between 1981 and 1987. In a rigorously geometrical pattern formed by three long and tightly syncopated rows of palms, Solà-Morales cleared out a kilometer of Barcelona's waterfront for an open space, a *plaça dura* in which were placed sculptures by Miquel Blay, Francisco López, Robert Krier, and Robert Llimós that have converted the park into a conspicuous outdoor museum. A giant sculpture by Roy Lichtenstein rises at the far end of the space, not far from the Post Office. Buildings feature curvilinear roof structures that recall the shapes explored by Antoni Gaudí.

Among the extreme architectural solutions to the need for city parks and gardens in the Olympic era is the Rambla de Mar, the wooden walkway that floats on the sea and extends the Ramblas into the Mediterranean. Designed by Viaplana and Piñón—creators of the Plaça dels

Països Catalans—in 1990 and executed in 1993–1994, the Rambla de Mar is a passage over the water, exploiting and playing with a resource of the city. The Maremagnum commercial center that is linked to the city through this walkway attempts to suggest a park by a central area paved in bricks with rhythmical plantings of palm trees.

Architect's parks and gardens continue to be constructed in an era of increasing sensitivity to ecological concerns. A recent manifestation of such a park with rectilinear plantings of a limited range of palm trees is Jordi Henrich and Olga Tarrasó's development of the Moll de Barcelona. Designed in 1998 and completed in 2002, this urbanization of the port of Barcelona presents a symmetrical architectural pattern that alternates domesticated trees with dramatically sculptured lighting towers over a stylish pavement.¹¹

But the seminal program of the era was the transformation of the seafront for the Vila Olímpica of 1992. By 1988, Bohigas, Martorell, Mackay, and Puigdomènech had published a plan that they would follow to develop a housing, entertainment, and park complex to be carved out of an area extending from the Ciutadella to the center of the neighborhood of Poblenou, and to be delineated by the continuation of the Passeig of Carles I and the Avinguda de Bogatell.

The resulting Vila Olímpica, appropriately inaugurated in 1992, resulted in a collection of buildings, beaches, and architect's parks of the most dramatic order, now labeled the Nova Icària. As Mackay has pointed out, the monumental construction and park and garden efforts along the Barcelona seafront, con-

ceived in preparation for the Olympics, were designed to reorient a city that had lived with its back to the sea throughout its industrial era.

The beach on either side of the Port Olímpic extended no more than a kilometer, although it was eventually integrated into a series of beaches extending over five kilometers from Barceloneta toward the Besòs River. As in the parks of the 1980s, the seascape is defined by rectilinear plantings of a limited range of palm trees. They produce a monolithic impression on park visitors, and reduce the richness and texture of the natural environment. Like the potted palms of the elegant seaside resorts of the nineteenth century, these palms are “well behaved,” not growing beyond the original architectural plans and requiring minimal maintenance.

Recognizing the monotony of long rows of palm trees along beaches of San Sebastià, Barceloneta, the Nova Icària, and the Bogatell, municipal architects have ventured into more “natural” landscape solutions with the beaches of Mar Bella and Nova Mar Bella farther east along the coast. There, rolling knolls with Spanish broom and shrubs provide a natural texture that is absent in the parks in the proximity of the Vila Olímpica.

Martorell, Bohigas, and Mackay also created a 2-kilometer-long sequence of parks (the Parc del Litoral) in the vicinity between the city and the port—that is, between the Avinguda de Salvador Espriu and the Ronda del Litoral. Designed as a symbol of the retrieval of a deteriorated industrial area for leisure activities, this set of parks (Parc de les Cascades, Parc del Port Olímpic, Plaça dels Campions, and the Parc de la Nova Icària) has also be-

come a powerful collection of urban artworks.

Not unlike Jaume Collell’s 1893 conception of a kilometer-long monumental Rosary leading to the Holy Cave at Montserrat, the Barcelona seafront and the Parc del Litoral have produced a string of monumental artworks honoring the urban, leisure-artistic, and commercial culture of the present time. Most pronounced of all the giant, postmodern statuary in the area is a sculpture by Frank Gehry, the *Gold Fish*, which is suspended over the patio of the Hotel de les Arts of the Vila Olímpica and can be seen from great distances along the restored seafront.

