PUBLIC SPACE AND MEMORY

Núria Ricart (ed.)

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UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA

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INTRODUCTION

In 2011, we began the project "Historical Memory Itinerary of Les Corts District, Barcelona", taking up the challenge to develop formal solutions to communication associated with historical memory in public space. Begun as an academic exercise and developed from an interdisciplinary point of view (art, urban design, history), this led to many questions in relation to the different dimensions linked to the management of memory within the city.

The articles we present in this publication aim to generate an open arena for debate that deals with the fundamental questions of an issue which is highly complex in both theoretical and practical terms. There are contributions with a global perspective: Pedro Brandâo examines the need to consider the temporal dimension in the city as a key element for critical reflection on the management of memory and identity; Jordi Guixé looks at the centrality of conflict associated with public policies on memory, stressing use and abuse from an international perspective, and Antoni Remesar questions the genesis, limits and mistakes in key concepts in the field of public space and remembrance, such as the memorial, the monument and public art. Other texts offer considerations from a local perspective on Barcelona: Manel Risques reflects on the power relations and mechanisms of socio-political networks linked to the management of public policy and spaces of memory and, finally, Núria Ricart analyses the project for the Historical Memory Itinerary of Les Corts District, as an exercise proposing formal solutions for public art, urban design and communication in public space.

These diverse perspectives help to understand some of the current lines of reflection on memory and the city. At the same time, there is a common and continuous thread through all the articles, addressing memory from a contemporary point of view. Ruins, remains, immaterial spaces of memory and heritage are understood as ele-

ments which organise space in relation to its connection with the events of the past and the future. The remnants of the past, John Berger would say, are not just those which remain when something has disappeared: they may also in themselves form the mark of a project.

Time, Duration, Memory.
Starting from 40 years of names and images of the transition, in the memory of Lisbon

Pedro Brandão[1]

Figs. 1 and 2: Tagus river: the signifier, a permanent monument to the city of Lisbon and its surroundings.

Is time long or is it wide? (Laurie Anderson)

Urban policies interested in symbolic space integrate collective memory as a major element in strategies for identifying places. This does not prevent values of identity looking to the future from also having a symbolism in line with the transforming dynamism of the city. This can be demonstrated simply by looking at the examples that have accumulated since the democratic transitions of the 1970-1980s in Europe. In Lisbon (as in Barcelona), a few are sufficient to mark the symbolic-political change which occurred in the last quarter of the twentieth century, signalling themes of memory by distinct forms within the symbolism of the new urban forms.

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There is sufficient evidence, in a city like Lisbon, of the symbolic changes that have occurred in terms of memory over the past 25 years, including all the inherent contradictions. A set of principles can be drawn up, based on experience, on the role of expression of collective identity in public space, or the way memory is managed. But any rushed generalisation should be discarded, as well as any simplification of the analysis, aiming to use experience as the base. We seek to build on the experience and establish the rationale of temporality.

The problem of memory requires studying the urban reality in temporal terms in relation to the level of spatial distribution. The opposite is also true (something which occurs more often) – the shape of a city can describe its past. A paradigm regarding these ambiguities is the idea (naive?) of how the city can describe – directly and objectively – her own past. Also of how the past can describe the city today, even legitimize the future.

Heidegger, in *Being and Time*, argues in depth about a modern temporality where the priority is focussed on the future. As such he distances himself from ideas on time understood as a sequence of past *nows*, or as flowing in just one direction – the image of a river flowing under a bridge on its way to the sea. Is it possible to also contemplate temporality which looks from the future towards the present in search of signs of identity in a transformational project?

We will try to look at this in three sections. In the first we deal with the notion of memory and what it means for urban identity. We develop a reflexive study to see how place names and symbolisms in Lisbon show their contradictions in the context of cultural and ideological transition, from dictatorship to democracy. In the second section we aim to explain the concept of memory, to deal with the notion of memory in urban identity. In the third, we try to explain the concept of duration of the city, its elements and temporality.

> Part I. Names in transition

>> 12 legends of images and memories from Lisbon

Fig. 3: Graffiti with carnations on a facade with antique tiles:
Captain Salgueiro Maia, commander of the revolution of 1974.

This parallel text, in the captions of images, offers a summary of a possible case for study on place names in Lisbon, with an idea of the taxonomy, in a spatial-temporal context of ideological and cultural transition.

The 1974 military coup which toppled the dictatorial regime, which had governed Portugal for the previous 48 years, began a revolutionary process with carnations as its symbol and the city as the stage and a relevant actor. However, we can see that its

effects on the changes in the symbolism of the city, through designating places, was not the obsessive and systematic substitution of elements of the previous regime's discourse as in other European cities in their transition from a dictatorship to democracy in the twentieth century.

Why do we have a paradoxical "cacophony" of communication generated this way, wherein references to contradictory elements sit side by side? Could it be that the political changes, involving a new representation of temporality, increased diversity and tolerance on memory discourses?

>> 1. Origins (explanation – castle)

Fig. 4: Allegory (or rather "collage"?) of dictator to the first King of Portugal - the founder.

The different origins of people attracted to the city, and their participative traditions, could be the initial explanation for the modest character of symbols in cities undergoing transition. Other differences could be the marks left by the dictatorial regime – the *Estado Novo* and its discourse of memory – as well as the discourse constructed after liberation.

Conquest, protection, expansion. During the Salazar regime, in the invocations and references to traditions and discursive practices on memory, the representations of the leader were not as common as those of other dictators. But what is possibly more insistent is the story of its foundation, based on the official history with its myths and paradigms, and the story it played out, of its future vision, based on paradigmatic public works.

>> 2. Replacement (expropriation – of the bridge)

Figs. 5 and 6: Two bridges, *Vasco da Gama* and *Puente Salazar*, with confused meanings related to dates?

The removal or substitution of Salazar's elements of discourse in the city of Lisbon had priorities, rules and also exceptions.

The *Puente Salazar* was one of the few toponyms in the country with the dictator's name, and possibly the only one in Lisbon, adopted a few years after the bridge was completed. Interestingly, the bridge was known as "the bridge over the Tagus" for many years, as it was the only one built in Lisbon (even though there are many other bridges along the course of the river, some built during the dictatorship).

Later, the change to *Puente 25 de abril*, even though not publicly discussed, was fairly uncontroversial. This name, a reference to the revolution that overthrew the dictatorship, could have been conserved for the second bridge built over the Tagus in Lisbon, in 1998, during the democratic regime. Would the insinuations then have been avoided of "expropriation" of one regime's construction by the one which followed?

>> 3. Legitimacy – Images of one day. About new and old statues

Fig. 7: Duarte Pacheco, "technical" personage of the dictatorship, a tribute of democracy?

While 25 April has always been a reason for consensus and jubilation in Lisbon, the project for a monument to the day freedom was achieved has never been actively considered in the city. Not even a street has been given the name.

The dictator Salazar, despite living a long life, was also barely represented in statuary examples. In Lisbon there was a single sculpture, in the patio of Palacio Foz (Propaganda Ministry), in Plaza de los Restauradores. A few days after 25 April, the Movimento Democrático dos Artistas Plásticos covered it with black scarves in the style of the artist Christo Yavachev without causing any damage. A few days later the statue was removed: nobody reclaimed it.

Those members of the regime overthrown in 1974 (Caetano, Tomás, etc.), had until then been almost ignored in the place names and monuments of Lisbon. But the names of those in the second line, almost all dead, still remain in some street names (the presidents Craveiro Lopes, Oscar Carmona) and sculptures in the cities where they were born. Other ideologies revealed their presence in the public space at the time, in the form of murals and posters, but the Revolution of 1974, with its moments, people and places, is not included in Lisbon's toponymy.

Duarte Pacheco, Salazar's trusted engineer, was the object of a public work of art, not before the Revolution but almost 20 years after 1974, placed discretely at the entrance to the motorway he constructed.

>> 4. Power (the force of arms – and football too)

Fig. 8: Names of the second beltway – from Generals to football players, in front of the Stadium.

On 28 May 1928, the military rebellion led by General Gomes da Costa, on arriving at the capital with his army, saw the end of the first Republic. Power was handed over to Salazar and there began a dictatorship which lasted 48 years.

Salazar did not exalt the army which had handed power to him. But a section of a city motorway is named after General Craveiro Lopes (with some tolerance because

he was the contrite president of the regime. This road is actually only known by the name *Segunda Circular* (Second beltway), even though sections are named after various military figures, with the exception of a section where it passes in front of the football stadium of Benfica: there is now the name of the player Eusébio (in addition to the statue in front of the stadium; Eusebio will soon have his body deposited in the Pantheon of National Heroes). General Gomes da Costa's name is also there, up to the new area of EXPO98. In the end, maybe the military signed peace, with itself, and with the collective that resulted from the grouping together of the opposing entities…

Despite the frequent political changes caused by military initiatives, not many streets in the city have been named after military figures of the twentieth century. But there are records of certain events which evoke them. In Lisbon, the avenue called "28 de mayo" became *Avenida de las Fuerzas Armadas* (Avenue of the Armed Forces) in 1974, celebrating the MFA, the military movement which brought the dictatorship to an end, on 25 April. It was a peaceful and tolerant change just like the awakening of the Carnation Revolution.

>> 5. Renovation and Remembrance (a gentrification – of the political police)

Figs. 9 and 10: "Leva da Morte" plaque and street name in tribute to a militant killed by the PIDE.

The paradigmatic confirmation of recovered freedom is often centred on the desire to recover public space. This specifically involves the immediate elimination of repressive instruments – the essence of evil, and its representation.

The headquarters of the political police, the PIDE, was on the street named António Maria Cardoso. This was the only place where shots were fired on the dawn of freedom, with four people killed. The street name was later changed to Rua da Leva da Morte, and a small plaque put up, with the names of the four assassinated citizens. Recently, there have been a number of quiet demonstrations demanding the plaque be given a more prominent location. The request to have the history of the place remembered there, on the wall of the building, was accepted, also discretely.

The renovated political police building is today a lovely apartment-hotel, an example of "urban regeneration", a "defence of heritage" with an aristocratic name, well-to-do and gentrified: the Palacio del Duque. Who lives behind these doors?

At the end of the 1970s, Lisbon was the object of re-establishing memory. With the end of the Estado Novo regime, political use was made of the rehabilitation of those who had been persecuted and the hundreds who had been deleted from history. But even today, after the Revolution, the whole story has still not been told in the public spaces of Lisbon.

Some of the persecuted opposition members, such as Humberto Delgado, were given minimum visibility, while none were given to those deported or who went into exile, those in the resistance movement and refugees who passed through Lisbon (such as Hanna Arendt, fleeing from the Germans and anti-Semitism). Ungratefully, Lisbon place names do not recall many of those who protected the city. Nor have the victims been recognised in the toponymy: not in the streets or squares where the Revolution unfolded, nor in the places where the previous regime carried out acts of repression. And the fact is that their names have not even been registered in those places of greatest shame.

Among those registered, there are cases of great shame and greater resistance, especially that of the artist of the Communist Party, Dias Coelho, killed by the PIDE in Alcantara: a street was named after him, but the plaque does not state how he died… and there is nothing else.

Perhaps more has been done in certain parts of greater Lisbon, where we find more determined efforts were made towards memory, but as regards the mnemonic affirmation of the ethical and political credit due to those who resisted, Lisbon today is still very passive.

>> 6. Myths (old historicism – on foot and on horseback)

Figs. 11 and 12: Monument to April 25, symbolically dominating the myth.

Nuno Alvares Pereira is the name of an historic figure who drags a legend along with him. He is the hero of the fourteenth century public uprising for independence. After his victory and having produced a recognised miracle, he withdrew to a religious order. The cult of his sacrifice and his reclusion form part of the legend that was used by the dictatorship, particularly by the dictator, who cultivated a similarity between himself and the legend, his "mission" which was not "from this world".

The equestrian statue of the saint was a project announced for the top end of the Eduardo VII Park in Lisbon, with a pedestal constructed between two heroic columns. In an attempt to explain the delay in putting up the statue, it was said that there was another secret project to install a statue of the dictator there, after his death. The equestrian statue was, in the end, located near the Monastery of Batalha, and the base (destroyed), was to be adapted to the only monument to 25 April in the city.

>> 7. Icons (post-modern – of architecture and business)

Fig. 13: The Amoreiras – postmodern symbolic consumption.

In the 1980s, post-modernity confirmed the end of "modern narratives" and was exultant with the idea that everything had an arbitrary relation, with only the ephemeral and mixes of codes being important. The first symptoms of globalisation appeared in the city: consumption, with the need for glamour, was translated into a new urban typology, the *Agora* space, public and private, the shopping centre. In Lisbon, the messenger of modern times is the Amoreiras Shopping Centre. It was given the name of the place in the city where it was located, a practice which was normal at the time but would later be abandoned.

The small Amoreiras neighbourhood is related to the silk factory of the Marques de Pombal. Today, being central, it is strategically located by the motorway exit to Cascais. The Centre, part of a new metropolitan measure to attract customers, presents an expressive image associated with a luxury project which includes offices and flats. It was a successful business model, an icon of Lisbon consumerism. The model was

copied in the following decade, but with allegorical brands. *Columbus* and *Vasco da Gama* signal memory by connotation: history, the sea, and discovery.

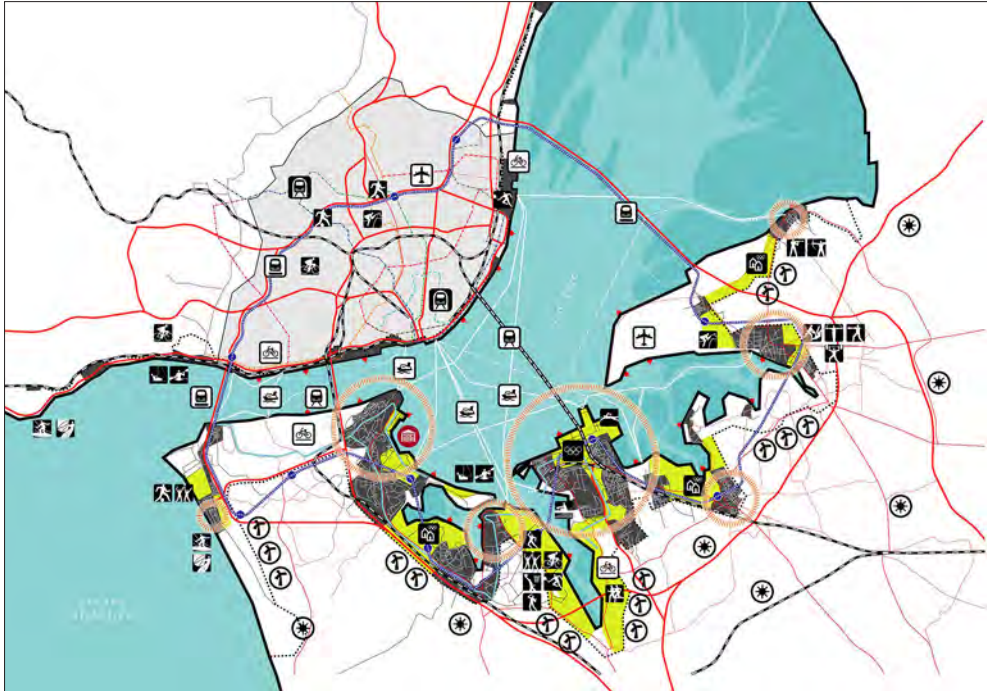## >> 8. The Plan (or the impossibility - of a true monument)

Fig. 14: Metropolis – exercise for an Olympic city jumping the two banks of the Tagus River.

In the 1990s, the state of Portugal established urban and land planning regulations in the *Plan Urbanístico*. It is more a multitiered system of plans – regional, metropolitan, and directive – and master plans, general and detailed plans, applicable to different sectors (infrastructure, security, defence, etc.) and also thematic areas (strategic, coastal, etc.). Together they construct a wall to guarantee future legitimacy more than an operational representation. What was thought to be missing was a regulation for general normalisation: all-encompassing, with no surprises. However, an alternative action has been developed to represent a "happy" life: rebuilding the quays in Alcantara, with the image of a new *waterfront*, as a possible option for delivering quality of life.

There is a lot of disappointment about the plans, despite which, the strategy to generate new public spaces now has new names: "renovation", "re-zoning" or "new centrality". In the 1990s, the first Lisbon Strategic Plan, associated with the first Master Plan, established objectives for investment in the creation of new centralities and the public space, but, ignoring the metropolitan scale of the Tagus estuary – changed by a mirage of the future, rather than European, global – still was the image of "waterfront" as the conquered part of quality and purpose of life. Lisbon aimed to be nothing less than the "Atlantic Capital of Europe" and thus affirm its potential. Wishful thinking? How long could this "programme" last, with the three key elements based on the names "Capital", "Atlantic" and "Europe"?

Without setting deadlines, without an operations programme, without the necessary resources, planning the future is a paradox – or maybe a wild guess? What is the value of expressing desire as words arranged into a mantra?

>> 9. Expo 98 (Gama, the new brand in the toponomy)

Fig.15: Vasco da Gama Mall in the Expo area, and Columbus Mall in Benfica, a new "Portuguese World"?

Columbus and *Vasco da Gama* are the two shopping centres which deal with memory in its connotation. Expo 98 was an international exhibition which took place on a degraded, old industrial, military and logistics site in Lisbon.

The theme chosen for the international expo: *The Oceans, A Heritage for the Future*, confirmed the global plan which Portugal claimed to interpret, simultaneously with the celebration of Portuguese discoveries. In the exhibition, "Regime, Democratic and European", comparison was inevitable with "The Portuguese World" exhibition of 1940, which the *Estado Novo* had held in Belem, and which also took place on the banks of the River Tagus, consecrating the name of the space as *Plaza del Imperio*, which still exists.

When it came to naming places, the "new city" of the Expo was conceived as a project to integrate two points in time: the time of the exhibition and afterwards. A new urban fabric was produced, rich in varied nomenclature related to the sea. In the discourse there were allusions of all kinds: Sinbad and his pirates, Captain Cook, Moby Dick, the whale. Vasco da Gama, of course, was finally given a triple consecration in Lisbon: a bridge, a tower and a shopping centre, and an endless list of other expressions. The sea, the former glory of navigation and discovery, had won the battle of names.

>> 10. The orientation (almost poetic, of the "Baixa-Chiado")

Fig. 16: The escalator as public space.

The names of public places in the city, as well as evoking memories and people, fulfil a practical function of orientation. The relationship between an individual and a place can be understood through the name. The name is key in the potential for remembrance. There is no single method for naming, however. In American cities, the streets are defined by numbers, making them easier to remember, as the numbering is linked to their spatial ordering. But this removes significance from the urban setting.

The size of megacities makes the use of names or numbers difficult, and a different type of reference for places is chosen. In Tokyo, for example, this is a combination of the name of a nearby place as a common reference (a school, church, garden), with a characteristic of its origins (a field, a mountain in the landscape, etc.), and finally, the exit number of the station and the nearest underground line is added, and a type of post code for the city block.

The Lisbon Metro now has the *Baixa-Chiado* station, a name defined by two locations. It is a new public space, whose escalator serves to convert the relationship between the topographical levels of the two places into something real. In addition, Lisbon has something which does not exist in any other underground network: lines defined by names (such as "Gaviota", "Oriente", "Girasol", "Carabela"). We have always been a country of poets.