For the polemical city of Barcelona, the rebirth of the seafront has led to protests against the isolation of the working-class neighborhoods that surround it, especially those populated with immigrants for whom the complex world of parks, gardens, beaches, great monuments, and consumer culture is all but irrelevant. According to Juan de la Haba, the seafront and the monumental complex that emerged from the Olympic era is a vacuous development that deprives the city of urban depth and texture. Expressing himself with a rhetoric that ironically recalls Bohigas’s own early populist stance, de la Haba claims that like the invention of the Gothic Quarter in the early twentieth century this most recent urban metamorphosis betrays an elitist impulse to make the city a display of art, architecture and history rather than to safeguard the social reality of its people:

Como ya ha ocurrido en el centro histórico de la ciudad, donde se han experimentado las consecuencias de separar el monumento del tejido social -

recordemos que la invención del llamado *barri Gòtic*, como recinto monumental, y la apertura de la vía Laietana a comienzos del siglo, son aspectos de un mismo proceso—también la arquitectura de la Nueva Icaria está afectada por el paradigma del ‘monumento’ histórico y la obra artística con voluntad de inscribirse en el *patrimonio*. El cultivo de la imagen visual, la inflación constante de monumentos y estatuarias fechados, autenticados, *firmados* por arquitectos con reconocimiento gremial, convierte lo que debía ser tejido urbano en un museo en el que todas las gentes pasan a tener el estatus y los hábitos de ‘visitantes,’ de ‘público,’ consumidores de un espacio desocializado opuesto a la condición de ‘vecino’ o a las prácticas de apropiación del espacio que desarrollan una vida particular. La ciudad vivida cede cada vez más espacio a la ciudad-museo, a la ciudad *expuesta*. (65)

A notable integration of green spaces in the Collserola range was initiated during the 1980s and 1990s by Ignasi Lecea, adjunct architect d’Espais Locals de l’Ajuntament de Barcelona. As one of the architects responsible for uniting the green spaces that had been fragments of parks and gardens in the region, Lecea and his team sought to integrate several parks and gardens scattered throughout the area into the Parc dels Turons, or Parc dels Tres Turons. Seeking to bring heavily visited Parc Güell into relation with the Parc del Guinardó, the Creueta del Coll, the Turó de la Rovira, and other scattered green spaces, the municipal authorities searched for a coherent solution in an area that had been conceived as a new park as early as 1953. For Lecea, such an unwieldy and

amorphous endeavor was more about the process of recovery and creation than about completing a project that could be defined in terms of a finished work. Yet he was convinced that reclaiming green spaces from the built environment at the edge of the Collserola range is a challenge that will be met incrementally, following patterns of development that have made possible Montjuïc, the Parc de la Ciutadella and the street-block gardens of the Eixample.¹² Between 1989 and 1999, Josep Mascaró created an extensive path system in the Collserola range for the Patronat Metropolità del Parc de Collserola in order to open the forested area to hikers.

The Ecological Park and Garden

The extraordinary phase of urban transformation as conceived by Bohigas reached maturity following the Olympics. By the middle of the 1990s, the array of *places dures* with their geometric signature lines of domesticated trees had elicited a reaction from the “green” sector of the city. Ecologists, supporters of sustainable parks and gardens, and the authorities in Parcs i Jardins sought to reassert the authority of garden engineers in the planning of the parks. While they had been called upon to maintain parks and gardens of the open spaces of the Bohigas era, they now claimed the right to participate in the conception of the city’s parks and gardens. In 1994, the city of Barcelona published its *Pla dels Espais Verds de Barcelona*, which called attention to the need to ameliorate the city’s air and noise pollution and to make the city more comfortable by privileging Barcelona’s green spaces:

Els efectes beneficiosos derivats de la presència d'arbres, arbusts i plantes de tota mena en el medi urbà, expliquen la importància de disposar de zones verdes a les ciutats. (33)

In addition to the 860 hectares of urban green spaces, the 1,800 hectares of forested area in the Collserola provide a function complementary to the parks, gardens, and *places dures* conceived in the 1980s.

As head of Parcs i Jardins, Antoni Falcon advocated the creation of gardens predicated on the virtues of a new order of wild gardens, evaluation of vegetation propitious to the environment, and, above all, sustainability. From the middle of the decade, Parcs i Jardins succeeded in convincing various offices of the city of the need for an ecologically sound city park and garden system. In 1995, Patrícia Cabancho and Ferran Freixa published *La conquesta del verd* as a kind of manifesto of the “green movement” taking shape in Parcs i Jardins.

Inspired by the movement in France, and shaped by the Centre National de la Fonction Publique Territoriale and l'Association des Ingénieurs des Villes de France, the plan developed by the Institut Municipal de Parcs i Jardins features sustainability, recycling, and maintenance within the means of the environment. For the parks of Barcelona, the result has been a cultivation of Mediterranean flora suitable to the specific microclimates of each park and garden setting, with recycled water and wildness that recalls the principles advocated by the nineteenth-century English garden visionary, William Robinson.

Parks and gardens have also become increasingly useful pedagogical instru-

ments in a period in which ecology has been given greater attention in the school system. Many of the parks and gardens that Parcs i Jardins is currently designing encourage stewardship of nature, while fostering an awareness of the relationship between the city and the natural world. Symbolically, a garden was dedicated to the late German environmental activist Petra Kelly on Montjuïc in 2001.¹³

The Jardins de Rosa Luxemburg are characteristic of the new greening of Barcelona along ecological lines with a commitment to sustainability and indigenous plantings. It is a green area adapted to the terrain of the small hill on which it stands. Located near an ecological station in Horta, the gardens fulfill urban recreational needs while safeguarding the rustic environment. A stand of fig trees in a sea of poppies makes the park both a wild area and a visually strong statement, replacing architectural gestures with organic statements of equal force and intensity and allowing the park's structure to emerge from plants and trees in clusters rather than from the forms of a built landscape conceived by architects.

A synthesis of the architect's park and the parks and gardens green movement has emerged in the botanical garden on Montjuïc. Designed in 1995 and constructed in 1999 with the formidable influence of the landscape architect Bet Figueras, this 14-hectare site will eventually represent both a structurally coherent landscape and a dense botanical collection that is heir to Barcelona's first botanical garden of the eighteenth century and to the version established nearby on Montjuïc in 1931. Just as economic planners think in terms of Barcelona as the center of a “macroregion” extending as far

as Toulouse and Montpellier, so the garden engineers have conceived a massive collection of plants and trees from California, Chile, Australia, and South Africa, as well as the Mediterranean.

The Parks and Gardens of Patrizia Falcone

Several of the most creative solutions to challenges facing landscape architects and gardeners in recent years have been realized by Patrizia Falcone. If the Bohigas era shifted the momentum to architects and their signature parks, including those of the landscape architect Bet Figueras, so the green era of Barcelona is providing showcase opportunities for the garden specialist Patrizia Falcone. Her Parc del Bosquet dels Encants, inaugurated in 1995, is of particular ingenuity. In a 2.1-hectare space outside the Glòries junction, the park is a woodland corner founded on barren land in the very heart of the city. In contrast with the *places dures* of the previous decade, this “wild garden” in the midst of the modern city seeks to revitalize the nineteenth-century image of parks and gardens as the lungs of the city.

Yet the greening of Barcelona’s parks and gardens is no less dramatic than the work of the 1980s. Nearly a thousand trees and twenty thousand shrubs were brought into the Parc del Bosquet to create an extraordinary ecological and environmental effect. Like other functional parks of this period, provision was also made for a children’s play area, yet within the context of ancient olive trees rather than concrete.

The Mirador del Poble Sec is Falcone’s more ambitious integration of archi-

tecture and landscape design. With a focus on sustainability and urban functionality in a project begun but left undone by Forestier in the 1920s, Falcone’s Mirador combines the intimacy of the wild garden with the theatricality of the original Mirador. It also marks an ingenious transition between the urban context of Poble Sec and the increasingly parks and gardens environment of the new Montjuïc.