>> 11. An epilogue in two banks: the margin of those unwanted

Figs. 17 and 18: The Marvila logo.

The inclusion communication project in Marvila (Lisbon), begun in 2002, is still active as a local political plan – a new, alternative toponymy for zones until now designated by numbers and letters (stigmatising). These identified urban areas based on the technical indications of the Chelas Plan (from the end of the 1960s), which, in turn, replaced the names of precarious neighbourhoods and shanty towns: "del Relogio", "Chinés", which themselves had replaced the rural names.

The restoration of original names from the rural period is a result of the identity confirmed by the Distrito as a project (in 1999 locals had installed "spontaneous" signs, with their preferred names, in the public space). In 2002, with the participation of these residents and associations of the *freguesia* (district), the project driven by the Centro Português de Design included the development of a new symbol which identified new colour of the district, substituting the cogwheel, the symbol illustrating the idea of industry. The new image was that of a clover leaf, indicating the change in luck in the neighbourhoods.

Today, the continuity of the project is centred on new products, based on a map of the district and its neighbourhoods. These identify names, services and connections with the city. The project contemplates recycling the supports through "totems" and "porticos". As well as neighbourhood and parish maps, the project contemplates the distribution of portable maps and a website, with interactive historical notes on the district and each neighbourhood.

>> 12. An epilogue in two banks – the wishes... of what?

Figs. 19 and 20: Postindustrial in Lisnave gateway.

LISNAVE was the pinnacle of the shipbuilding industry in Lisbon, capable of linking the old traditions of Portuguese navigation through to the 1970s with an image of cutting-edge entrepreneurial methods. This naval construction and repairs company,

on the river bank opposite Lisbon, ended its ephemeral days of glory and success as a result of the international oil crisis.

Today there remains an enormous crane in ruins, with the name LISNAVE, in giant letters, broadcast like a message over the urban landscape opposite Lisbon. Occasionally feeding discourses of nostalgia or fantasy, or creating new chimeras: of new hope?

Memories of a time gone by are searched for in the name for a "recycling" project – the cloud of new legends now becomes the *Arco Ribeirinho Sul*. Hugely inadequate are the magical words referring to the construction of the all too well-known real estate visions of the future around the Waterfront, in the south of the metropolitan area of Lisbon. These words substitute a real shared project for a new collective identity. Such sustainability would be visible in the names of many other things, radically new, with a wish for a lasting feeling for the future of the places. Memories of a future.

> Part II. Memory: "Legitimate" symbolism for representive identity

Figs. 21 and 22: In front of Tagus river; in the "Arsenal" where the caravels were built *(AB)*.

In the secular society of today we can do without the cathedral and the castle, as well as any other element which now has no use, or has lost its original use, with the condition that this change can be discussed and agreed upon as valid. The significance of places is rooted in their use, as Wittgenstein states, which means it is necessary to accept that, in the process of adaptation, old buildings can suffer substantial change (in their condition of no longer being what they used to be). But this is only as long as the appearance, the form, of the cathedral or the castle is maintained, and it remains possible to designate them with their original use, with the same name, even though this is no longer true.

The life of an object (or rather that which is referred to as an object) can continue even when it disappears, through forms of re-visiting and consecrating memory. This view of temporality, which is the foundation of heritage preservation, can be argued with the help of Bergson. He did not see the relation of the past and the present as a succession of "atoms of time", but as a continuity and co-existence in which what is important about the past is, mainly, its function in the present. From this perspective, we can note four errors that should be avoided:

1. It is not possible to rebuild the past in the present;
2. Temporality is not a gradual transition from one thing to another;
3. The past and the present are not differentiated by before and after;
4. Memory is not a question of facts but reconstruction.

The potential narrative value of a symbolic place can be maintained by its significance as a communicative power. Bourdieu works around this matter in his analysis in *The Rules of Art*, indicating the role of the public institutions which, today, can legitimise the structures of the past – thanks to the reconstruction of their presence.

The symbolic organisation of city space can, therefore, be recognised thanks to elements which, in different ways, build its temporality: in the toponymy, the architecture, monuments, and so on. The extraordinary events of the community, at times of celebration or political crises, are relived in memory through documents such as photographs, press reports, works of art and commemorative events. Transitions are moments when the symbolism of the place welcomes and legitimises new identities: past elements may be eliminated from the public space when the politics of the moment offers a new discourse.

The symbolism of spaces is part of the expression of power, as much in democracy as in totalitarian regimes. To take possession of what is remembered and what is forgotten is the preoccupation of the dominant political powers, particularly in authori-

tarian regimes. And as Peredo says in *Los significados de la Ciudad*, "In a totalitarian regime, the mechanism for organisation of the symbols in the city is by imposition. The citizen is forced to accept the official version of the collective memory, the names of streets, the city monuments and its architecture".

How is the symbolic arrangement of space processed? Here we cite Walter Benjamin's desire for a commitment of the present to the past by searching for alternative models of expression, for example, through its victims. That is, to consider the possibility of seeing history as an act of the present, as a political action to re-establish justice or avoid falling into oblivion. Remembering is, therefore, the objective of established powers to face up to mnemonic systems in its official history. The objective is not recovery of information as such, but to bring the past into the present and awaken it.

While a totalitarian state is a compulsive producer of symbols of its own values, in a democracy, a sovereign people intervening in public matters of government will not conform to the visualisation of objects whose content is formally innovative, open and universal. Nor will they conform to overcoming standard aesthetic conventions. The construction of symbolism in a democracy is through forms of expression and participation in the public space.

Democratic political powers should recognise the need for public space to house individual and collective expression, of both majority and minority groups. They should provide means and channels (agents, interpreters, techniques, rules, etc.) to ensure equity, with aesthetic pluralism, always building public space with the symbolic codes of the shared citizenry, consensually, in their relation with the place and everyday activity.

As such, putting up monuments in public spaces and creating heritage in neighbourhoods and other areas, creating city themes and marketing by inventing differences based on image, will be the modern systems of symbolism, with new procedures and discursive capabilities of spaces in the simulation, legitimisation or upholding urban mutations, past or future.

>> Is the memory of places the womb of everyday life?

Why is it that, among the things which surround us in our immediate environment, there are increasingly fewer that were there when we were born?

It is true that the city today, in its entirety, seems to be immediate. But if there are fewer things which transcend, we as a society, in contrast, have become successful

producers of narrative. As such, it is possible that things can last within a wider temporal framework than the present, if we make them eternal in an image, in a discourse, which makes them everlasting.

These things now seem a type of "antiquity" within the memory of the place where they existed. They are removed from the place shared with our plural, everyday lives (the present), and are raised to the category of discourse. They themselves are the narration, whether fiction or nostalgia, replacing the normality of daily life with the expression of a principle of exceptionality, recognised in the past or in the future. But this exceptionality is not of the same nature as that which existed in exceptional places such as a palace or a church.

Things which no longer form part of life, abandoning the sphere of their normality with which we have co-existed, were there for a specific reason, positive or negative – they were necessary for someone, so had significance for that someone. Nothing more. But there is a price to pay: everything in the city which loses its role and to which meanings can be attributed whose function is to show something can claim to be in the category of exceptional, to justify its presence there and increase its symbolic and economic, as well as its normative, value. This while reducing its use at the level of real experience and that of identity in daily life.

Special relevance is attributed to symbols of exceptionality, therefore. Not only to rare object-buildings, but also to those we take possession of in everyday life in the present to convert them into exemplary, whether because we relate them to a past or a future, or because they carry a secret, authentic or primordial, about us and what we should be. For many reasons, for a symbolic function, the most important point is exceptional use. These objects, taken over from a common function, are so exceptional and exemplary that we often consider that they can only have a very special use, far from ordinary or secular functions. One use, at the spiritual level is, for example, cultural. And at the peak of this hierarchy is the museum – the place of excellence for that which excels.

In the process of everyday life in the city, taking care of things requires a different kind of emotional investment in relation to their existence. These are the things of the city, of built-up areas, people and their relations. That is, collective life. We should treat symbols of respect with affection in everyday life, in the same way as we show affection for human beings themselves, during periods when they are growing up or ageing.

How can memory be integrated into a strategy of urban design? In general, it is driven by the policy of heritage conservation and protection. But if all the things that existed before we did were called up in our presence, through the discourse narrative

of heritage, the truth is that, in general, the logic of simulation imposes itself: the interaction of what is said about the things today and what they were in the past. The loyalty of one (the present) to the other (the past) is questioned.

Various authors relativize the role of history in the understanding of social life, and even more in the authentication of the future. Criticism of historicism is the criticism of determinism, of the ideological or explanatory discourse based on a "legitimate" history of the present and the future (Popper), considering that it redirects the narrative of the fundamental role reflection of the present has with regard to the past (Choay in *L'allégorie du patrimoine*). In addition, a critical perspective on messianic history is marked, contrasting the values still to come. Finally, we can consult Nietzsche who, with particularly critical intensity, warns of what should be avoided in antiquarian history in *The Use and Abuse of History for Life*:

> The antiquarian spirit, so inclined to conserve and venerate, settles… The history of his city becomes, for him, his own history: the design of the walls, a fortified gateway, municipal regulations and festivals [become] the illustrated chronicle of his youth, and he rediscovers all this for himself, with his effort, activity, pleasures and judgement… All that is old and past which enters in this field of view is accepted, unconditionally, as equally deserving respect; in contrast, that which does not show this respect for ancient things, that is, what is new or being developed, is rejected and encounters hostility… Antiquarian history only knows how to conserve life, not how to create it.

For those elements protected by public institutions, accredited as heritage or environmental – buildings, trees, views – we expect a rule for protection, an obligation for preservation, for them to be frozen in time. But for other elements, pragmatism tells us that anything can be recycled, substituted or converted. This means we can ask the following questions: can the city suffer substantial changes in the process of adaptation due to the fact that things are no longer what they were? Do we accept this ceasing to be on the condition that the appearance of the things (the exterior) remains and is demonstrated in the public space, transmitting the simulated image of the past?

Avoided in historical distortions, is the fact that urban life is not limited to buildings and to suggestive images. Also, in particular, an equivocation is put forward: Could it be fear of the unknown which seems to make us avert, through the force of law, the fear we have, and are incapable of overcoming in daily life, that stems from the idea that the future cannot be the same as the past?

> Part III. Duration

>> In the city we relate to things of longer duration

Figs. 23 and 24: Comercio Square or Terreiro do Paço, under construction (AB).

As has been demonstrated, the idea that permanence in the city should be promoted is recurrent in matters of collective memory that deal with the problem of urban identity in urban design. This permanence is, in the end, the time reference in the perception and recognition of urban elements.

The notion of permanence suffers from the problem of the varying life spans of the elements which make up the urban form. It is not possible to compare the duration of the city (or its form) as a whole with the term of a single object. It is difficult to understand what is normal in a city, meaning that it is never finished and is made up of many things, some lasting longer than others. As such, reflecting on the extent of urban temporality, the idea of duration is opposed to the idea of permanence, which is based on a different concept, somewhat in disuse: that of eternity. In some cases, the heritage perspective demands imposition of an eternal life span for protected works, reaching the point of negation. Permanence negates duration, therefore the necessary adaptation of the city to time. This means everything is reduced to being a relic or being conserved.

The duration of urban elements goes further than our desires: duration is inherent in the nature of the urban elements themselves (some are more long-lasting than others). This, per se, justifies care procedures differentiated in technical and design matters and in the different stages of the life cycle of the element. This applies to elements on the surface, such as pavements, easily eroded and replaced, as much as to more long-lasting elements such as infrastructures and facilities – although these could become obsolete by the introduction of new materials or technical innovation. Also included are those elements which change significance or cultural identity due

to social or aesthetic transformations, such as in art, and those more ephemeral, linked to the activation of short-term use, such as information or advertising communications.

City buildings, whether for residential, or productive and commercial use (factories, offices and others for work or consumption), are not immovable, despite the investment that is fixed in them. These are extended, reduced, suffer from wear-and-tear, and are replaced in the urban fabric, due to economic cycles, demographic changes, accidents, changes in social habits and unpredictable situations such as changing lifestyles. What before was a large and functional living space may today be insufficient if the number of inhabitants has increased or, on the contrary, excessive, if the required space has increased.

Finally, in this extension of temporality, pre-existing nature (such as a tree, river or mountain) should not be forgotten, with changes caused by more than the action of mankind and whose disappearance may cause a major crisis for the integrity and equilibrium of the city.

>> Paradoxes: nostalgia, fantasy and integrity

Today we are surprised by the development of a new type of city which has decontextualised the idea of reduced permanence, now, to the permanence of consumption, always present. At the same time we orient ourselves with discourses, sometimes infantile, based on the ingenuous idea of sustainability, which appeal to the nostalgic desire to maintain the shape of the city without change, and suggests the city should grow "over itself" by renovating elements.

Paradoxically, this type of discourse frequently only considers those things to be lasting which are at risk of disappearing, or even those which no longer exist or are maintained. This can refer to activities as well as to buildings, streets, old city neighbourhoods, villages and, in general, traditional styles of life in a state of abandonment, expectant or hazy.

At the other extreme, a certain monotony is observed in relation to the fixed and obsolete life of the city which links emotionally to the idea of the "eternity" of the architecture and landscape. This contrasts with the more dynamic option: the city which maintains itself, ensuring economic profitability of its many activities, whether those we know of from the past or others which appear as more reasonable or feasible, due to assigning collectively funded resources in its future. Given that everything is worth preserving and, at the same time, disposable, whether or not economically sus-

tainable (in the conservative sense or competitively, as a commodity), we must justify the options of a new city culture.

Places in a city are related to activities and processes carried out there, so it is not possible to sever these connections by applying ideological pressure to reality in order to promote one thing (investment) at the expense of another (return on investment). That is to say, the desire to make lifestyles eternal, preserving them exactly as they were in the past, requires that these lifestyles still exist on their own merit in the present. This sometimes leads to them being rhetorically represented as more authentic, healthier, more ethical, or just older or more modern, depending on the case, deleting all that history and life can demonstrate as being negative.

This is how, given the difficulty of stopping time, we arrive at a retroactive fabrication of identities – in this case of urban identities, labelled as more sustainable. Even when life demonstrates the insufficiency or inappropriateness of the element called "identifying", the narrative can generate a system of ideas, an ideology, a representation. Far from the real world, this is just for a discourse which recalls that which has disappeared (the chimney of the old factory) or the fantasy allegories of what is to come (from latest technology, to pure futurology).

Modern thought on the city, so optimistic about planning its capacity for transformation, was not prudent enough to promote durability of its own places. And when it comes to plans and projects for constructing buildings and public spaces, no questions were ever asked about the unexpected, the uncertain, which would have admitted the need for adaptable and multifunctional alternatives and solutions in parallel to unique, closed solutions.

Despite this, at different points in time and with a certain anticipation and diversity, architecture and the city demonstrated thoughts and ideas related to ecological concepts of sustainability. *Durabilité* is a term used in French-speaking countries, and "sustainability" has English roots, from which no epistemological discussions are derived. But I prefer to adopt the first, *durable*, and not the second, *sustainable*, maybe because it is less moralistic, removing the blame from eventual assignations of integrity of the form of spaces during their life cycle.

The ambiguity of the concept of integrity has a fundamentalist echo of moral, ideological and political legitimacy. But in a democratic context, what can be sustained is limited to what can be sustained by consensus, whether this sustainability is economic, social or political. Cities are, in fact, increasingly more recyclable, but their integrity is also expected to include respect for the inherited image which should also be sustainable, so does not involve costs or inconveniences, from any point of view (economic, social, political or environmental), which could make it unviable.

When it comes to urban regeneration, the idea of time must be close to the idea of "open work" (Eco) to ensure a continuous process of adaptation and avoid processes being developed from a unique perspective, limited to the execution of conservation works.

When constructing design strategies focussed on the future as a present possibility, the idea of "identity of the project" (Castells) is useful.

>> Last paradox – of historicism

Even though historicist attitudes prevail in the culture of city forms – as affirmation of the simulation of identities defined by their historical nature – today objects are not designed for eternity, which could appear unsettling for the desire to modernise the concept of permanence. Investment in rejuvenation of a public space corrects what is considered incompatible with the latest novelties. Places which are "in" one year are "out" the next: to avoid this, they need an attractive new design, referred to as appreciating or upgrading. A long wait for something we refer to as an eternity, compared to the ephemeral duration of the moment in public space which we judge as existing in order to please us with its immediate attraction.

As such, the historicist use of paradigms with a certain lack of temporality in the global city is a push towards a shorter life span of urban elements, due to the established factors of the competitive economic relation. The space and the artefacts are urban commodities, which is why there is rapid technological obsolescence, and the strategy of differentiation as a response to new competitive trends. The deceptive search for false differences is also a product of the continual competitive comparison of a certain *benchmarking* which results in the globalisation and homogenisation of new spatial typologies, which could have the contrary effect to that intended:

- The theme park, the pedestrian street, the cycle lane, the waterfront, are "identities" simulated by equivalent products which, in the end, are everywhere.
- The new identity given by the blessing of the divine body itself: the creator, with the gesture that consecrates the place, and puts it outside of time! And so it becomes heritage.
- The quality of a design with excessively sophisticated materials and shapes, which demonstrate abundance, exclusivity and superior singularity, but, in reality, excludes.

>> Conclusion: How to overcome death

Fig. 25: Popular festival.

The public space, with its high-profile glorification, can be as much distorted as perennial for opposing, but sometimes convergent, reasons:

- Because constancy is being built based on a competitive matrix, as a differentiating mechanism and not as something natural.
- Because permanence may be excessive, reducing the freedom and the right we have to extend – to change things – creatively.

The false identity of the city elements declared as permanent is centred on the authenticity which is labelled "typical", and can be included by a thematic or virtual suggestion, even though it never existed as anything real. This means we have the opportunity to simulate or fantasise about their existence through a false memory, represented as a real place, in an eternal image... beyond death!

But if in the past people thought of things which transcended them, what we have inherited from this past may be witness not only to past events but also to registers of future desires for our present. The way these things are also present today may derive from later experiences and from imagination – and this will be decisive for their temporal "authenticity".

The limit is not the moment of stillness, the halted movement residing in death which always awaits us, but probably the opposite. In fact, the city is never outside of time, that is, of its present, and so of its past and its future. The death of the city will only happen in a very extreme situation, more than natural disasters: when the city is not lived as the time and place for the everyday experience of human relations, of movement and interaction, the real conditions of urban life. A place remains intact not because it saves up the forms of a supposed "authenticity", but because it promotes the feeling of caring when those who want to be together meet to carry out the process of its design. Isn't this its – and our – integrity?

Fig. 26: Both banks of the Tajo river (CMA).

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/ Public Space and Memory. Uses and Conflicts

Jordi Guixé Coromines[1]

I live as an outsider
In the quagmire
Of oblivion
JOANA RASPALL: Haikus 26.

> Conflicts/ spaces/ uses/ memories/ challenges/ assaults

>> Conflicts

One of the fundamental areas of recent dialectic conflict is memory. For this reason, attempting to negate all trace of conflict is an entelechy. Attempts from the sphere of politics to use an *a la carte* memory lacking conflict have not given positive results, even though it is a common attitude for policies about the past. A report of history without conflict is the most extensively used form of manipulation in the praxis of policies of memory now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Memory, however, is built around the recall of conflicts, generating a need to revisit the conflict, which cannot be ignored. A revisiting which, carried out adequately, can have the effect of making amends and transmitting civic values. So conflict and transgression are two intrinsic concepts in working with memory. The first concept is more related to the dialectic between history and memory, between facts and how they are remembered, interpreted and recalled. The second brings us to the assault of the past on our political, physical and cultural areas.

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The dialectic between conflict-memory and transgression-memory is mainly represented in public policies of memory, it is active not so much in the academic or research fields, but among associations dedicated to social resistance and in committed art. We find this resistance to conflict or fear of remembering in the weakness of democratic powers to face their past with normalcy, as a construction of knowledge and of civic common sense which includes conflict, transgression and self-analysis. This knowledge has been demolished and crushed by what has come to be called "good memory", an intrusive species originating from the political correctness of the centres of power. This good memory, or memorial correctitude, can be attributed to a style of managing memory as required – *a la carte* as I mentioned earlier – depending on the political interests at the time, and the strategic shrewdness of certain pressure groups. Without doubt, there is considerable relation between the subject of the victim and memorial correctitude, also defined as complete memory by some South American authors when they analyse the memorial policies in countries of the southern hemisphere and in relation to their recent dictatorships (Jeli, 2012). There is very little distance between this memorial correctitude and historic manipulation and falsification, it is only necessary to look at the falsehoods imposed by the monument to the victims of the Nazi occupation, recently inaugurated (August 2014) in Budapest. Another factor of influence in this correctitude is the interpretation of conflict to give equal ranking – positive or negative – to the two or more opposing sides. The intention – and here in Spain we are well aware of this – is to present past violence as an anomaly which should not be repeated, aiming to strip contemporary political history of all ideology. Yet another *a la carte* use is that of reconciliation. Where this was not possible on the basis of public silence, amnesty laws or just by closure, now there is a move for healing reconciliation through historic memory, which the old ideas from the 1970s and 1980s did not achieve.

This is how some – not all – countries, badly, late and timidly, have promoted public policies of historic memory over the last few years, or decades (and for the first time). This is the case of Spain and also of several countries within Eastern Europe. These are public administrations which have never really believed in – or even thought of – the transforming values which memory may generate, and even less in proposing, defending or pushing for a public policy on memory. In Spain and Catalonia we know this well, considering that the failed memory projects were carried out as a political strategy for closure rather than the beginning of a stage of public responsibility for such a traumatic and conflictive past as ours. We know because, over a period of fifty years, we lived through the birth of democracy, a civil war, a long and repressive dictatorship, a previously unheard-of exile and massive exodus and a transition

which went from exemplary to amnesiac. This democratic transition lacking historical perspective considering the partisan or manipulative intent to reinterpret the past with reference to the present and current conflicts, problems and debates. However, it is not necessary to resort to the idea of manipulation to confirm that different memories are deliberately put on the stage of current conflicts to play a role in them (Sarlo, 2005:83).

>> Spaces

These references make for an interesting debate when we analyse public space. Space which represents the symbol of identity and also the memory barometer of cities, regions and of states. Space which talks to us through lines, marks and constructions, but also through empty spaces and absences. And when it talks, it talks of stories, conflicts, violence, tributes to the past in the present; but also reveals an endless number of clues to current perceptions, practices, debates and, above all, current policies. This space, this memorial agora where the private and the personal become collective, is where the institutionalising stamp of social peace or consensus is meant to go. Another complete failure: nothing is as it seems and the interpretation or constant re-interpretation of the past in the public space leads us to negotiation and debate.

> We are, of course, aware that public space is increasingly regulated and watched by those in power and the public administration, although its use should not be conditioned by any of these but by the way the people – the citizens – occupy, use and transform it (Appleton, 2014).

Occupation of the public space, from squares to rural paths or tracks, is increasingly governed by regulations and laws, and under the strict control of public police forces of law or of order (the "Clamping law" in Spain or the Injunctions for the Prevention of Nuisance and Annoyance law in Britain, for example). Among other things, these prohibit groups of people meeting on the streets and singing or playing games, and even certain ways of dressing, with the pretext of "protecting" public space. We can find a recent example in Plaça de les Dones del 36. This is a symbol and place of tribute to the association of women who fought to keep their memory alive and explained their history to scores of school children in Barcelona. Most of these women were imprisoned, and, for many years, various citizen collectives asked for a permanent symbolic space as a tribute to them. The tribute arrived in 2009, following a turbulent process, but it arrived. The problem is that these women and their relatives, their sons and daughters, protested at the inauguration of the square dedicated to

them. The public authorities, invoking the protection of public space, put metal barriers around the square, while the Women of 1936 had been robbed of their youth and imprisoned, with some of those present behind bars for 17 years during the dictatorship, as political prisoners .[2]

This example brings us to reflect on the use and control, linked to each other, of public space as an agora of exchange, learning and sociability. The collective memory needs these collective spaces since democracy was achieved and conquered there.

We can demonstrate different models of conflict and transgression in the public space which help reflect on and value the importance of the transmission of memory through these spaces. An attempt will be made to visualise the comparative reference in some of the projects carried out in our city and/or country as well as in several oversights. And we will see that it is not the level of the conflict which prevents certain actions, or the level of social or political involvement or mobilisation, but rather the logic of ahistorical power. We can take the liberty of modifying the subtle title of Karl Schlögel's *Reading time through space* (Schlögel, 2007). In the case of Germany and others this works perfectly, but in our case it should be stated as *Reading time through oblivion* (Huffschmid, 2012:11).

As in the philosophy of history and the theory of memory, what has been done in the public space and with the symbols of our recent past has been disparate, feeble and erratic. The recovery of spaces for memory and the creation of symbolic places have played a major role in the proliferation and increase in historic sites and of the memories of our recent conflicts. Traces of the Civil War and symbolic spaces of the democratic Second Republic have been recovered; sites of Franco dictatorship repression have been signposted and described; symbols and monuments of the dictatorship – some eliminated in a sterile, thoughtless way – have been interpreted; communal burial grounds have been excavated and improved and victims and disappearances documented. And throughout the territory, museum areas and small museums have been created, as well as websites and interpreted monuments, to foster social knowledge and education. But the construction and recovery of this heritage has been disparate and at times precipitated. Has there been a lack of consideration and criteria compared to other, international, experiences? Almost certainly, but it is also the result of an evasive public policy on memory and its heritage, on the part of those public spheres most sensitive to this. At the same time, insensitive spheres, like those active at present, have caused an irreversible decadence and bureaucratic and media pressure against the recovery of this heritage.

[2] See http://aj-gracia.blogspot.com.es/2009/10/jornades-reivindicatives-la-placa-de.html.

>> Uses

Both public policies of memory and what has been called the "recovery of historic memory" have provoked a lack of confidence in many sectors. One of the best ways to recover the positive values of this work is by analysing and taking a critical view of transnational models. While it is true that some intellectuals state a desire to import the French model (Duclos, 2009), there is little in common between the Gayssot Law and, for example, the Spanish "Law of historic memory".[3]

Key within the memorial framework of the new century is to include the work of the historian, without ignoring the increasing influence of cultural and other social science studies. All the analytical languages used (anthropology, linguistics, psychology, art, architecture, literature, etc.) have sharpened our perception of the past in the present, and have been behind heterogeneous methods of transmission (Elley, 2008:227). Cultural studies reveal this wide range of public means for transmission of memory: films, television, photography, advertisements, radio, music, theatre, art, museums, works of fiction, school curricula, commemorative rituals, and so on. The public debate on memory has clearly also affected the concept of heritage, tangible and material as much as intangible and immaterial.

A specific memorial heritage exists, in historic locations but also, no less important, which acts in non-original places or those without a specific history but constructed through interpretation, the will for commemoration, transmission or interpretation. The public appropriation of this heritage could be positively reinterpreted through the "work of memory" in its present-day complexity. The debate, in part forecast by the reflections of Todorov and Ricoeur (Rieff, 2012:74), deals with the conceptual transfer of the duty of memory to the right to memory, which is socially and publicly specified through this work.

We are all aware that some of the great, international museums and memorials to the Holocaust (Washington, Paris, Israel, Buenos Aires, New York, etc.) are not in the actual historic locations but this does not mean that their effect on transmission of memory is any less. The experience at the original site is important, such as the Nazi concentration camps (Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen, etc.) and the torture cells at ESMA in Argentina or those of El-De House. However, the site of memory and the memorial heritage should be conditioned by the social use of the space and the analysis of the dialogue which this heritage establishes with the general public. A de-

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[3] The Gayssot Law (Loi n° 90-615 du 13 juillet 1990 tendant à réprimer tout acte raciste, antisémite ou xénophobe) makes it an offence to negate the Holocaust.

bate, interesting and serving as a commencement, is established between the historic viewpoint of the memorials of Gusen and Mauthausen, in Austria, and the formal and informal questions these places of memory raise today in the minds of the local residents, citizens, and others who witness the present-day barbarity with reference to the everyday function of these sites in parallel to the extermination. Cultural and collective memories fuse in this capacity of socialisation of the work of memory (Huyssen, 2010).

The dialogue between the citizen and memory or memorial heritage has been inexistent in many cases, even though one or other place may have major historic importance. One of the reasons is the public use of these spaces and whether or not public policies of memory have been applied. The spaces for memory are effective and active when people embrace them, and give them new meaning, so they move from the private to the public domain.

>> Memories

Public policies on memory are resulting in increasingly less lack of faith among academic and intellectual sectors. And increasingly more disciplines analyse and research, using multidisciplinary methods, the debates on memory. In Europe, it is unusual to find a research centre or research group that does not formulate hypotheses or dedicate effort and time to public memory.

And what could be an exemplary memorial heritage, after many years and irrelevant actions, has gradually become commemorative opportunism. The French memorial system has not been imported into our country (Duclos, 2009:565; Juliá, 2010). The exemplary condition is ever more distant, particularly with the current total lack of application of memorial laws in Spain.[4]

The only legal text in Spain which covers the right to memory and the "work of memory" is summarised in a new law on memory in an autonomous community. Analysing its complexity, we can see how it establishes a range of relevant criteria developed in the law approved, in November 2013, in Navarra.[5] A law discretely drawn up but which deals with a great diversity and multiplicity of delicate themes in reference

[4] "If the documentation of the Franco dictatorship was where it should be, the archives functioned as they should, and if the University had complied with its social function in the research and transmission of the past, certain historians would be less worried about the invasion of memory". (Espinosa, 2010:69)

[5] Ley Foral de reconocimiento y reparación moral de las ciudadanas y ciudadanos navarros asesinados y víctimas de la represión a raíz del golpe militar de 1936, Parlamento Foral de Navarra, 14 November, 2013.

to public policies on memory. It is also interesting that it was passed at a time of decline or kidnapping of memorial policies throughout Spain, after what I called the "decade of memory". Navarra went ahead, slowly but surely, with a text which is complete for its diversity and courageous for its capacity to deal with the multiple omissions and deficits in the two first laws (of the Central Spanish Government and of the Generalitat de Catalunya). As well as associations, behind this law is a vast amount of work by the Fondo Documental de la Memoria, approved by the Parliament in 2009 and carried out by a research team from the Public University of Navarra.[6]

We hope that the different associations and the Parliament of Navarra will be able to apply this law well, exploiting its possibilities, and not fall into an institutional submission that is inoperative and, above all, asocial. As for the heritage, spaces of memory and public space, the Law also defines the capacity, necessity and competence to define memory as a cultural heritage with symbolism which needs to be preserved and recovered. So several monuments, and also some largely forgotten former historical spaces of repression are considered spaces of memory. For example, the monument to the repressed, converted into the Parque de la Memoria in Sartaguda, has become a site of commemoration for the autonomous region and the Pamplona fortress Penal del Fuerte Alfonso XII, also called Fuerte de San Cristóbal, is now considered a space to be recovered and dignified for use by the public and as a memorial.[7]

› Barcelona, an example

Many historic places, or "places with history", exist in many European cities, but most of them have not become "places of memory". In Barcelona, many were of great importance in building our recent past, such as the Modelo prison and the Les Corts women's prison, no longer in existence. But there is also the San Agustín church, where the Assembly of Catalonia was created clandestinely in 1971, and the Via Laietana police station, site of repression and torture during the long, grim period of the dictatorship until the transition to democracy. But in Barcelona there has been considerable mis-

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[6] Archives on the historic memory of the repression in Navarra during the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship (1936-1975), Universidad Pública de Navarra, Directed by Emilio Majuelo Gil; Coordination, Fernando Mendiola Gonzalo; specialists in historic memory, Gotzon Garmendia Amutxastegi and Juan Carlos García Funes.

[7] Title IV, articles 15 and 16 of the Law cit., on Protección y Mantenimiento de los Monumentos, Parques y elementos conmemorativos: el Parque de la Memoria de Sartaguda y el Penal del Fuerte de Alfonso XII o Fuerte de San Cristóbal.

trust in some political sectors, linked to a certain lack of democratic culture and institutional courage.

In the city of Barcelona, cases of memorial submissiveness can be found in some projects carried out and also in many omissions. In some cases, historic gaps are also mixed with democratic timidity. One example is that of the old prison for women in Les Corts. It would be an exaggeration to call the camouflaged agreement between Barcelona City Council and the company El Corte Inglés a project, after years of demands made by associations and citizens to signpost and improve the space where the prison had been (Molina, 2010). The maximum recognition achieved was a small municipal plaque put up in 2010, hidden at a height where it was almost impossible to read, with the inscription:

> On this site, there was, from 1886, the Asilo del Bon Consell. From 1936 to 1955 it was used as a women's prison. Today we remember all the prisoners and their children who were deprived of their freedom in this centre.

It may be a matter for debate whether a simple and conventional plaque is sufficient. But the text is totally sterile because it could perfectly well serve as a reference to any ordinary prison that closed today. There is no reference whatsoever to the thousands of political prisoners who were crammed together in this prison, nor of the repressive dictatorship which put them there. And even more, there is not a single reference to the eleven prisoners who faced the firing squad, having being sentenced to death after a farcical court-martial decision.

This memorial – or lack thereof – has been repeatedly criticised and analysed by various historical memory organisations, such as the Asociación de Expresos políticos, the no-longer existing Dones del 36, and the Asociación por la Cultura y la Memoria (ACMe);[8] but also, more recently, in academic and political ambits. The most serious criticism has been that which has arisen in the district of Les Corts itself, among neighbourhood and women's associations, individuals, and the CR POLIS research group of the Universidad de Barcelona. After a debate at the *Prisión Invisible* conference in 2012, this research group began a process of participation, dissemination and of honouring the memory of the women, around the location of the former women's prison. In addition, citizen participation in this forgotten space was interrelated to the

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[8] The website www.presodelescorts.org, set up by the historian Fernando Hernández Holgado, brings a new dimension to the treatment of invisible memorial spaces through online technology and documentary with witnesses, voices and archive documents. [It is] a humble example of the complementarities between history and memory to build knowledge.

input of students from different parts of the world, who designed projects for actions to dignify an uncomfortable memory which still remains invisible today.[9]

The twenty-first century began, is and will continue to be, eminently memorial. Considering this, the Les Corts example reminds us that, in general terms, in Spain as well as in Catalonia, the heritage from the Second Republic, the Spanish Civil War, the Franco dictatorship and the Transition, are far from having received the same treatment and consideration as other eras and events. The 75th anniversary of the end of the Civil War, Franco's victory and the start of the great exodus of 1939 have been eclipsed and overpowered by the Catalan tercentenary. The political ineptness of publicly taking on a cultural heritage project beyond compare for a Memorial in Catalonia means such a memorial has been forgotten and deleted from the political agenda: all efforts have been dedicated to the great new memorial to 1714 in the old Born market. It seems that what happened in our country from 1931 to the 1980s only deserves to be protected and remembered by a few researchers and associations, and only remembered publicly when required by the fever of events. Political and ahistorical postmodernism has definitely and aseptically affected realisations on memorial heritage in our public space.

But independently of the improvisation from above, current reflection on the socialisation of this heritage should be deeper. Is there a real call to preserve these spaces? I believe that collective sensitivity has also gradually changed in this respect, and we see this in another paradigmatic example: that of the air raid shelters from the Civil War. In Barcelona, in the mid-80s, one of the most extensive shelters was totally destroyed to build a car park. In contrast, in 1994, in the Plaça de la Revolución in the Gracia neighbourhood, the entrance to another shelter was exposed when some works were begun there, and every day people went to see it. From that moment, a citizen's movement began, not able to avoid the destruction of this shelter, but it did start up a major debate – still ongoing. This led to the recovery, setting up of museum features and opening to the public, of the shelters in Plaça del Diamant, Refugi 307 in Poble Sec, and the educational and memorial area of the shelter in Plaça Macià in Sant Adrià del Besòs and others in many other Catalan cities and villages (Col·lectiu Desafectos, 2010).

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[9] Based on a participative proposal of neighbourhood associations, the CR POLIS research group of the Universitat de Barcelona and the ACMe Association began the Presó de les Corts, la Presó Invisible project and the first seminars on a memorial monument in Les Corts. This process of reflection on the city can be seen on the blogs edited by Professor Núria Ricart:
http://blocs.lescorts.cc/presodedones/jornades-internacionals-jornadas-internacionales.
http://rutadememoria.wordpress.com/la-ruta/preso-de-dones-de-les-corts.

Talking about recovery and realisations of historic memory heritage, there are many relics of the Civil War. Of these, the air-raid shelters have become major protagonists in view of them combining people's memory (social memory) and the trauma of the air raids with the recovery of public places.

There are two ways to look at these realisations: the interpretation of this heritage as a "vestige" or as a "process". It is as important to highlight the object as the social discourse built round the object which serves as its base (Iniesta, 2009: 478). In this way, relics from the war would show not only the marks they have left but also the public use of these marks. With reference to the Spanish Civil War, somewhere we should explain how the dictatorship encouraged people to visit specific sites of battle scenes soon after the end of the war, with the aim of extolling the mysticism of their victory (Box, 2010:190). The heritage of memory helps us to recall that the interpretation of the heritage should not slip into indoctrinatory excess, even though it is very tempting. And, as Tilden stated: "the main objective of an interpretation is not instruction but provocation". (Tilden, 2006, 65)

One space gradually becoming a reference for memory in the city is Turó de la Rovira, a hill with anti-aircraft batteries. This is not only because of the growing interest of visitors, but also because of the process of recovery and the debate, still present and pending, on how to deal with a "space with multiple memories" from the Civil War to *barraquismo* – the time of the construction of shanty towns. A privileged but outlying place, it had been forgotten by the city. Groups of local youths had vandalised the place, taken it over and filled it with creative graffiti. In 2006, the Can Baró neighbourhood association and the Escolta Josep Carol Foundation began to organise campaigns and international work camps to clean up the area. They also carried out the first cultural entertainment events to make known the history of these traces of the Civil War. But the society and the neighbourhood also began to call for vindication of the history and the memory of the *barraquismo*. Finally, the Horta-Guinardó district council and other public administrations decided to carry out a landscaping, touristic, memorial, architectural and civil project there. The site has taken on a new and forceful centrality since this first base for recognition was laid.