Falcone’s work at the base of Montjuïc foreshadows further work on the greening of the mountain under the *Pla Director del Parc de Montjuïc*, made public on 22 June 2001. With the full focus of attention now being given by Antoni Falcon to Montjuïc, the mountain is projected to become a complex urban park with multiple gardens, totally free of vehicular traffic. Whereas the forested Parc de Collserola continues to be protected as a rustic natural landscape, the Parc de Montjuïc is evolving as a vast green area accessible to the city. In the August 2001 issue of *Barcelona Verda*, the future Montjuïc was even hailed as “l’acròpolis verda de Barcelona.”¹⁴

Parks and Gardens of the Twenty-First Century

Barcelona’s parks and gardens have also become sufficiently central to the life of the imagination to become agents of change in their own right. *Jardines insurgentes/Gardens in Arms*, the Second European Landscape Biennial held in Barcelona in 2001, was a grand gesture predicated on the principle that nature has the power to transform cities and their citizens, and that the most distinguished

institutions of higher learning should provide for the training of landscape architects.¹⁵ Celebrating the creation of a degree in landscape architecture, the School of Architecture of Barcelona and the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya seek to bring landscape architecture into relation with its progressive architectural program.¹⁶

Today's heroic synthesis of architecture, city planning, and gardening is emerging as the Parc de Diagonal Mar. The center of an ambitious extension of the city toward the Besòs River, the park is the massive green lung of a new wave of urban development and represents the revival of a decayed area originally conceived as an important park sector of Barcelona by Ildefons Cerdà. Designed by the late Enric Miralles, the garden is to be a substantial and sustainable Mediterranean green space in the midst of tall buildings.¹⁷ As the 1992 Olympics gave impetus to planners and builders, the Fòrum Universal de les Cultures 2004 is focusing the energies of developers and urban planners on this great project of the first decade of the twenty-first century.

A transforming event in the tradition of expositions and the Olympics, the Fòrum 2004 is also a significant reflection of the dramatic orientation of the city. Such happenings, which involve a cast of millions, fuel the city's continuing metamorphosis. They also allow for a reaffirmation of the principal patterns of Barcelona's urban life that have evolved betwixt and between such spectacles. Life in this city is perceived as theater and lived as an event in a community with ever-growing spaces that encourage self-expression.

Conclusion

Barcelona's parks and gardens today stand as a testimony to two centuries of creative monumentality. With 10 hectares being added annually, the city's green spaces have become an integrated network of historic and contemporary efforts to transform the city into an embellished urban paradise. Long submerged in discrete spaces, a parks and gardens whole is emerging to balance the congestion and anonymity that Barcelona, like all cities, must address. Through its heritage of celebrating and maintaining the dramatic public space, Barcelona has enabled its gardens and parks to serve the city in ways that reveal its metamorphic impulse and accentuate its urban reality.

Notes

¹ Not all of the recent monuments are "grand gestures." After reviewing Barcelona's grandiose tradition of monument construction, Epps (180–86) describes Carme Fiol Costà's 1989 monument to the martyrs of 1714, the Fossar de les Moreres, as poignantly understated:

Against all the hoopla that surrounds the *Sagrada Família*, all its figurative and literal wealth, *El Fossar de les Moreres* seems almost insignificant. A work of understatement and deliberate poverty, the *Fossar* is, however, far from insignificant. (182–83)

As Epps (personal interview) has noted, however, the Fossar has subsequently been altered by the imposition of a monumental tower with an eternal flame.

² Beginning in 1985, when the Torres de les Aigües (1867) was opened to the public as a swimming pool and garden area, seventeen islands have been restored in various pocket gardens and parks throughout the Eixample. Currently, nineteen

additional islands are being restored as parks and gardens, ranging from paved *places dures* to shady landscape parks, all within the interior space of the blocks.

³ A full analysis of the Park Güell is found in Kent and Prindle. See also Bassegoda Nonell.

⁴ Contemporaneously, Pere Falqués, the municipal architect, conceived an urban reform project of the old city, beginning in the area of the recently completed neo-Gothic façade of the cathedral. For nearly a quarter of a century, beginning in 1907, Barcelona's Gothic Quarter, the "barrio Gótico/barri Gòtic," emerged as another kind of urban monument. Joan Ganau Casas has argued that the "barri Gòtic" was envisioned as a museum of Catalan culture, emphasizing the Gothic style of Catalonia at its height as a Mediterranean power. It became the symbolic heart of the city—in Ganau Casas's words, a demonstration of the "*permanència* històrica de la ciutat" (205). Notwithstanding its lack of open space and the density of its built landscape, the Gothic Quarter served to encourage later generations of city planners and architects to cast new projects for the city in monumental terms, akin to the theme parks that emerged in twentieth-century America.