Another example of memory in the city's periphery is the monument (not far from Turó de la Rovira) called *David y Goliat*, a tribute to the international brigades who fought in the Civil War. On the Rambla del Carmel, it was one of the first sculptures of memorial public art in Barcelona. A Barcelona which, in 1988, condemned all reminders of the War and the Republic to the outskirts and obscurity (Fabre, Huertas; 2009: 362). The sculpture was financed by a United States association (the Abraham Lincoln Brigade) and the Spanish Civil War Historical Society. Among the patrons of the

sculpture were Edward Kennedy, Woody Allen, Gregory Peck, Leonard Bernstein, Norman Mailer and Harry Belafonte. The sculptor was also American, from New York: Roy Shifrin. The inauguration of the monument coincided with the 50th anniversary of the final march of the International Brigades through Barcelona, as they left the country. The urban landscape around the monument has improved, but its location still has many problems of visibility and access: at the exit of a tunnel in an area with frenetic traffic. It is certainly not where the Brigades paraded originally in 1938: the place lacked and lacks historical context. But the commemorative and memorial actions of the Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales de Catalunya (ADABIC) and the neighbourhood associations have converted it, little by little, into a place of memory, for gathering and of vindication. The area is also becoming increasingly more integrated into the social fabric of the district, with the local residents participating in the memorial ceremony every October, thereby recovering a certain usurped centrality, and being uncomfortable for the authorities of those, and later years.

› Internet: the great space

The modern spotlight on memory and temporality is absent in much of the works of innovation concerning spaces, maps, geographies, frontiers, traces, routes, migrations, displacements and diasporas in the postcolonial context and in cultural studies (Huyssen, 2003:12). Despite this, new technologies have created a new space for the transmission of memory, for debate and for use. Cyberspace, the Internet, has substituted physical spaces of memory, providing many heritage projects with content and information. We know of a number of interactive websites where oral memory, witnesses, can once again be heard by all kind of publics and geographies. These are websites where the digitalised documentation may be enormous, visualised and interpreted, and where the user does not only learn but can also interact as a subject in transmission of memory. How many families have today found a disappeared relative in the well documented common grave of Cervera, thanks to these webs and new technologies? How many people have been able to document, locate and listen to the ignored voices of the former female prisoners at Les Corts thanks to their new website? And how many people have interacted on one of the projects on La Commune de Paris through the online project and that of Webdoc on the Algerian conflict, set up by the Raspouteam collective?[10]

[10] See http://www.mailxxi.com/guerracivil/cat/index0.html. www.presodelescorts.org; www.raspouteam.org.

The possibilities are incalculable and the Internet is introducing itself as a guarantor of freely available memorial space which complements, and sometimes substitutes, some of the omissions in our public memory. An example of this is the mobile and web app, *MemoriaBCN*, which analyses more than 65 spaces of memory and historic places in the city, most of them banished to oblivion.[11] This "digital memory" has an infinite number of uses and interpretations, but in some projects in terms of memory and public space, as well as documenting and informing, it has been the only way to improve invisible physical spaces or those excessively conflictive for actual physical actions on them to be feasible.

› Challenges: public space, political art and memory in Londonderry

Since the sixteenth century, the medieval walls of Derry, one of the most important symbols of the history and heritage of the city, have represented a memorial of cultural, religious and political segregation. Until recently, within the walls was the imperial, the Protestant, the English and the well-off. Outside the walls, the working class, Catholic, poor and Irish. The walls of Derry represent a historic and political symbol which shifted importance to the neighbourhoods, the streets, the space where the social, armed and political conflict in Northern Ireland was expressed and exploded. The walls are in their immovable position, but, like other constructions, also serve as a memorial totem in the city. That part which overlooks the Bogside is normally used by the Republicans and the other part by the Unionists. The recent conflict is still latent, the peace process changed the everyday life of the Northern Irish, but there is a memory of the conflict which constantly calls for its place in the public space: painted kerbs, flags, walls and urban art mark borders within the city.

Since the late 1960s, the people, as an urban counter-power, mobilised in favour of civil rights, constantly and actively demonstrating in the streets. These mobilisations resulted in an armed conflict with thousands of victims, and the city walls, pavements, streets and monoliths are imbued with the memorial and political process of commemoration of these civic demonstrations.

The Derry model is distanced from the (re)construction of political and social realities when compared to the habitual reaction to commemorative annals on national or heroic past feats – the patriotic or national memory which in other countries or regions

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[11] See www.memoriabcn.cat and APP: memoriabcn in Applestore.

generally emanates from those in power. This heroic and patriotic memory is based on dates of great events, vindicating battles lost or won, deifying glorious figures from the past and ideals in the manifest destiny. Derry, in contrast, is an example where they still maintain the memory, very much alive and very recent, of the civic occupation of public space in favour of civil rights. A memory which works through art and memorial action in the place that is always closest to the citizen: the local neighbourhood.

The concept of civil rights imbues all remembrance activities. The demonstrations in favour of ethnic and racial equality in the United States inspired the residents of the humble Bogside neighbourhood to go out onto the streets in 1968. One of the memorial murals recalls world leaders as references: Martin Luther King, Mother Teresa of Calcutta, Nelson Mandela, a more recent mural depicts Ché-Gevara, as a reminder that the mother of the revolutionary leader was Northern Irish. And some referential icons are still followed, even though the icons do not always have any homology to the facts. It is well-known that the demonstrations in favour of civil rights unleashed an actual war, followed by a war of memories anchored in society's approval, thanks to and despite the political route managing to establish a peace process, without imposing a status quo on the interpretation of the past and the events.

In the present, the inhabitants of Londonderry remind us that the origin of the conflict was the brutal, repressive action of Unionist and monarchic police, military and paramilitary forces against the demonstrations. These started in 1968 and were to demand social and human rights, as well as the right to work, the end of religious discrimination (Protestant versus Catholic), and national liberty in favour of Irish republicanism. A street battle took place in Derry in 1969, between demonstrators and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), and a "free" zone was created. The famous painted sign "You are now entering Free Derry" and the building of barricades demonstrated the determination of the civil population to remain firm on all their demands.

The painted slogan as a symbol of the events was on the wall of a worker's house. This wall, preserved over these 40 years (not the house), has become an active memorial screen. Not only has it been maintained as a monument, but it is also used, by groups from all over the world, to paint, write and express a great variety of slogans in favour of civil rights. The wall is ceded for this memorial action for one week. Then it is again tiled and painted with the original inscription, in black letters.

The date of the Bogside demonstration is internationally known as Bloody Sunday. John Kelly tells how soldiers in the English paratrooper regiment killed his brother. Michael Kelly was 17 years old when he was shot by the soldiers who had taken cover under the balcony where his mother was watching the demonstration, worried for her

two sons, and unaware that one of them had been shot. The balance was 14 deaths after a charge by two groups of soldiers who had orders to shoot to kill. After that, everything changed. The conflict radicalised definitively. While there had been only a few active members of the IRA – a little over 20 – in the Bogside before Bloody Sunday, more than 500 youths joined their ranks in one week thereafter.

As the years went by and the peace process began, the memory of Bloody Sunday was gradually recovered by relatives and neighbours of the victims, and by artists. Some of the workers' homes in Bogside were in ruins. One of them, opposite where five of the 14 young people died, housed a forceful artistic installation. By the artist Philip Napier, it was on the language of apology with a background reflection on art, voice and music as transmitters of memory. This was a memory which laid out, 25 years after the killings, conflictive questions such as language, nation, culture and power. Following this temporary installation and together with the forceful murals, the spaces in this neighbourhood area gradually became internationally-known examples of socialisation and memorial action. The houses were renovated by the local residents, who began guided tours around the historic sites, until a civic association in the neighbourhood, the Bloody Sunday Trust, also converted two of the houses into the Free Derry Museum, opened in 2007, and currently being extended.

The process was not simple, and has not been exempt from debate and conflict, social and political. Even now, when it seems that some of the soldiers will be taken to court in Britain, and that the extension of the Museum has been approved, the residents continue to fight for their cultural and collective memory. The guided tours are carried out by relatives, with their own memories and also the history of the neighbourhood and its residents. People like John Kelly himself and Paul Doherty, son of Patrick J. Doherty, who was killed in the place where there is now a monolith in memory of the victims, are volunteer guides. Paul also takes people on the tour round the 13 murals on the walls of the typical homes in this working class area, and which make up the internationally known Free Derry Art Gallery, in the public space.

› Assaults: the EX_PRESÓ project

To draw to a close this series of reflections on memorial projects and the use of public space, I cannot omit the EX-Presó project, recently presented by students at the University of Barcelona. It has taken the Barcelona district of Les Corts by storm, and in particular the Corte Inglés department store located in the plot of the former women's prison. This project is part of the work for social, participative and active memory, pre-

sented at the International Conference on the Women's Prison of Les Corts, Future Memorial, which took place in Barcelona in November 2014.[12]

Ex-Presó: Llenando Huecos de Historia (Ex-prison: Filling Gaps in History), by Daniel Raya, Daniel Godía and Joaquín Jordan, begins with the perplexity with which the authors analyse the plaque mentioned earlier. They accuse it of "not even mentioning the political or ideological context of the repressive building, and much less approaching the human factor, avoiding consideration of the torture all the prisoners suffered while they were in prison, many of whom were put there for political, ideological or moral reasons".

The project includes the unauthorised appending – assault – of a sticker with a QR code on different articles and products in different sections of El Corte Inglés. The QRs link to the project web and blog, and are read through concepts linked to the infrahuman conditions which the prisoners were subjected to, and the repression they suffered. A connection is made with the actual shopping departments of El Corte Inglés, questioned by the history of the place and as a symbol of a place of imprisonment of female consumerism, but not only, in this new century. With this, the project – and its authors – aims to present questions with respect to the conditions which refer to the basic needs of everybody, such as hygiene, food, health and maternity. The concepts are: overcrowding, unhealthiness, hate, torture, alignment and hunger.

The main reason for developing this project within the department store itself resides in the need to return the information to the place with which it corresponds, and to share the experience with all those who pass through it. Since critical discourse and the demonstration of an uncomfortable past history are not likely to be met with official approval, the action has been carried out as subtly as possible. Visibility has been acheived through the use of QR codes, which are also related to distinct colours and allow all the necessary information to be introduced, discretely, in the very place where it belongs. The action simply consisted of attaching the codes in the different areas of the store, according to the theme which the information alludes to. Thus, information with respect to the situation of mothers is found in the children's section, while information on cases of starvation is located together with the food products, and that dealing with unhygienic conditions is in the toilets. The different QR codes spread around the area take us to different realities lived in this spot years earlier, but most importantly, they reach us at a moment of reflection and even of internal debate. Just for a moment, the spectator forgets about their shopping and sees how this place, years earlier, was a scene of horror and misery. In this way, the aim is to create a small memorial in the

[12] http://blocs.lescorts.cc/presodedones/jornades-internacionals-jornadas-internacionales.

large stores, a kind of museum of horrors, in which, for an instant, all can travel back to the past, to understand and learn a little more about our history and our reality.[13]

Awareness of the events through the www.presodelescorts.org website has raised interesting memorial actions and reactions to this invisible memory. One of the most interesting, I think, is this artistic project of the group formed by the Ex-Presó collective. With their artistic project they have also questioned the public policy on spaces of memory, and they are recovering new spaces and dealing with many omissions caused by the culture of forgetfulness in our country.

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[13] https://presoinvisibleblog.wordpress.com/historia.

Monument Vs. Memorial? Some doubts and reflections. Any proposals?

Antoni Remesar[1]

> PART I. Back and Forth. Public Art, Urban Aesthetics and Remembrance Management

>> From Monument to Public Art. A Genetic Reading

Research conducted by our research centre trying to study the evolution of public art in Lisbon (Elias, 2007; Andrade, 2012), Lima (Hamann, 2011) and Barcelona (de Lecea, Remesar, Grandas, 2011-2015) found that public art production has an incremental evolution from the second half of the nineteenth century. The rise of the bourgeoisie as the hegemonic social class involved the creation of a new system of representations devoted to expressing and publicizing the values of this class. In the case of the city, this representation system appears in the design of the city itself and in the presence of heroes, protagonists of change, in public space, shaped as statuary monuments.[2]

The iconography of public art focused on mythological and religious topics and in the representation of the king, as the central figure of power. Since this moment, we are witnessing major changes prioritizing the iconographic representation of the new heroes of the emerging society: entrepreneurs, mayors, writers, doctors, journalists, and so on. In parallel, we see a resurgence of the romantic representations of legendary national heroes setting, thus, a legitimization between the old regime and the new so-

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[1] CR POLIS, Universitat de Barcelona.

[2] Vázquez Montalbán noted that public monumentality emerge so strongly in the nineteenth century, "as if trying to make up for lost time since the Renaissance. It is true the city acquires its full identity in the nineteenth century as a result of industrial development and the full establishment of a citizenship, but the economic power of the ruling classes affects the possibilities of public art". (Vázquez Montalbán, 1990).

ciety through the concept of Nation. Civil society organizations have an important role in the promotion of these monuments, because the different factions of the ruling class compete to install within the city, in the form of monuments, representations of their interests.

In the cities we analysed, the scheme of decision-making is as follows: the municipality, by direct commission or public contest, draws a programme essentially ornamental (such as the Eixample's fountains in Barcelona or garden sculptures in Lisbon). Civil society, through popular subscriptions, exerts pressure on the municipality for erecting monuments related to a given collective memory (of some groups, not of all). In the three cities, the effigy is dominant, but in Barcelona, there is a shift towards allegorical programmes. Although cities follow a common logic (probably identical to that of other cities in the so-called Western world), we can appreciate that the intensity of some iconographic programs is differential. The history of each city and the characteristics of the social formation of each country, e.g. Barcelona is not a state capital while Lima or Lisbon are, can determine these differences. The location of public statuary follows the pattern of development of the urban fabric organized by a concentration – distribution logics. The three cities show a *concentration* of works along the articulating axis of the territory, as well as in large "urban containers" (parks and/or avenues). The central city is the ultimate recipient of works. *Distribution* is most evident in Barcelona especially in inter-axis urban areas.

Signs of class status (monuments) follow a pattern of spatialization associated with (1) the territories occupied by affluent classes, and (2) with those territories that are symbolically considered significant spaces and, for this reason, ideally set for the achievement of collective representations. Popular classes are not entitled to symbolically mark the territory nor their own, neither the common. As in literature, especially in the novel, the city becomes the "sheet of paper" on which different factions of the bourgeoisie write, in bronze and stone, the tale of their rise and consolidation.
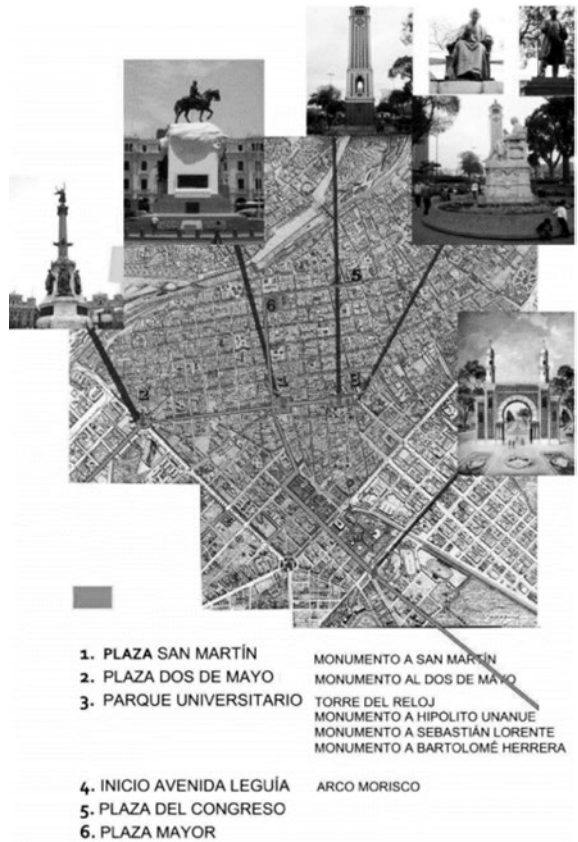
Fig. 1: Lisbon, the presence of the public art is organized in the pombaline centre and in the axes entering to the twentieth-century "new town".

Fig. 2: Barcelona, concentration occurs in the historical centre and in new areas of the Eixample.

Fig. 3: Principal Monuments in the Centre of Lima. (Hamann, 2011).

1. **PLAZA** SAN MARTÍN — MONUMENTO A SAN MARTÍN
2. **PLAZA** DOS DE MAYO — MONUMENTO AL DOS DE MAYO
3. **PARQUE** UNIVERSITARIO — TORRE DEL RELOJ / MONUMENTO A HIPOLITO UNANUE / MONUMENTO A SEBASTIÁN LORENTE / MONUMENTO A BARTOLOMÉ HERRERA
4. INICIO AVENIDA LEGUÍA — ARCO MORISCO
5. PLAZA DEL CONGRESO
6. PLAZA MAYOR

>> Art Públic,[3] Municipal Art, Civic Art[4]

In the early twentieth century, there appear several proposals trying to define what we can consider municipal art.

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[3] "Art Públic" refers to a first European approach, closely linked to the processes of urban aesthetics, while the concept of "Public Art" refers to the practice of introducing art into the city after World War II and, according to mainstream literature, with a North American origin. In any case, we must recall the implications of the Art Públic with *Art Urbain*. "Urban Art ('*Art Urbain*') introduced proportion, regularity, symmetry, perspective in Western cities by applying them to the roads, squares, buildings, and also, to the treatment of their relations and their connecting elements (arcades, colonnades, gates, arches, gardens, obelisks, fountains, statues, etc.)." (Choay, 1989)

[4] On the Importance of Civic Art or Municipal Art see Hegemann, Werner; Peets, Elbert (1922)

What is Municipal Art? May not this term be used as synonymous with its civic beauty, and does it not mean the orderly fitting and appropriate manner of carrying out all civic enterprises? Is it not meeting our common problems in a way pleasing to the eye in addition to satisfying their practical demands? Is it not 'solving the problem of utility in terms of beauty'? Is it not the art of doing necessary things in an effective way, yet never doing anything 'for effect'? Is it not creating the City Beautiful by directly and beautifully meeting its real needs in a dignified and orderly manner? Municipal Art in this sense can hardly be expected to result merely from such excellent palliative expedients as tend to do away with positive nuisances and to rectify initial mistakes. Such enterprises as regulating sign-boards, putting up statues and fountains, building great public buildings and having them decorated with mural paintings are excellent and necessary, but Municipal Art, in its broader sense, goes deeper and concerns itself with the whole city as an organism. (Perkins, 1903)

The rupture of the historic fabric of the city with the consequent disappearance of old monuments (buildings, but also fountains and statues), the frontage beautification of the city present in the Haussmann's Parisian boulevards, require a correction of the model and the methods for addressing urban issues. In Sitte's words, anyone who wants to appear as a street aesthetics champion should be, firstly, convinced that the current means of satisfying the traffic requirements are, perhaps, not infallible and, secondly, be prepared to demonstrate that the needs of modern life (communication, hygiene, etc.) are not necessarily obstacles for the development of the art of the street.

It is precisely in the way of ordering cities, more than anywhere, that art has to exercise its educational influence, as its activities are felt in every moment in the soul of the people and not, for example, in concerts or shows reserved for wealthy classes of the nation. It would therefore be desirable that the government provides to the aesthetics of the street all the importance it deserves. (Sitte, 1889)

Sitte's demand consolidated[5] throughout the new century with the appearance of a diffuse movement that would take various names but that we refer to as the *Art Públic* concept. In the late nineteenth century, cities faced a triple problem: (1) an urban problem (physical and infrastructural); (2) a civic problem (social, cultural and symbolic), and (3) a political problem (linked to the growth of formal democracy). Therefore, it is not surprising the emergence of concepts such as *Art Públic* (in the

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[5] As for example in the work of Joseff Stüben. "Unavoidable stopping-points ought to be treated artistically as terminal points. Every street ought as far as practicable to be planned individually [...] The chief artistic quality of open spaces lies in their being as far as possible enclosed in a proper setting [...] Ancient monuments of all kinds, as well as fine existing streets and views, ought not only to be preserved, but should be taken advantage of in order to secure a characteristic development of the city on artistic lines" (Stübben, 1906) or through the work by Riegl (1903).

Francophone area), *Civic Art* (in the States) and *Civic Design* (in Britain) as empirical and theoretical ways of thinking and solving the organization of the city, that is on its way towards a metropolitan scale.

> It should, therefore, include plans of the city, the direction and shape of streets and public places, they can receive decoration, monuments, and parks and squares, and the grouping and planning of public buildings. At first sight, giving to this study the title of the aesthetics of the city, we seem to subordinate everything to beauty, and practical souls perhaps will say that there are other considerations that should not be overlooked by the city builders. This aesthetic principle applies to plans for the cities and for public buildings as well as industrial art objects. (Charles Buls, 1893)[6]

>> Towards a Better and Beautiful City

The International Institute of Art in Brussels[7] and the Paris Musée Social[8] formulated concepts about Art Públic. These organizations are at the foundation of the creation of the modern concept of Urbanism. Art Públic referred to all action in the city and its physical and symbolic characteristics. It would be necessary here to point out the concept of Art Públic as it relates to the emergence of the "Social Museum" in France.

Under the umbrella of the Social Museum, in 1905, the General Association of Municipal Engineers, Architects and Hygienists, created the Section of Urban and Rural

[6] On the work of Buls, mayor of Brussels, is available in Smets, Marcel (1995).

[7] The influence of the Arts & Crafts Movement is well documented for the creation, by Hermann Muthesius, of the Deutscher Werkbund (1907). This organization would be influential in the creation, some years later, of the Österreichischer Werkbund (1912) and the Escola dels Bells Oficis (Barcelona, 1914), as it shown by Masip (2000). However, we cannot provide documentation of the relationship between these organizations and the 'Art Públic' movement. In any case, it could be emphasised the role that the Garden City movement may have in this articulation.

[8] "The Social Museum founded in 1894, but more firmly rooted earlier in the social economy section of the 1889 Universal Exhibition in Paris, the Musée Social was a republican think-tank that brought together reformers from diverse social, political and ideological backgrounds. As such, it represented the vibrant parapolitical sphere that helped to shape the debate on social welfare. The Musée Social operated not only as an institution for social research, but it also maintained an immense library, published reports and studies; hosted public lectures on diverse topics, and provided consultation services for those interested in sponsoring reform programmes in their own companies or creating new self-help associations like mutual aid societies." (Beaudoin, 2003) " Beaudoin adds, "In fact, the Musée Social's reputation for expertise in social welfare and vigorous debate on all facets of the social question was enshrined in its unofficial title, "the antechamber of the Chamber". Virtually every piece of social legislation proposed between 1895 and 1920 had received ample scrutiny at the Musée before being presented to French legislators. Even the deputé Cornudet admitted that the 1919 urban planning law that bears his name was drafted within the halls of the Musée social because of its focus on public hygiene".

Hygiene. Later, in 1910, several members of this Section attend the International Conference on Town Planning (London) and participated in the international competition for the Gross Berlin. Soon after, they created the French Society of Architects and Planners(SFAU).[9] Members of this Section developed urban studies and projects for French cities but also for various European and American cities, building relations with the British, American and European town planners. As would happen later with the Social Museum of Barcelona (1909), the members of this Section were vividly influenced by the proposals of Ebenezer Howard, Parker and Unwin concerning the garden city, but, also, by the Belgian idea of Art Públic.

A clear example of this would be what Barcelona faced, on the one hand, with the problem of interior reform of the historic area and, on the other, the expansion of the city on a metropolitan scale. Referring to the reform, Puig i Cadafalch, one of the biggest critics of Cerdà and later president of the Commonwealth of Catalonia stated, "We must study the reform from an artistic point of view [...] It is necessary to do what Buls made in Brussels with the Grand Place: not to destroy, but to rebuild, returning things to their primitive beauty". (Puig, 1900-1901) Meanwhile, in 1903, the City Council launched a call for an "International Competition of preliminary drafts for linking the Eixample area of Barcelona, the aggregated towns and the rest of the municipalities of Sarria and Horta". Leon Jaussely, prominent representative of the French Art Públic stream, won this competition (Fiol, 2008).

The Social Museum through its Department of Rural and Urban Hygiene, fostered the creation, in 1917, of the Ecole d'Art Public. An initiative by Marcel Poëte, who in 1904 had founded the Bibliothèque des Travaux Historiques in Paris. This school published the magazine *L'Art Public*. Louis Bonnier noted the first issue of the magazine highlights the multidisciplinary perspective of the school, possibly inspired by its counterpart in Liverpool.[10] In 1919, following the creation of the French Society of Town Planners, the Ecole d'Art Public would become the School of Urban Studies and, some years later, in 1924, the Institute of Urban Planning at the University of Paris.

The different ideas about *Art Públic – Civic Art – Civic Design* try to include, also, social justice and the necessary *attractiveness* of cities for tourism. Although much of the literature does not recognize it appropriately, the ideas developed in Europe were

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[9] With the participation of personages like Agache, Auburtin, Bérard, Hébrard, Forestier, Jaussely, Parenty Prost and Redont; Eugène Hénard being its chairperson.

[10] In 1909, William Lever, the sponsor of the industrial garden suburb at Port Sunlight near Liverpool, established a Department of Civic Design at Liverpool University in order to train already qualified architects, surveyors and engineers in the new discipline of town planning and set up The Town Planning Review, under the editorship of the young Patrick Abercrombie.

those that would lead to the emergence of Municipal Art in the United States, as we can appreciate in this 1900 release:

> The forthcoming Second International Congress of Public Art, to be held in Paris during August, naturally draws attention once more to the important matter of municipal art, which has been the subject of so much discussion in the American press of late. Though Municipal Art is still in its infancy, there is good reason to believe that the movement in favour of more aesthetic surroundings in American cities will become very general. It is more particularly toward Belgium that one should turn for object lessons in contemporary public art. (De W. B.C, 1900)

Burnham (1909) himself would recognize these European influences, at the time the City Beautiful movement was to take-off. Interestingly, while planners in the US look back to Europe for the development of both cities and architectural styles, the opposite happens regarding parks.[11]

> In parks and park development America has little to learn from across the sea. Perhaps this is because it has had to begin at the beginning and in a few years do everything, while in the countries of ancient cities many a park is a growth of centuries and many a lovely urban pleasure ground is crown property that owes most of its charm merely to having been left alone for generations. (Robinson, Ch. Mulford, 1904)

References to Central Park Olmsted-Vaux, New York, 1858, as well as subsequent developments in Boston, Chicago and other cities, and to the "parkways" of US cities, frequently appear in European literature of the time (Ford, 1920). Thus, in his comparative study of parks and parkways, Forestier presents the American method of long-term planning (Imbert, 1997), the recovery in extremis of reservoirs and regional green areas, and the landscape radial systems, as a model for the expansion of Paris.[12]

> Despite the land acquisition difficulties, all US cities do the same and their example was followed in Germany [...] From 1902, 1903 and 1904, the Chicago Parks Commission began the achievement of its system of parks. It was decided, in 1903, to appoint a commission to create an outer belt of parks and avenues and, in 1904, the Commission stated that it was essential to establish

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[11] The City Parks Association was chartered on May 24, 1888 for "the establishment and maintenance of public parks and open spaces throughout the City of Philadelphia." In 1900 several groups joined to form the American League for Civic Improvement, and four years later this group became the American Civic Association

[12] Also for Seville, Lisbon, Havana and Buenos Aires. Forestier had a crucial role in the development of the park system in Barcelona which, subsequent to his projects, were developed by his protegée NM Rubio i Tudurí (1926) and largely constitute the current system of city Parks. (Fiol, 2008)

numerous recreational areas in the different neighbourhoods and get to work immediately, without regard in any way to the figure of the expense.

It should be noted as interesting detail that the study of the parks and playgrounds of Chicago was started in 1899 by a small organization of citizens, known as the Municipal Science Club. In 1903, the municipality allocated 32 million francs to the creation of new parks, two hundred hectares, preferably in populous neighbourhoods. The first idea of a park system was issued in 1891 in Boston. (Forestier, 1905)

The concept of Art Públic[13] used in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, included aspects that after the third decade of the twentieth century would give rise to autonomous disciplines: (1) the body of knowledge related to Conservation and Restoration (Charter of Athens, 1931); (2) the body of knowledge that would receive the name of Urbanism (from the initial Town and Country Planning Association 1899 under the influence of the Garden Cities movement, the CIAM and the Athens Charter, the Social Museum and Société Française des Urbanistes be constituted 1933); and (3) the disciplinary area called Art Education.

In short, and in a broader perspective, aestheticizing the city is the articulation of certain measures (e.g. control of ugliness of advertising) but mainly involves the introduction of public policies, usually municipal, able to articulate and promote the improvement of the physical appearance of the city alongside the preservation of its heritage and the aesthetic education of citizens. "A new dream and a new hope. Within these is the impulse to civic art. Cities grow in splendour. There are new standards of beauty and dignity for towns." (Robinson, 1904) Before the First World War, several cities on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond, initiated major processes of beautification based on different principles of *l'Art Public – Civic Art – Civic Design*.

In general, then, it may be said that while the French or classical theory results in monumental effects for a city and establishes unity, the German preserves for an old city a homelike feeling and a pleasing variety. It is worthy of note, however, that the town planning has been undertaken by masters, whether in France or Germany, the two theories have been used as circumstances warranted [...] The magnitude of the movement of town planning in Germany is so great

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[13] The initial principles of 'Art Públic' differ from the current concept of Public Art. Indeed, as noted in Broerman (1910), "the undertaking we made, theoretically solved the renaissance of the arts of life in the new production of public wealth [...] And those ends, determinants of our propaganda, are those of the 9th Congress: (1) Defence art sites and heritage; (2) The artistic evolution of cities; (3) The aesthetic culture"." (Broerman, 1910). Through the l'Oeuvre Belge d'Art Public (Broerman, 1898; Abreu, 2006). An analysis of the work related to the International Congresses of Art Públic organized by the Oeuvre Belge, allows us to define what was the underlying idea, not just limited to European cities (Bohl -Lejeune, 2009, Monclús, 1995; Crouch, 2002) but with a great impact on the North-American cities (De W., BC, 1900; Robinson, 1904; Hegemann-Peets, 1922)

that literally hundreds of cities are now proposing schemes of systematic extension and development; and a school of town planners has grown up within the past 25 years, with such men as Gurlitt, Stüben, Theodor Fisher and Baumeister among its masters. A well-edited magazine, *Der Städtebau* (City Planning) is published, and 1903 the first German Municipal Exposition was held in Dresden. (Burnham & Bennett,1909)

>> War, Revolutions and New Languages. The Need of Remembrance

Far and wide in Europe, the horrors of the First World War produced the emergence of a new kind of monumentality centred on the Unknown Soldier – anonymous, but representative of all those who had fallen. A representation, breaking with the tradition of the nineteenth century, depicting the collective through concepts like Nation, People and Country. Now, a form representing all in these new monuments to the fallen sons.

Already in 1919, Vladimir Tatlin had explored the topic in his "Monument to the Third International", a monument to thousands of anonymous people who made the European and Soviet Revolutions. Conceived as mirroring the Eiffel Tower, the great nineteenth-century monument to the triumphant bourgeoisie, Tatlin used the construction and technology of iron to trigger a commemoration no longer supported in the personage or portrait. Meanwhile, Walter Gropius with his monument to the fallen of March in Weimar (1921), or Mies van der Rohe with the monument [14] to Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknetcht (Berlin 1926), explore the possibilities of commemoration using constructions and abstractions, explicitly giving up the iconic force of the portrait.

>> Flâneurs and Tourism. An Excursus

In the nineteenth century, we witnessed an increase in what Veblen (1899) calls the "*leisure class*" and what Baudelaire (1859-1863) labelled with the terms "man of the world", "dandy" and "flâneur". "Baudelaire issued his manifesto for the visual arts (and a century before Benjamin attempted to unravel the myths of modernity in his unfinished *Paris Arcades* project). Balzac had already placed the myths of modernity under the microscope and used the figure of the *flâneur* to do it. In addition, Paris – a capital city being shaped by bourgeois power into a city of capital – was at the centre of his world." (Harvey, 2003). This increase comes from the growth of economic activity since industrialization, economic internationalization and the development of

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[14] This type of non-mimetic monuments, posed in advance some of the assumptions that R. Krauss (1983) would point out regarding the expanded field of sculpture. About this concept and its significance for Public Art see Leal, J (2010), Brea, JL (1996), Remesar, A (1997), Maderuelo (1994).

transport systems (rail, shipping, etc.) and generates a new social interest, which comes to replace the *Grand Tour* of previous ages: tourism. The gradual emergence of a class with available leisure time and economic resources, in parallel with a set of related activities oriented to knowing the whole world (explorations, for example), suggested that the world could be known in just one place, the site of an International Exhibition. "And that we will see now, as if we had it in front of our eyes. We are going to the Exhibition; all the human races are doing this visit. We will see in the same garden trees of all the peoples of the Earth", wrote José Martí, the Apostle of Cuban freedom and editor of *The Golden Age*, in exile in New York in 1889.

 Since its inception in London (*Great Exhibition*, 1851), one after another have followed until now. The BIE (Bureau of International Expositions) estimates that between 1851 (London) and 1900 (Paris) the total number of visitors exceeded 188 million people, not counting the huge amount of people who travelled to international, regional or local fairs. This tourism, increasingly massive, needs material solutions for lodging and transportation. A little known but extremely interesting example is the Hotel International that Domènech i Montaner built for the International Exhibition in Barcelona of 1888. Using the constructive rationality that cast iron offered, in 60 days Domènech built the hotel, with capacity for two thousand guests, with 600 rooms and 30 apartments for large families.

Above all, tourism requires that part of the symbolic capital that Bourdieu (1979) called the objectivized cultural capital: information, guided tours, tourist guides, and involving the prior selection of sites, buildings and landscapes. Which ones? How to select them? Who will choose? Why these choices and not others? Entities emerge, often municipal, engaged in developing tourism in a city or province (in French the *Syndicats d'Inititatives*). Tourism exacerbates the problem between the new and the old. A problem of citizenship, the construction of a new city faces the need to preserve something of its past, its monuments. "A prosperous city must inevitably transform itself to fit the new needs of movement, cleanliness, hygiene and comfort. It cannot, however, neglect the moral and intellectual qualifications of a policed city preserving in its monuments traces of the past, glorious historical, artistic, poetic memories." (Buls, 1893)

Referring to Barcelona, Martorell reports, "Efforts are being made to link the picturesque, hilly and monumental aspects present in the ancient cities, whilst serving hygiene and the current needs of daily traffic and communications. It is a great art with their works, their schools, their teachers and their literature. Names like Stübben, Henrici, Sitte or Buls, are eminent men who have developed this art, primarily in Germany, Austria, Belgium at first, and then in Italy, England and the United-States" (Martorell, 1911) Martorell proclaimed this situation when the works of the Via Layetana in Barcelona started, and attended the invention of the "Gothic Quarter" – one of the tourist destinations in the city. "The Gothic Quarter as we have devised it would be like a precious box that would guard the delicious jewels of Barcelona: the Cathedral and the Palace of the Kings. All streets included in its perimeter should return, not to the primitive state of the historical epoch when they were completed, but to the Catalan Gothic style, thanks to the expert and wise hand of the very best modern architects in Catalonia. The houses' façades, and, if possible, the very houses, should be adapted with maximum purity to Gothic rules, developing, with

appropriate sobriety, a neighbourhood atmosphere, by means of the fantastic resources that have come from old Catalan builders of those times. And a wonderful unity would flourish around that precinct, being like the heart of the city of Barcelona, carefully preserved in a reliquary." (Rucabado, 1911)

Nevertheless, does the Gothic Quarter really exist? From the early 1920s voices against this denomination have arisen, since, from a historical and archaeological perspective, the name the significance does not correspond with its meaning. Why is this name widespread? "It is purely touristic. There is no propaganda abroad, nor a Barcelona sightseeing tour, that does not boast of the 'quartier gothique'. It's like Chinatown, also in Barcelona that some writers made popular after the European war of 1914-1918 and where, certainly, there does not live a single representative of the Celestial Empire, unlike New York and San Francisco in California." (Florensa, 1952)

Tourism, therefore, is one of the roots of concern about the aesthetics of the city. However, proposals for city beautification direct also towards its own citizens. Citizens are increasingly interested in the enhancement of the history of the city – especially in situations where there is a collision of identities. The reasons, on one side the destructive role of the pickaxe producing the new city and, on the other as Riegl says, because the modern spirit revolts against the prisons d'art and shows its opposition to "remove a monument from its legacy environment, to which it is attached organically, and be locked in museums". (Riegl, 1903)

Worldwide, Cicerone Guides were written and published talking about the city, "about everything the city contains of beauty and old, monumental and artistic, historical and artistic". (Bofarull, 1855) These Cicerone Guides sometimes present routes in the city to show off its artistic monuments and, at the same time, describe all the memories and historical facts and folk traditions of the city. Sometimes the Cicerone Guides will be a kind of mix between a current Street Atlas and the City's Facts & Figures Reports. In any case, in the mid-nineteenth century, there is a clear awareness that, "a city like Barcelona, by the continuous increase in population, the progressive development of industry and the commercial movement of the port [...] lacks for a complete work, able to GUIDE people in their businesses and errands, and useful not only to its inhabitants but, also, to the countless strangers who, at all times, enter and exit through the city gateways". (Saurí and Matas, 1849)

Worldwide, the press join the set of actions focused on the analysis of the new city, its beauty, its beautification. What happened in Lisbon at the turn of the century is an eloquent example. In 1892, Candido de Figueiredo published a curious little pamphlet in which, thanks to hypnosis, one gets a glimpse of nineteenth century Lisbon through a jump in time: the narrator lives in the year 3000. Shortly after (1906), Mello de Mattos published in the *Ilustração Portuguesa* a utopia in tribute to Verne. In this utopia, some of the technical advances in construction (e.g. iron towers in Lesseps's style, large bridges and tunnels, etc.) and transport (monorails, the metro, etc.) are treated with humour, since the writing aims to look at the past looking ahead. Also in 1906 in the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, Fialho de Almeida (1906) wrote his "Monumental Lisbon". A satire on the lack of competence of the Municipality and its technicians in trying to achieve a modern and attractive city for visitors. "With a less dirty town and more zealous inhabitants to buff the city,

Lisbon would enter at one blow in the armorial of dizzying capitals where life is deliciously grid with everyday sensations, and only then there would be reason to call the foreigners and attract them because of the scintillation of the beautiful sun that we did not invent, and the beautiful weather." (Fialho de Almeida, 1906) On a more serious note the historian Riberio Christino published from 1911 to 1914, in the *Diario de Noticias*, his "City Aesthetics", a series of writings intended to disseminate the artistic and picturesque aspects of Lisbon, to which the public, absorbed in their troubles, passed by paying no attention. Finally, dated 1925, a work by Fernando Pessoa entitled *What the Tourist Should See*. This was a guidebook articulated as a driving tour around the city and designed for cruise passengers, i.e., for travellers who came in by sea, and included, as a curiosity, a proposed visit to some of the city's suburbs.