⁵ Buxó i Rey (203–08) provides insight into the art, literature, and music inspired by gardens in early twentieth-century Barcelona. For Bohigas (*Barcelona*), the gardens of Montjuïc by Forestier and Rubió i Tudurí represent the beginnings of the modern Catalan garden: "Estem segurs que Montjuïc marca el punt de partida del renaixement del jardí català" (67).

⁶ Ribas i Piera has edited fifteen essays on urban and regional planning by Rubió i Tudurí, including thirteen pieces written between 1923 and 1934. Josep Bosch has also edited a collection of significant essays on Rubió i Tudurí and his work.

⁷ In 1971, the inauguration of Casamor's Parc de la Guineueta in Nou Barris foreshadowed the joining of wild gardens and sports facilities that would develop in the 1990s. Created in a ravine with steep inclines, the rustic park leads down to an area for sports activities and a children's park.

⁸ Gil de Biedma's poem reads as follows:

Sólo montaña arriba, cerca ya del castillo,

de sus fosos quemados por los fusilamientos,
dan señales de vida los murcianos.

Y yo subo despacio por las escalinatas
sintiéndome observado, tropezando en las
pedras]

en donde las higueras agarran sus raíces,
mientras oigo a estos chavacs nacidos en el
Sur]

hablarse en catalán, y pienso, a un mismo
tiempo,]
en mi pasado y en su porvenir.

Sean ellos sin más preparación
que su instinto de vida
más fuertes al final que el patrón que les
paga]

y que el *salta-tauells* que les desprecia:
que la ciudad les pertenezca un día.

Como les pertenece esta montaña,
este despedazado anfiteatro
de las nostalgias de una burguesía. (81)

⁹ As early as 1958, Bohigas (*Barcelona*) had envisioned a new order of functional urban spaces that he would be able to implement in the 1980s and 1990s. Forsaking the English garden for the street, the marketplace, and the "placeta" as the neighborhood agora, Bohigas conceived of public spaces as means to bring the fragments of the city into a vital whole:

La revitalització del carrer o la plaça
com a eix comercial, com a nucli
d'enllaç entre totes les zones, com a
element pròpiament urbà, centrífug i
coordinador alhora. El carrer, i no el
jardí. El paviment de pedra, i no el
gazon. L'arbre urbà, ordenat, i no el
jardí anglès. La placeta com una nova
àgora veïnal. Situar el Pla al nostre
propi corrent cultural. (102)

¹⁰ In *Reconstrucció de Barcelona*, Oriol Bohigas observed that the Parc Miró is not an amorphous green space but rather an array of clearly defined environments for discrete recreational and leisure activities. It also exemplifies the modern movement's quest for the practical integration of parks into the city's built landscape:

El que sí ha donat el moviment mo-
dern és uns nous conceptes d'ús i

d'integració urbana del parc. Un primer pas fou la seva mateixa classificació pel que fa a utilitats socials noves i, per tant, en uns nous criteris de dimensió i de localització. L'espai verd¹ ja no pot existir amb aquesta ambigüitat d'ús i de nom: como observa Antoine Grumbach, hi ha llocs per a passejar, llocs per a jugar, llocs per a reunir-se, llocs per a aïllar-se. El segon pas ha estat la recent reconsideració de l'espai lliure com a indret essencialment urbà i, per tant, relacionat amb la definició de l'àmbit construït, sobretot a partir de la reivindicació de la forma de la ciutat que els primers episodis del moviment modern semblaven descurar. (231)

Bohigas was also convinced that the park had already taken on a life of its own, contributing to the creation of community and mediating the seemingly incompatible features of the area, including a major thoroughfare, a densely populated neighborhood and the nearby Sants railroad station:

El lloc ha adquirit avui una vida pròpia i ja té experiències d'ús. Ja hi ha l'inici d'un sentir col·lectiu d'utilització. I hi ha una evident relació immediata amb el tema del final de l'Eixample, el contacte amb una gran via circular, la frontissa amb un barri antic superpoblat i la proximitat de l'entrada a Barcelona per l'estació de Sants. Són relacions directes que no s'han d'extrapolar més enllà de llurs límits, però que tenen una importància evident. (244)

¹¹ The promenade that Jordi Henrich and Olga Tarrasó have created over the Ronda de Mig and related parking facilities is highly regarded as a structural, garden solution to the problems posed by highways that cut through the urban fabric.

¹² Com a idea projectual el parc no es concep en termes d'un procés acabat sinó d'un conjunt de directius per a les actuacions que serveixin de base per a les primeres intervencions, més

en la línia dels primers treballs d'un pintor sobre la tela blanca que en la d'un projecte convencional, més en termes de procés que no de realitat acabada.

Hom pensa que el parc es farà per parts, en aquella línia tan barcelonina que tant es pot veure a Montjuïc i a la Ciutadella com a les illes de cases de L'Eixample, construïdes sempre parcel·la a parcel·la. El parc Güell, el parc de la Creueta del Coll o el parc del Guinardó només es poden integrar en un conjunt unitari per aquest mètode. Hom pensa també que els suggeriments i les iniciatives que necessàriament han de sorgir al llarg d'aquest procés, han de contribuir a enriquir el conjunt i a potenciar les línies fonamentals de la intervenció. (64–65)

¹³ The complexity and variety of the new green spaces emerging in Barcelona and contiguous regions is such that Ballester-Olmos Anguís and Morat Carrasco have formulated norms by which to delineate thirty-three types of green spaces.

¹⁴ The metropolitan area of Barcelona has been slower to adopt the sustainable garden movement represented by Parcs i Jardins of the city of Barcelona. The architectural trophy park of the 1980s was replicated in Barcelona's outlying areas throughout the 1990s, as demonstrated in the 2001 review of recent projects in metropolitan public spaces edited by Ramon Torra, head of Serveis de l'Espai Públic de la Mancomunitat de l'Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona.

¹⁵ In 1999 the First European Landscape Biennial was also held in Barcelona, under the late Rosa Barba. Titled "Rehacer paisajes/Remaking Landscapes," this biennial primarily concerned landscape innovations from 1994 to 1999.

¹⁶ A walker's guide to the parks and gardens of Barcelona by Guillermo Mirecki and Luis García Reviejo is an implicit acknowledgment of the established existence of coherent itineraries through Barcelona's green spaces. It is a guide to the city in which Barcelona's urbanism, architecture, and culture are viewed from the perspective of the

greensward, as parks and gardens have become a primary urban reality instead of isolated islands of recreation or occasional decoration.

¹⁷ The Parc de Diagonal Mar is intended to respond to the demands of specialists in Parcs i Jardins. Maria Rosa Salvadó's commentary on the project is a summary of recent thinking on plantings in the expanded Barcelona seafront. An experiment in conceiving "sustainable" gardens for the Mediterranean coast, the park is to provide opportunities for research into the suitability of both indigenous and imported vegetation for the various ecological niches of the area:

Aquesta diversitat d'espais i de funcions ha fet necessària la realització d'un projecte d'enjardinament que varia substancialment en cadascuna de les situacions i en què el criteri bàsic ha estat sempre la sostenibilitat. Així, tot i la presència de plantes exòtiques, les espècies s'han triat per la seva bona adaptació al clima de Barcelona, sigui perquè són autòctones o perquè procedeixen de zones climàtiques semblants. Un aspecte que s'ha hagut de cuidar especialment és la resistència de la vegetació a la salinitat, sobretot a la franja del parc més propera al mar, la qual té una extensió d'unes 4 hectàrees.

Així és com serà l'enjardinament que ornamentarà el Parc de Diagonal Mar. I sostenible, tant en la concepció com en el manteniment. S'hi plantaran 1.200 arbres, 178.000 arbustos i 38.000 plantes aquàtiques, que guarniran aquest nou parc de Barcelona, pensat en gran mesura perquè sigui un altre espai de lligam entre la ciutat i el mar, com ja ho són els parcs del Poblenou, Nova Icària i Port Olímpic. (24)

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