Brancusi's work set up the first monuments in which appear a clear paradigm shift from the dominant patterns of representation and portrait. In Târgu-Jiu, 1935, Brancusi develops a specific repertoire of language and uses a park, between the station and the river, to unveil the "Monument to the Victims of World War I". A monument using the themes of the column, the kiss and of pedestals, distinctive of Brancusi's work. He develops a spatial ensemble, instead of the portrait, as a basis for the commemoration using some architectural features, the column and the arch, common in commemorative treatments throughout history. The portrait begins to fade as the dominant language and structures and forms work to assume the commemoration. However, the monument remains a monument. (Remesar, 1997)

Nevertheless, traditional procedures started to give way to new languages.[15] International historiography tends to locate the paradigm shift of the commemorative sculpture after the Second World War, with the dissemination of the horrors of the Holocaust and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, regarding the paradigm shift, a deep and persistent epistemological breakthrough occurs in 1937, during the Spanish civil war. The Pavilion of the Spanish Republic at the International Exhibition in Paris, designed by Josep Ll. Sert and J. Lacasa, is the scenario in which a large number of proposals involving the definitive consolidation of the paradigm of remembrance were devoted to the victims. Picasso, with the famous "Guernica", but also Alberto Sanchez with his "The Spanish People Have a Way Leading to a Star" (surrealist), Alexander Calder with his Almaden's mercury fountain or Julio González with his "Montserrat", not to mention the role of the photomontages by Re-

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[15] Referring to Cubism, Giedion (1941) states: "As did the scientist, the artist became aware that the aesthetic qualities of space are not limited to its infinity, as with the gardens of Versailles. The essence of space, as we understand it today, is in its multifaceted nature and even in the infinite potential of relations it contains. Cubism breaks with the Renaissance perspective and introduces a principle that is closely related to modern life: simultaneity".

nau in the exhibition, introduced a deep change in the conceptual schemes of remembrance. These artists, taking as their reference immediate events that led to considerable changes in the strategies of war – such as the systematic bombing of civilian locations – denounce the horror of war through the explicit relationship of specific situations with concrete representations, exploring the possibility offered by other materials – iron, welding, cement, photography –≠ different from the usual.

In the late 1940s, half the world was plunged into rebuilding war-torn cities. In Japan, after the horror of the atomic bombings in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki, civic areas devoted to "remembering" the horrible event were erected. In Hiroshima, Kenzo Tange designed this area and the "Monument to Peace" in reinforced concrete, offering the possibility of registering the names of all the victims. Isamu Noguchi is also active in the Peace Park in Hiroshima, with a piece of double meaning ("Death and Life") also made of concrete. Both interventions are architectural forms, without iconic reference; they are constructive elements that, for being isolated or for their structural role, have the capacity to commemorate. It is worth noting that the commemoration of the atomic bombings is associated also to a ritual, repeated year after year, i.e., the celebration of a National Remembrance Day with offerings of flowers and lamps launched into the river, at night, to remember and to not forget.

Other cities were completely devastated during World War II. Rotterdam – the main port of Northern Europe–- was destroyed by the Nazi bombings. After the start of the reconstruction of the city, there arose a need to mark the memory of the event by means of a monument. Ossip Zadkine, a French Jewish artist of Russian origin, was commissioned to create it. This monument was widely criticized for its expressive forms. Zadkine fully exploited expressionist figuration. Another special case is the international competition for the "Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner" (1952), promoted under the auspices of the US. This contest, which involved inter alia sculptors of southern European dictatorships, such as Oteiza (Spain) and Jorge Vieira (Portugal), posed the possibility of monuments without the recourse to figuration and realism. In the context of the Cold War, when the Soviet bloc opted for an official art based on Soviet Realism, formal democracies of the Western bloc were seeking new forms of expression – based on abstract expressionism, informality and later minimalism – to channel the social need to deal with complex and socially difficult issues without resorting to traditional languages. Although the British sculptor Greg Butler, with a largely inconsistent proposal, won the competition, the monument never materialized.

The monument to the heroes of the Negev in Beersheba, designed by Dani Karavan (1963-1968) is part of this tradition. The main feature of the monument, heavily

influenced by Noguchi, is the use of reinforced concrete with some "multi-media" dimension. Part of the monument is designed as a wind organ that produces special sounds due to the desert winds.[16] The passage from the paradigm of the hero to that of the victims is increasingly present and in the 1980s, after the cultural revolutions in the Western context, would reach its peak. First, in the US, with the need to commemorate those killed in the Vietnam War, proposing celebration does not become a militaristic act and has to respect the individual and collective grief generated by this war. Maya Lin, a young architect, winning the competition for the monument to the fallen, was to introduce a radical change in monumental conception. The design of the site by studying elevations of the land, creating a great wall of polished granite, passable and writable with the names of all the fallen, creates a new space for remembrance, but also of reflection, and becomes an area of great intimacy.

A space for "writing memories" becomes an essential element in the rescue of those events in history with which a given society has ambivalent and contradictory relationships. Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz explore this paradigm in their monument against Fascism in Hamburg (1986-1993). If the monument by Maya Lin – thanks to the play of reflections and inscriptions – confronted the individual conscience against the horror of war, the Gerz's retractable column introduces the possibility of interaction and the need for systematic registration of the relationship between the monument and citizenship. The purpose of the monument is no longer to remember permanently what happened, but to allow one, from the present, from today, to partake of the causes and reasons that led to one or another holocaust. In this sense, the contemporary work by Horst Hoheisel, "Aschrottbrunnen Fountain", has similar goals. The fountain is rebuilt but is located in a relationship *on abime* – some times called counter-monument – with the urban environment and the potential viewer, trying to force him to traverse time thanks to this space resource. The fountain remains a fountain; but it is another fountain with its roots in a past that we cannot and must not forget. Hans Haacke conducted a similar exercise, albeit temporary, in the "Fountain of the Virgin" in Graz, rescuing the memory of the site and playing critically some of the historical events associated with this site. A scripture which can also be performed by the play of forms, as in the *Triumph of the Human Spirit* by Lorenzo Pace in New York (1999), a monument erected on an ossuary of African slaves that uses the forms of Bamana ethnicity as an element of connection with the past.

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[16] However, this monument starts a new situation: the confrontation between the inhabitants of a given territory monumentalised by the victorious and stronger party (in this case Israel).

The work by Jochen Gerz, "2146 Stones – Monument against Racism" in Saarbrucken (1990-1993), introduces a new factor in the possibility of treatment of memory. The paradigm shift, the epistemological cuts introduced since the 1930s, involve the disappearance of the normal procedures of sculpture – figuration – but also of the constructions, by consolidating the treatment of space using procedures common to architecture or to landscaping. Gerz's work shows us another chance to operate with memories using a portion of the territory that is usually not well considered: the ground paving. Some 2146 stones represent 2146 names, recalling so many people and at the same time, they remind one of the founding myths of the human race: the myth of Deucalion and Pyrrha.[17] This kind of work on the ground, but linked with the ecological memory of the territory, is present in some of the actions by Joseph Beuys, such as planting "7,000 oaks" with various pieces of basalt during the 1982 Documenta in Kasel.

>> How Remembrance is Present in Urban Regeneration Processes

The languages of the historical avant-garde, now consolidated in the international art market, start to appear in various building programmes, including the UN buildings in New York (1950) and the UNESCO building in Paris (1952-1958), containing works by Picasso, Arp, Miro, Calder, Moore and Noguchi. These programmes are based on Sert and Giedion's[18] (CIAM 8-1951) writings and, in addition, with the proposal by Gropius for the Harvard Graduate School (1950) project in which artists like Albers, Arp, Bayer, Lippold and Miró collaborated. They give way, both to government programmes such as Art-in-Architecture launched by the Kennedy administration in 1963 and managed by the GSA (General Services Administration), or the Art-in-Public-Services 1965

[17] In Greek mythology, Deucalion (Greek Δευκαλίων) was the son of Prometheus, and reigned in the regions of Pythia. His wife was Pyrrha, daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora. When Zeus decided to end the Bronze Age with the great deluge, Deucalion, on the advice of Prometheus, he built an ark and embarked with Pyrrha. Similar to the biblical Noah story. Zeus brought down from heaven heavy rain and flooded most of Hellas, so that all men perished except a few who took refuge in the peaks of the nearby mountains. After nine days and nine nights navigating until the end the flood, the couple returned to the mainland and Deucalion decided to consult the oracle of Delphi, assisted by Themis, on how to repopulate the earth. He said he threw the bones of his mother over his shoulder. Deucalion and Pyrrha understood that "mother" was Gea, the mother of all living beings, and that the "bones" were the rocks. So they threw stones over their shoulders and they became people: those of Pyrrha in women and those of Deucalion, in men.

[18] J. L. Sert, in relation to the mutual understanding among architecture, sculpture and painting, explains: "No matter how beautiful structure alone may be, should we forget that flesh and skin can be added to the bones? The need for the superfluous is so old as humankind. (...) A reuniting of the plastic arts will enrich the architectural language, and this collaboration will help architecture itself develop greater plastic value -a more sculptural quality" (Sert, 1952)

programme, managed by the NEA (National Endowment for the Arts). Based on the application of 1% for art investment and the support of local institutions,[19] like in Chicago with the installation of a large sculpture by Picasso (1967).

This is the dominant time-line to explain the emergence of public art, assuming that the category is a new one, emerging in the US in the 1960s, in order to explain the policy of the central government and municipalities, consisting of introducing contemporary art in public space and in the context of the first downtown renewal. All of this within the framework of the Cold War: "public art" opposes "the official art of the Soviet realism" and represents the ability of capitalism to express an ideology of freedom of expression and modernity. We find public art in both the territorial planning processes and infrastructure planning; in urban renewal projects and strategic plans for the city, not forgetting that in Europe, reconstruction programmes for the city also encompassed public art programmes. Let us recall some interventions by Moore and Hepworth in London or in some of the British "new towns". The famous sculpture by Naum Gabo in front of De Bijenkorf in Rotterdam (1957) or, in the context of dictatorship, the program of Parks and Gardens in Barcelona that introduces abstraction in the gray streets of the city, with the organicist work by Subirachs (1958) and the late monument to Cerdà by Manuel Riera Crivillé (1959)[20]. We must not forget to mention the fantastic project by Carlos Raúl Villanueva for the University City of Caracas, 1942-1960, a great example of the idea of "integration of the arts" and which included the participation of renowned artists such as Arp, Calder, Lam, Léger, Pevsner, Vassarely, and so on. All these public policies give way to the possibility that various "-isms" can access public space and, thus, to State and local grants for the execution of work within the programmes aimed at enhancing public art within regeneration schemes or urban regeneration (Remesar-Nunes da Silva, 2011; Remesar, 2011; Remesar, 2012). We cannot summarize here the evolution of public art (Causey, 1998; Curtis, 1999; Hopkins, 1999; Meecham & Sheldon, 2000; Ricart-Remesar, 2010), however, we would like to emphasise that within the practice of sculpture in the expanded field, the monument begins to lose protagonism and, to preserve the memory of our own memory, there are an increasing number of artistic proposals for memorials.

Beyond concrete achievements, we consider Public Art (public@rt) as a *theoretical construct*[21] that tries to explain (to study, analyse) a group of practices that share:

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[19] To better understand these processes refer Blanca Fernández Quesada (2005)

[20] For more knowledge of the period (1950-1960) in Barcelona, see De Lecea, I. Remesar, A. Grandas, C (2004-2014), especially my comments on the paper by Riera Crivillé devoted to Cerdà.

[21] A theoretical construct is a hypothetical construct, difficult to define in the context of the theory, which allows

1. Interventions in **public space** with a largely symbolic / aesthetic purpose.
2. Interventions in **public space** with an intention to leave remembrance "foot-prints".
3. Interventions in the **public sphere** with a fundamentally critical purpose.
4. Re-appropriations of the inherent **elements of public space**, transcending their utilitarian function and replacing it with a symbolic / aesthetic function or a remembrance function.

In other words, the concept of public art is a polyedric term whose meaning reflects the diversity of resources allocated in the many interventions that inhabit our streets.

	19th C – today	1919 – present	1937 – present
What is?	Hero, individual or national	Collective Hero Unknown Soldier Fallen Social groups	Victims The City Different holocausts
Representation procedure	Portrait + allegory	Portrait Construction	Expressive allegory Construction Writing
Material pratices (towards the expanded field of Krauss)	Stone + Bronze	Landscape + Stone + Bronze + Concrete + Metal + Brick + Photography + (etc.)	Landscape + Stone + Bronze + Cement Concrete + Metal + Brick + New Materials Continuous recording of action or memories Natural materials Nature

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one to understand, to know and to interpret the concepts that make up a possible theory, showing the reality of the research problem and not the source (data, works) from which the problem is posed. Bunge (1973) defines it as a non-observational concept instead of observational or empirical, since the constructs are not empirical, i.e., cannot be proven. These concepts are not directly manipulable but are inferable through behaviour. A construct is a non-tangible phenomenon that, through a particular categorization process, becomes a variable that can be measured and studied.

>> Ornament and Monument

As already noted (Brea, 1996; Remesar, 1997, Vattimo, 1986), one of the problems the concept of public art raises, is its role in the ornament / monument dialectics. As is well known, one of the criticisms about public art is that it is ornamental, for reasons covered by a negative meaning of ornament arising from Loos criticism.[22] However, we can understand this relationship from a dynamic perspective, which allows us to establish a dialectical relationship between ornament and monuments.

In the terms of Field Theory, the "background" would be that which receives / collects the individualized "figure" that stands out from the background. In turn, the monument is the element whose function is "to symbolically upload public space", be because it has "an apparent aesthetic value", or shows "an increase in the compositional value"; or, finally, adds "memory value" or "identity value".

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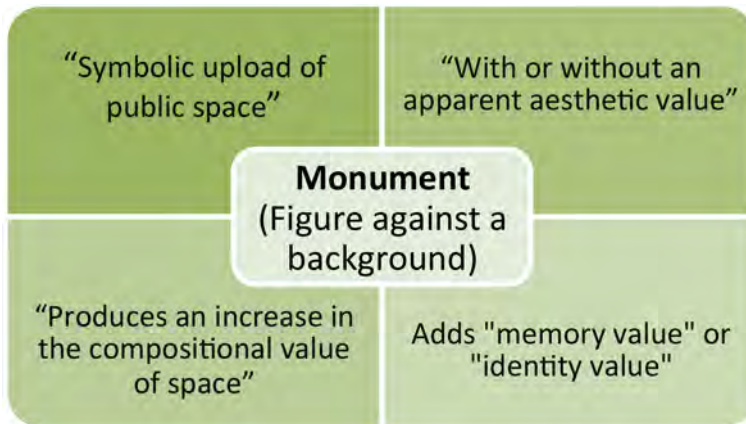
[22] Adolf Loos stated in his influential work *Ornament and Crime* (1908) that "cultural evolution is equivalent to the elimination of ornament in the common object". Although during the nineteenth century "style, meant ornament" and "the ornamental epidemic is recognized and state-subsidized with government money […] Soon the streets of the cities will shine forth as white walls. Like Zion, the holy city, the capital of heaven". A less known aspect of the work by Loos refers to the other dimension of decorum introduced in the early twentieth century: the social one linked with industrialization. "The work of an ornamentist is no longer payable as it should. The ornamentist has to work twenty hours to achieve the same income of a modern worker who works eight hours". Generally, the ornamented object is more expensive, however, "the paradox is that an ornamental piece with the same material cost as that of a smooth object and that needed triple hours for its realization, when it is sold is paid the half of the other". The lack of ornament results in a reduction in working hours and a salary increase. In current terminology, reducing ornament increases productivity and contributes to social equity.

We can consider that public space is the support for Public Art, and in terms by Vattimo[23] (1986), built Public Space is "ornament", being the background where the "figure" (monument) has its presence. It is important to highlight that the relationship between figure and background, between monument and ornament is a relative one. Depending on some factors (perceptual, constructive, of use, of knowledge, etc.) the same work can be monument (figure), for someone and for some times, ornament (background) for others and other times. "There is an art to look at, an art to which attention is paid, and other art, the decorative, subject only to a lateral attention." (Michaud, 1982)

Public Space is divided into three planes: the horizontal, the vertical and the plain of the air. The horizontal plane is the ground; "the various types of closures of space" form the vertical plane. Finally, the plane of the air is the void between the other two planes. The Monument, regardless of its form and materiality, is a symbolic figure full of a static and permanent will. All the plains of Public Space receive works of art, but not all the planes have the same capacity to make the figure, the monument, stand out. There are many constraints. Some depending on the compositional register of the plane. Others depending of the perceptual / behavioural relationship between the observer and the plane.

The dynamic relationship between figure / background – between monument and ornament – along with the social use of public space, allows a possible transition and exchange between the "monument" value and "ornament" value attachable to a work of art. Moreover, the ornament, more mobile, fluid and dynamic, shows these conditions: some static (scenery), others dynamic (choreography). Therefore, ornamental elements can acquire monumental value and vice versa. When can elements initially "monument" change to an ornamental nature? When these elements are not able to maintain and transmit their symbolic values, or when, for reasons of composition, the monument is not able to display a figural value (colour, size, condition, etc.).

[23] "The monument is certainly built to last, but not as a full presence of what we remember, that remains precisely only as memories [...] It can also be understood in the sense of architectural monument that contributes to shaping the background of our experience though in itself the work, usually, is the subject of a distracted perception but not in the sense yet emphatic, metaphysical, that conforms the ornament." (Vattimo, 1986)

> PART II. Monuments and Memorials

>> On Monuments, Memorials, Semantic Errors & Cultural Domination

Monument	Memorial
(lat. monumentum). m. Public and patent work, like a statue, an inscription or a grave, placed in memory of a heroic or otherwise singular action	(lat. memoriālis). Book or notebook in which something is recorded or written for a purpose.

There is confusion between monument and memorial, arising from the uncritical use of concepts. In 1967, Robert Smithson, created his Monuments of Passaic, a small town where he lived for some years and revisited after its industrial decline. Smithson created a discourse on memories based on photographs. A discourse that would mean a significant change in the paradigms of sculptural work. Smithson, together with Morris and other artists of the Earthworks movement, introduced the concept of Reclamation Art, i.e., of artistic intervention in out of use quarries and industrial facilities, which should be preserved as a symbol of the territory; but also as a symbol of social communities owing their existence and evolution to these large industrial artefacts. In other words, on one hand the "document" (photographic, written, video and audio recordings, etc.) can become a work of art. Large industrial artefacts (quarries, asphalt plants, salt works, deserts, and so on), should be preserved as a symbol of the social, economic or environmental past of certain communities, sometimes without further artistic intervention than the artist's decision to work for the preservation of this heritage / memory material. We do not need to produce art objects, we only decide on the historical value of a given territory, and through an artistic gaze, we document it, and we "freeze" it as it is, without changes in the space-time continuum. Nor need we resort to the normal procedures for creation.

> The logic of the space of postmodernist practice is no longer organized around the definition of a given medium on the grounds of its material, or, for that matter, the perception of material. It is organized instead through the universe of terms that are felt to be in opposition within a cultural situation [...] It follows, then, that within any of the positions generated by the given logical space, many different mediums might be employed. (Krauss, 1983)

The following tables summarize the "position" of the monument and ornament in relation to the three planes of Public Space.

ORNAMENT		MONUMENT
	Losing utility Identity & appropriation "time" is gone and still there Heritage effect	
ORNAMENT		MONUMENT
	Because urban composition ⟵ Symbolic load loss	Permanent or temporary trivialization Museum = artwork / historical document

MONUMENT = "symbolic" quality of public space. STATIC AND PERMANENT DIMENSIONS ⟶		
Vertical plane	Advocation	Chapels, patron saints in the city walls
	Commemoration	Commemorative plaques, reliefs, facade sculptures, the facade itself as a work of art, murals, painted panels
	"Environmental" monuments	Special lighting treatment
Horizontal plane	Advocation	Paradigm "Holy Christ in Rio de Janeiro", but also civil
	Commemoration	To commemorate
	"Environmental" monuments	Improving the urban environment, almost all contemporary art falls into this category
Air plane	Symbolic perspectives	Visual axis, visual cleanliness, lighting, etc.

ORNAMENT = quality of public space. TEMPORAL AND DYNAMICS DIMENSION		
Vertical plane	Scenery	e.g. Building fences programme, sets, special lighting Advertising Ephemeral art interventions or Urban Art
	Choreography	Street Actions Performances Ephemeral art works
Horizontal plane	Scenery	Temporary changes in the environment due to various events, from an artisan fair to a half marathon Ephemeral art interventions
	Choreography	The demonstration The daily movement Street Actions Ephemeral art interventions
Air plane	Scenery	e.g. Placing lights for celebrations Special banners Ephemeral art interventions
	Choreography	Special lighting for celebrations Ephemeral art interventions

Mapping, records, enter into the art scene. By not relying on the production of the object, the artist is also released from his or her work environment (the studio) and will go out, camera in han – active with the video; the tape recorder strapped to their back – to plunge into the real life of the street or of Nature. He or she will interact with others and even, as an activist, will be involved in processes of popular claims. Artist as ethnographer, artist as sociologist, artist as anthropologist, even artist as journalist. Moreover, organizing actions, performances, protests, whose exhibition place is the Archive.[24] *Process – Record – Data*. Recording as a working system, of both the "memory"[25] of the process, and the "memories" that constitute the content of the work. Recording – Archiving starts replacing the monument.

[24] As the museum-archive system expands, some authors propose important terminology changes. So Young proposes replacing the concept of "'collective memory'" with that of "'collected memory'." If societies remember, it is only insofar as their institutions and rituals organize, shape, and even inspire the constituents' memories. "For a society's memory cannot exist outside of those people who do the remembering – even if such memory happens to be at the society's bidding, in its name [...] the many discrete memories gathered into common memorial space and assigned common meaning. A society's memory, in this context, might be regarded as an aggregate collection of its members' memory, often competing memòries." (Young, 1993)

[25] In current terms, we would call this "traceability".

Beck (1986) defines risk, a distinctive form of our society, as a systematic way to handle uncertainties and random events induced and introduced by the modernization of society. Our society operates inefficiently with risks from Nature (disasters) and from society in health (AIDS, Ebola, etc.), or industrial / environmental terms (toxic spills, global warming, etc.). However, we also want to highlight the poor treatment of the risk called "terrorism", increasingly present and bloody. A risk that is often demonized and that, in earlier times, we have been able to control and manage, through the exorcism of the monument. Planting gardens to remember the victims of AIDS, converting ruins caused by terrorist acts into monuments, writing and sharing our thoughts against "terrorism", or even devoting a space in the city in memory of the dogs that have perished in rescue missions (New York), are some of the actions that we can appreciate. To manage risk, as with other aspects of memory, requires asking for the modes, ways and forms of expression. The road started traumatically with 9/11, but possibly sculptural forms, proposals for monuments, are not the suitable ways for generating this memory space devoted to risk management. According to R. Debray: "The monument, because it catches the time in the space and traps the fluid through the solid is the supreme skill of the only mammal capable of producing a story." (R. Debray, 1989: 28). To which Merzeau added, in the same issue of Cahiers de la Mediologie:

> The monumentary economy is therefore that of a memory-stone, which erects and maintains, contextually. The document calls on the contrary to the logic for updating and for reproducibility. Its value is indexed to time, but in an inverse relationship: the more it moves away from the event or the object to which it refers, the more it loses authenticity or reliability. To last forever, it must be periodically updated by correcting, deleting or adding data. The document notes of a memory-stream that classes and recycles by decontextualizing. [...]
>
> If monument has the role of maintaining present the absent, the document has, rather, the effect of missing its referent. As recalled by Michel de Certeau, the simple act of copying, transcribing or photographing an object removes it from the ordinary use to constitute the one-piece coming to fill a set posed a priori. It is this DE-contextualization of memory which gives the document its operational value. The topographic survey, as the tour guide, have meaning because they can circulate far from the location they designate, by enrolling in the eigenspace of archeology or of tourism. (Merzeau, 1989)

Debray distinguishes three types of monuments: the Monument-Message, the Monument-Form and the Monument-Trace. The **Monument-Message** "refers to a past event, real or mythical. It begins at the funeral marble (cippus, obelisk, funereal recess, chapel) and culminates in the commemorative or votive monument". More vulnerable than others to weather but, especially, to vendettas, vandalism or planned de-

struction, it is placed elevated and fenced. "What characterizes it is not the artistic value (there are "tomboramas" and monuments in series) nor its antique value." The **Monument-Form** is the heir of the castle and the church. It may be a courthouse, a train station, a central post office building, a fountain, a sculpture, and so on, simplifying the traditional historical monument. "Be it an architectural fact, civil or religious, ancient or contemporary, that stands out for its intrinsic qualities of aesthetics or ornamental order, regardless of its utilitarian functions or witness value." In this category, we can include parks and gardens, promenades and esplanades. It plays host to the substantively of what is monumental. The **Monument-Trace** "is a document without ethic or aesthetic motivation. Unintentional, it is not made for people to remember it but to be useful, and does not claim the status of original or aesthetic work". It may be a street, a hut without architectural interest but in which some kind of memories are stored (Debay, 1989). The monument (message, form or trace) engages the group's memory by invocation, identification and anticipation. It produces community, designating it as the adhesion and projecting power through shared rituals and affects. Made of marble, stone, bronze, they are not intended to congeal the past, but to move and to thrill bodies who feel their cohesion through its mediation. (Merzeau, 1989)

Lefebvre (1971) noted the contradictions inherent in the monument. He defends it in that "it projects onto the ground a worldview and one transcendence, a beyond"; but he rejects it because when "organizing a space it colonizes and oppresses its environment", [and] "full of symbols offers them for contemplation (passive) and social consciousness when they are outdated and having lost their significance". So, the monument "cannot be reduced to a language or discourse or to the categories and concepts developed for the study of language. The case of spatial working (monument, architecture) has reached a complexity different to that of the text, in prose or poetry. **It is** […] **texture and not a text**. A texture, we know that usually consists of a large enough space covered by networks and plots, where the monuments are its strong points, the fixing points of suture; the acts of social practice, that can be said but that cannot be explained by the discourse: they act and are not read". (Lefebvre, 1974)

Moreover, as Merzeau points out, the document launches a different memorial process. If it is an inscription, its relationship with the referent has the advantage of establishing an analogue connection with its referent (the statue). However, other kinds of monuments (documents), "the notice, the sketch, the plan, aerial photography or radiography have, more than of meaning, a descriptive relationship with their object. To varying degrees, they all tend towards the model of metonymy, occurring as a part of all that they designate". (Merzeau, 1989) We are in a time when the redistribution of roles between the monument and the document may lead to rediscover the true stakes

of the economy of traces. "If the documentary description cannot be considered an alternative to the gesture of monumental writing, it probably deserves today to rekindle the desire and sense: when the monument loses its message function, the document can, if not resurrect it, at least [serve] to question it." (Merzeau, 1989).

However, this redistribution cannot be based on a semantic misunderstanding. Monument and memorial are not the same thing. The monument has demonstrated its willingness to mark and signal its territory, its site is the space (public space) and its function, textural. By contrast – in the Latin sense – the memorial operates over time, documenting the past. Its site is the archive and textual its function. Thus, when we use the term memorial when referring to a monument, we introduce a significant confusion reflected in the material practices of monumentality based on memory, especially historical memory. The archive, as a textual device, is an instrument of knowledge and rationality and it is not able to gather socially nor to channel emotions.

The semantic slippage between monument (texture) and memorial (text, discourse) occurs for several reasons. First, the art world has renounced the monument as a form of artistic embodiment and, as we have seen, is plunged into an "expansion" of its media, from various specific fields but presented unitarily (artistic field). When we define a work by its epistemological "negativity" – for example a sculpture that is not sculpture in its traditional meaning – or by the will of transmitting, posting abime, mapping, archiving (collecting) or criticizing discourses, we easily slide from the scope of physical materiality (texture) to discursive organization (text); from monument to memorial. Secondly, we attend a semantic shift between English – the dominant language of the mainstream – and the rest of languages, since English uses monument and memorial interchangeably.

	MONUMENT	MEMORIAL
Merriam-Webster	a building, statue, etc., that honours a person or event	something (such as a monument or ceremony) that honours a person who has died or serves as a reminder of an event in which many people died
Oxford	A statue, building, or other structure erected to commemorate a notable person or event	A statue or structure established to remind people of a person or event

	MONUMENT	MEMORIAL
RAE	Obra pública y patente, en memoria de alguien o de algo. Construcción que posee valor artístico, arqueológico, histórico, etc.	Libro o cuaderno en que se apunta o anota algo para un fin. Papel o escrito en que se pide una merced o gracia, alegando los méritos o motivos en que se funda la solicitud
Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana (IEC)	Obra edificada per perpetuar el record d'una persona o d'una cosa memorables. Alçar, erigir, un monument Edifici notable, per motius històrics o artístics. Els monuments d'una ciutat són les esglésies, els palaus, les estàtues, etc. Monuments històrics. Conservació de monuments	Registre on són consignades les coses a recordar. Recull de documents d'importància històrica i política, amb l'objecte d'il·lustrar i recordar esdeveniments importants Recull de memòries relatives a la vida i a l'activitat d'un personatge il·lustre Escrit en què es demana una gràcia al·legant els mèrits, els motius, etc., en què es funda la sol·licitud.
Corriere della Sera	Opera scultorea o architettonica, di rilievo storico e perlopiù di valore artistico, eretta a ricordo, commemorazione di qualche persona o evento: un m. ai partigiani ‖ m. equestre, dedicato a un personaggio che è rappresentato a cavallo	Scritto o nota esplicativa di circostanze e di fatti degni di essere ricordati; insieme di memorie riguardanti la vita e l'attività di un personaggio famoso
Larousse	Ouvrage d'architecture, de sculpture, ou inscription destinés à perpétuer la mémoire d'un homme ou d'un événement remarquable. Ouvrage d'architecture remarquable d'un point de vue esthétique ou historique.	Écrit dans lequel sont consignés certains faits mémorables ; titre donné à des Mémoires
Priberam	Construção ou obra que transmite a recordação de alguém ou de algum factomemorável.	Livro de lembranças. = MEMENTO, MEMORANDO. Escrito em que se chama a atenção para um pedido anterior. Lembrança; nota, apontamento. = MEMENTO, MEMORANDO

>> Memorial Policies

Finally, this shift is due largely to the effect that "memoirist" public policies have had and have on the use of language. Let us clarify one important detail. Historically remembrance / memory policies have been based on:

(1) Some devices – museum, archives and monuments in public space. Museum and archives booting up works and documents from their roots;

(2) Social programming of remembrance (civic, legislative, etc.) – public celebration of memory (e.g. Memorial Days). Celebrations take place around certain objects (usually monuments) and / or on certain sites, spaces or places,[26] and

(3) An idea of social consensus to remember and to celebrate what we "commonly" share.

Until recently, the politics of memory tried to skirt the issue of "social or collective guilt" of large sectors of society. Democratic societies could exorcize this grey space of remembrance displacing it to the scientific disciplinary fields, like that of History. Dictatorships proceed to a systematic process of erasing what should be remembered from the losers / oppressed, both through public eradication of signs or symbols, and through propaganda justification of the atrocities of the winners, as the last resort to address the social and the moral chaos into which losers have plunged a society.[27] They do not exist, while at the same time they are our justification. However, developing a policy of total memory erasure is not easy. It has to deal with too many levels of the public sphere: legislative, uses and customs, documents, urban objects (monuments), urban toponymy,[28] etc. However, it also attempts to effectively influence the private sphere, that of personal memories. Hence the importance of the ideological state apparatus (education, censorship, etc.) in these regimens for suppressing the

[26] As Pierre Nora (1989) states: "The statues and monuments to the dead, for example, owe their existence to their intrinsic meaning; even though its location is far from being arbitrary, [one] could justify its relocation without altering its meaning". By contrast, memory spaces are linked to land sites and are not mobile. They are there and stay there if we project on them a historical memory and we nurture it.

[27] We must remember that Franco's regime based its political memory on the projection of remembrance towards the (racial, real or mythical) glorious past, which, in turn, meant remembrance under the umbrella of a religious crusade. The policy of identification with the past (racial, real or mythical) is found, too, in Nazism, Salazarism or the "'Roman'" fascism of Mussolini.

[28] "In my study, memorial cityscape consists not only of monuments, but also of street names and buildings with symbolic meaning. The importance that the role of street naming and renaming has in the construction of narratives of national and local identity is unquestionable. Traditionally, street names designated the geographical orientations, the ownership of houses in the area, and the occupations of local inhabitants." (Main, 1998)

possibility that memories of the private sphere can reach the public sphere, institutionalizing a state of "generalized fear" at the same time as a strange situation: the guilty do not feel as such (are warranted), and the non-guilty may feel guilty. However, time has shown that this illusion of total control of memory does not exist.

>> The Memorial System

In any case, we are witnessing an institutionalization of remembrance, configuring what we call the Memorial System.
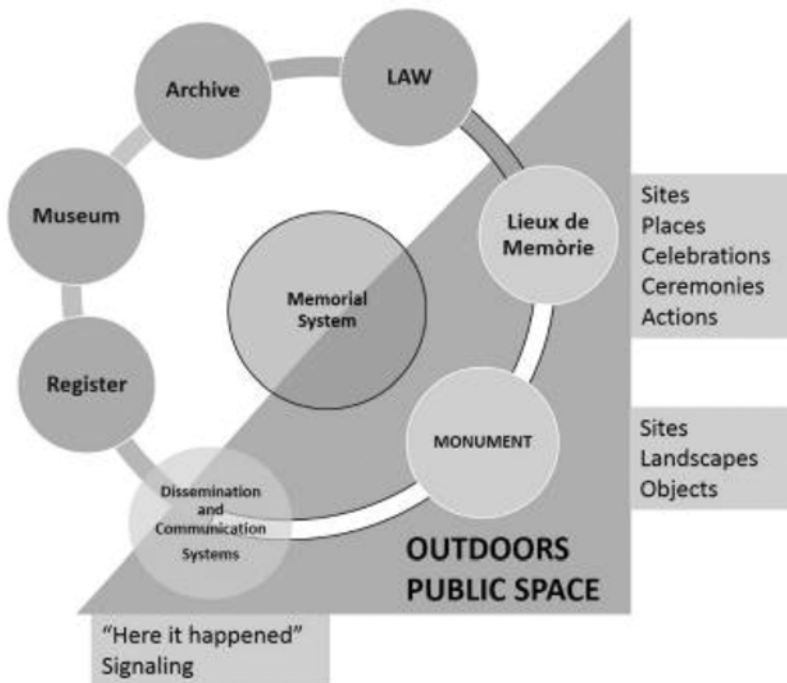
A system in which we can distinguish five areas of action. The first relates to taking steps on remembrance by law, as opposed to the traditional way of taking steps according to custom. The second area relates to the museum-archive device that: (1) collects and organizes the documents arising from legal action; (2) preserves certain territories through its musealization; (3) legitimizes the legal field by these actions, and from this derives (4) transmission of remembrance – "we must not forget",

would be its motto – either through educational activities, but especially projecting the enclosed and opaque space of the archive-museum device onto the citizenship's nearest environment: public space, the territory. Finally, the fifth area is oriented to make good remembrance, either by its physical manifestation in public space – the traditional way would be the monument – or through the ceremonial ritualization (commemoration[29]) of particular sites of public space, called "Remembrance Sites" (Lieux de Memoire). Jordi Guixé (2010), for a time responsible for the area of Heritage, Democratic Memorial of Catalonia states:

> Our Memorial model has created the Network of Memory Spaces in which, thematically and geographically, places and vestiges, tangible and intangible, which refer to a long chronological period (1931-1980) and a plural and diverse democratic memory, are explained, recovered, signalled in a museographic way. These spaces propose three basic objectives: one didactic about our history; another about the recovery and conservation of damaged and forgotten areas, and the third, the work on memory, reflection and knowledge. (Jordi Guixé, 2010)

>> Sites of Memory, Museums, Archives and Urban Heritage

From a practical standpoint, the introduction of the Memorial criteria is an important change in the concept of how to transmit remembrance. For example, in Barcelona, it will affect processes of public space monumentalization started after 1979. (Remesar, A- Ricart; N, 2014)

> When Oriol Bohigas talked about monumentalizing Barcelona's outskirts, the art world was discussing the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington by Maya Lin (1981), the oaks of Joseph Beuys in Documenta 7 (1982), the anti-fascist monument by Jochen and Esther Gerz (1986), and the intervention by Hans Haacke in Benchmarks 38/88 (1988). The first solutions for consolidating public memory coming from the world of contemporary art, a memory that, as an element of identification, has to compete with advertising and that prefers to remember the victims rather than heroes. (Lecea, 2004)

The big problem is that the public policies oriented to insufflate remembrance into space, the so-called memory places, aim to combine history, a temporary relative concept, with memory that Harvey (2009) defined as a relational temporal concept. For Nora (1989), places of memory have their origin "in the feeling that there is no sponta-

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[29] Let us remember some words of Harvey: "The preservation of myth through ritual constitutes a key to understanding the meaning of monuments and, moreover, the implications of the founding of cities and of the transmission of ideas in an urban context." (Harvey, 1990)

neous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, give praise and notarize laws, because these activities are no longer produced naturally".

We must take into consideration that a "memory space" does not emerge out of nothing. As social space, it is a historic construction made by the members of a society. Following Lefebvre (1971, 1974), we can state that memory spaces, as lived spaces, arise from the convergence of the representations of space in a specific point of the territory, and time, "uploading" this site as a space of representation. The problem arises when (1) the territorial space is erased or blurred, and (2) when the territorial space has been absorbed by urban growth. In the first case, as demonstrated by the movement of Reclamation Art, we need a reversion of the situation, much simpler when space is located in sparsely urbanized areas (e.g. a battlefield, a mass grave) or in obsolete industrial areas (quarries, abandoned buildings, etc.). The existence of favourable legislation for these measures is essential to enable the reversal of the situation, obviously, together with the political will to do so. Much more difficult is the urban situation. Legal action (expropriation) cannot always advance. The procedures of symbolization of space are critical in this situation. Back to the relationship between monument and memorial.

The spatial triad conceived by Lefebvre – perceived, conceived and lived space (which in spatial terms can be expressed as the space of practices, the representations of space and the space of representation) – can lose its scope "if it is given the status of an abstract 'model'. On the other hand, it grasps the concrete (as something other than the 'immediate') or, of only limited relevance, an ideological mediation among many others. It is something that tends to prevail: the lived, the conceived and the perceived come together, so that the 'subject', a member of a particular social group, can move from one to another without confusion." (Lefebvre, 1974)

If, to mark the site and to inform – while educating – is the objective of the politics of memory, it is not surprising that signalling, labelling and placarding procedures will be the way to materialize the "memories". Furthermore, if all these spaces are part of a systemic network then signalling, labelling and placarding will be standard. Thus, signage marks (signalling, labelling and placarding) in all areas follow the same graphic language and are subject to the same criteria of materiality.[30] We convey to public space (open site) the form and content of the communication system of the museum combined with the directional signs of the street signalling system. The main ways that historical museums convey information is through written text, images or

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[30] It is not easy signalling different and separate spaces, not associated to a systemic functionality, by means of a unique system. Signalling on public art and its problems may be consulted in Remesar, Nemo et al, 2009.

records. The language of museum texts *actively constructs* meanings across each of the communication frameworks and museums themselves are a kind of "text". (Booth, 2014) Traditionally, the museum labelled its content in order to guide visitors, allowing them to connect the label with the knowledge references inherent to each museum. "There is no inherent reason that one would expect a label where it is not a part of museological convention." (Booth, 2014) The placards are ready to be seen but, also, to be heard, depending on the technology used; a perfect combination of text, image and sound that reproduces the scheme of the new museographic layouts.

Nevertheless, we realise that street and road signs aim to help us in our orientation in space and use simple codes – highly shared – that are quickly perceivable and understandable. Our experience and our confidence in the bodies in charge of installation, and our knowledge about the regulation of many of these "shared codes", allow us to quickly extrapolate that the signs we see are the same throughout the whole system.

We should ask ourselves if the museum communication system is valid for public space. It could be, provided it meets certain conditions. If the space is a self-contained[31] space, a signalling system helps to its demarcation, indicating the boundaries, the entrances, the pathways. In other words, signalling a self-contained space meets the requirements that Lynch (1961) pointed out for a readable environment. The mono-functional qualification of self-contained space, with a single purpose, to which we access for a specific action, allows the expansion of signage into information-educational panels. We are there to do this, to inform ourselves in order to know and, indirectly, to become aware, not so much of space but of what happened in the space. The environment creates the emotional keys, the information system, textual, hits, cognitively, our consciousness.

It is otherwise in the public space, the street, the square or the road. The memorial signalling system collides with other urban information systems. Signs and symbols mix with other symbols and other signs. As drivers or pedestrians, we neither can nor want to stop to "read – see – hear" the contents, provided we have been able to perceive the difference between the memorial signage system and other information systems. An information system competing with other information systems does not appeal to us. Therefore, it is very easy for us to place the memorial system on the periphery of our perception. The memorial system is no longer "figure" but is lost in the noise of urban background[32] and does not allow us "to move from one to another without confusion". (Lefebvre, 1974)

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[31] We understand a self-contained space (public space) as this territory relatively autonomous from the surroundings (we clearly identify it, it has a perimeter that separates it from other spaces) and is mono-functional.

[32] As Gombrich said, "there is an art that is regarded, an art to which attention is paid, and other art, the decorative, that is the subject of only a lateral attention". (Gombrich, 1978)

Museums are custodians of heritage; they are the keepers of memory and identity. (Booth, 2104) What is true is that museums are an important device of the heritage system in our society. Heritage becomes a marker of the identity of a nation, the product and expression of its specificity, of its permanence in history. Heritage is therefore a debt, a debt of the present with the past, "a contemporary product shaped from history". (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) This is why the dominant stream today in the heritage approach is to consider heritage as a discursive construction: heritage itself is not a thing and does not exist by itself. Rather, heritage is about the process by which people use the past – a "discursive construction" with material consequences. (Barrére, 2013) In this sense, while the historic orbit of the monument has been, and still is, the urban built space, the memorial is located in the orbit of heritage and – therefore – of the museum (see the above quotation by Guixé).

Choay suggested that the notion of historic urban heritage appears to counter currents of the new organizational processes in the city since the mid-nineteenth century. Choay says that is the result of "a dialectic of history with historicity moving between three figures or successive approaches of the ancient city, figures which we'll call, respectively, memorial, historical and historial". (Choay, 1992)

Memorial figure. The city has played, over time, the memorial role of the monument in the "unintentional" sense pointed out by Riegl (1903). **Historical Figure**. View from today, the former city appears as an object belonging to the past. "The ancient city, obsolete by the evolution of industrial society, is recognized as an original historical figure that calls for reflection" (Choay, 1992) and consequently, for its preservation and for its appreciation, as the present city can learn from the ancient one. It is the starting point of the process of turning the past city into a "museal" figure – a museum. **Historial Figure** considered a synthesis between the two precedents.

As Choay states, Giovanonni introduces the concept of urban heritage. "The town, the village, the neighbourhood, the garden, the street must be considered works of art, 'living organisms' […] and art should take advantage of all the possibilities offered by modern techniques and create, thanks to them, new forms." (Giovannoni, 1931) Separation between the large mobility network and the small urban fabric will be a fundamental principle for articulating a proper relationship between the old and the modern, between the preservation of built environment and the introduction of new urban elements in the ancient city.[33]

[33] "The solution that achieves this objective of balancing the three principles of development - that is to say, local traffic, local artistic appearance and hygiene requirements - is in most cases the urban design by emptying. […] The method is to demolish on small separate plots, leaving open spaces and reconstructing little or not at all,

Efforts promoting heritage, especially urban heritage related to some grassroots or marginal movements, sometimes are driven by hopes or philosophies of "heritage as therapy".[34] (Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008) These ideas of heritage as therapy are built on assumptions about the healing power of narrative at some level or another. All narratives, through dialogue, action, and reflection, expose narrators and listeners / readers to life's potentialities for unanticipated pain and joy. Artists and healers alike, especially in the field of Art Therapy and Activism, use narrative to confront audiences with unanticipated potentialities, by either: (a) exposing the incommensurability of a lived situation in particular; (b) luring the audience into an imaginary realm, even shocking, where prevailing moral sentiments do not apply, or (c) improvising a form of narrative expression that destabilizes the status quo principles of genre. (Ochs, E. and Capps, L.1996)


It is accepted that heritage is a booster to both identity
processes and social and economic welfare.

in order to minimize the introduction of new elements, usually discordant compared to the old ones. [This way] it becomes possible to extend to a whole vast sector the benefits of sanitizing, without limiting them to a street or a square. [...] Along with the restoration of buildings, the beautification of streets should be carried out, especially of the 'furniture' of squares and newly created small squares. Wherever possible, we should insert gardens, even reduced to a few trees, flowerbeds and fountains. It would be useful not to dispose of commemorative monuments, which so often repeat our national glories, but many elements surviving from demolitions and excavations, which lie dormant in the municipal warehouses: kiosks, fountains, altars, armorial bearings and architectural fragments, found a providential 'ad ornamentum urbis' function." (Giovanonni, 1931)

[34] "Thus we need to expand the category of 'heritage' beyond the confines of traditional understanding, to see heritage as a form of therapy, as the past labouring in the service of a better future, a progressive and productive benefit to all, but specifically for the disempowered, dislocated and disadvantaged." (Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008)

It is clear that patrimonialization processes are constantly expanding and this is demonstrated by the activity of UNESCO.[35]
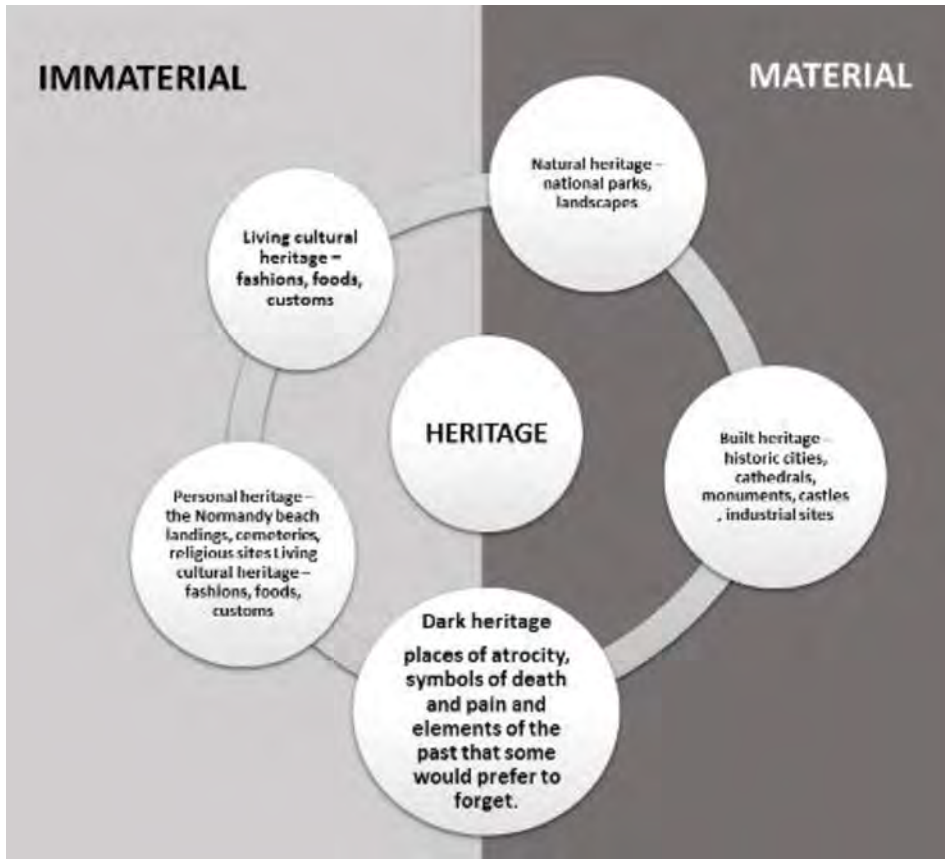
UNESCO's Heritage areas. Dark heritage is situated between the material
and the immaterial heritage; between musealized places and the memorial archive.

Françoise Choay (2009) energetically denounces the current policies of world protection, tracing their origin to André Malraux. These policies ignore the distinction

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[35] "Heritage is a broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. It records and expresses the long processes of historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern life. It is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change. The particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and into the future." (ICOMOS, 1999)

between commemorative (memorial) monument and historical monument and amalgamate the two concepts under the label World Heritage of Humanity, a label whose main utility, if not the only, would be to bait tourists. As in her previous work (Choay, 1992) she recalls the distinction between the two types of monuments. The first has a "memorial" value that is associated with a cultural practice or cultic: "The monument is thus characterized by its identificatory function. By its materiality, it doubles the symbolic function of language of which it mitigates the volatility, and is an important device in the institutionalization processes of human society". The merely historical monument has a value corresponding to what we contribute from our knowledge, from our way of life, from our behaviour. Choay recalled the words of Viollet-le-Duc: "The best way to preserve a building is to find it a use".

If it is possible to protect a monument because of its intrinsic value, it appears incongruous to protect the built disregarding a value of use. This confusion leads to sanctifying a building transformed into a museum without having the potential. It loses its historical interest. It no longer makes sense. Choay complains also of the ethnocentrism of heritage policies and its imposition as "single thought".[36] She argues that a world civilization is not possible,[37] since civilization implies the coexistence of cultures exhibiting the maximum possible diversity and consists even in this coexistence.

Heritage has become a growth industry, sustained by the tourism industry and supported in the cultural industries. As an industry it has a tendency to turn the city and natural areas into a commodity. To do this it requires that the city and natural areas become a setting, in the double sense of "designed-setting" and "activity-ready-setting" to host festivals, concerts, activities, authentic or false, consumer-oriented, for leisure and tourism, be they cultural or not.

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[36] "What is single thought? The translation into ideological terms claimed to be of universal interest of a set of economic forces, those in particular of international capital." (Ramonet, 1995) The first principle of single thought is: economy overrules politics. The other key concepts of single thought are known: the empire of the market; competition and competitiveness; free trade without shores; globalization both in manufacturing production and financial flows; the international division of labour; strong currency; deregulation; privatization; liberalization, and always "less government", constant arbitration in favour of capital income at the expense of labour. Moreover, indifference respect to the ecological cost".

[37] Could a European civilization exist? Or, as Urry stated with respect to the United Kingdom, could we say that Europe "has come to specialise not in manufacturing goods but rather in manufacturing nostalgia and heritage". (Urry, 1995) In any case, "World Heritage Sites are the planet's outstanding attractions, the greatest monuments from the past. They are contemporary tourism magnets and national icons that continue to influence present values. They are treasures in the fullest and deepest sense. They must be managed in such a way that they are preserved for future generations and at the same time presently made accessible to the public for its education and enjoyment". (ICOMOS, 1993)

A first effect: the falsification of real environments, making preconceived (partly generated by the media) and stereotypical (with a tendency to universalization) environments. "The heritage industry has developed packaging procedures that allow the supply of centres and old neighbourhoods ready for cultural consumption." (Choay,1992) How? Following Choay (1992) and Brandão (2011), by developing, in parallel with urban hardware (Urban Design), a system of urban software and an array of proven products that can attract visitors, retain them, organize the use of their time, adapting to the familiar habits of visitors (fake) in a comfortable environment (universal standardization). Hence, the tendency to design urban hardware (public space) with scenic and retro styles. To implement the software[38] through urban signage and guidance systems, often controlled by and from the museum structure. At the same time, furnishing this space with all the necessary supports for the "leisure consumption" (cafes, restaurants, art galleries, shops for impulse *buying*). The big commodity multinationals (fashion, homewares, communications, sport, etc.) – ubiquitous – organize public space, marking its presence and providing its products. We know well the pernicious effects of this "musealization of the city for tourist consumption". Gentrification arising from pressures of the real estate sector, social exclusion of the disadvantaged, branded cosmopolitism and romantic consumption (Muñoz, 2008) by the new affluent classes. A global standardization of world heritage.[39]

Furthermore, with respect to the subject of this work, "in all domains, practical or theoretical, memory is always assisted, relayed and eventually replaced by increasingly efficient prosthesis, capable of storing and restoring immediately to à la carte encyclopaedic information, virtually unlimited about past and the present in the form of words, figures and images". (Choay, 1992) Moreover, given the pressure from the various industries interested, heritage stock is threatened with paralysis, because of the physical saturation of the system.

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[38] "The process of identity construction is not the result of only a piece of 'hardware', but involves an agreement on objectives among actors, a negotiating and communicative dynamics in the management of a 'software' that, in itself, is the identity creator and facilitator of its representation in public space. A strategy of building and assessing identity through public space must also include hardware, software activities through proactive management and involving actors in the diagnosis, in the preparation of programmes mobilizing for change and activities of management and post-occupancy evaluation." (Brandão, 2011)

[39] "In this sense, monumentalization of public spaces and the patrimonialization of neighbourhoods and elsewhere; theming and marketing of cities, making fiction of the differentiation based on the image, [...] will be the new contemporary symbolic systems, with new processes and discursive capabilities about space in simulation, legitimacy or support of urban mutations, past or future." (Brandão, 2015)

>> Urban Hardware? Just Urban Software?

Re-visitation and consecration of memory are fundamental to notions of heritage protection. From this perspective, we note four mistakes to avoid:

1. We cannot reconstruct the past in the present
2. Temporality is not gradual transition from one to another
3. The past and present are not distinguished by before and after
4. The subject of memory are not facts, but their reconstruction

(Brandão, 2015)

The "memorial" device cannot achieve the texture that Lefebvre (1974) claims: "The most beautiful monuments are imposed for their enduring aspect". The outcome of the "memorial system", "[...] is neither a sculpture nor a figure, nor we perceive it as an output of material processes". (Lefebvre, 1974) No texture. The required texturing process should take into account its impact on the emotional, physical and lived levels, linked to the symmetries and rhythms.

> History is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it. On the horizon of historical societies within the limits of an entirely historicized world, a permanent secularization would occur. The goal and ambition of history is not to exalt but to annihilate what really happened. A generalized critical history, undoubtedly, would preserve some museums, some medallions and monuments – the materials that history needs for its work – but emptied of what, for us, made them lieux de mémoire. (Lefebvre, 1974)

From the Monument [commemorative physical object, more or less convincing, with more or less aesthetic value, sited in a specific physical location within the territory], to the Memorial [collection of documents returning a memory that leaves only some indication in the territory, in the form of signage]; a transition that can result in the erosion of the objective recovery of memory, be it historical or identitary. If we understand the politics of memory as "the social process that aims, through and in conflict, to delimit a past and build it as a distinctive sign of a particular group" (Michonneau, 2001) we should seriously consider the relationship / conflict between object and signage. Between Monument and Memorial. The monument has a symbolic power that the memorial does not, as the latter prioritizes content without developing the symbolic form. As Argan (1961) noted, messages and street signs have very different intensities and wavelengths. Large representative buildings communicate the gen-

eral and permanent values of civic communities. They are elements of their past, present and future homogeneity. Other elements have expected expiration dates, while there are instant messages and ephemeral signs such as street furniture, shop windows, signs, the markings, including transport devices and people passing in the street. That is why, in the strict sense:

> A monument [Latin Monere, remember] is an object that helps to keep the memory of the past, referring to a character or a historical event. Precisely because it is a memory of the past, it constitutes a fundamental factor in the permanence of the city through random paths of its physical and social transformation. This quality of permanence makes it cohesive and representative of the collective identity of a social group. [...] It is therefore necessary to extend the concept of monument, understanding it as everything that gives meaning to a permanent urban unit, from the sculpture that presides and gathers, to architecture which adopts a representative character and, above all, public space able to upload meanings. (Bohigas, 1985)

We should therefore be cautious when we design and propose memorials that can be confused with the plethora of information systems colonizing public space. However, it is possible and feasible, as we see in some works of Public Art, to suggest monuments that meet the narrative and explanatory function of the memorial. In any case, the challenge is how to give meaning to an urban area in order to turn it into a memory space that, organizing the city, "gives it a centre, a meaning and some limits". (Michonneau, 2001) And, in parallel, to lay down the continuities that allow citizens to produce a personal and collective reading in their history, especially the history that is situated on the dark side of the heritage, on the dark side of memory.

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Barcelona. Public Space and Historical Memory Policies

Manel Risques[1]

A city is a living thing, one of its dimensions being how it acquires identity through actions, decisions and policies surrounding the city's memory, which adds the experience of the past to citizens' knowledge and relates it to the present. Signs, surviving remains, monuments, places and so on, become spaces of memory as they acquire symbolic and political meaning, and can express themselves in collective rituals of commemoration and receive "[…] legitimate recognition through state approval". This conversion occurs through social and political processes, usually resulting from struggles "[…] whose actors (or their predecessors) gave the spaces their meanings – in other words, the processes that cause a 'space' to become a 'place'". This requires identifying the characters who bring about the transformation and add "[…] to their memory […] this place". (Jelin and Langland, 2003) Recognition of these places is usually promoted by associations operating in the areas of remembrance, civic engagement and human rights, which petition the public administration to undertake efforts to transform them into democratic heritage. (Memoria Abierta, 2009) The administration may then respond favourably, or, conversely, reject the proposal or opt for actions that neutralize or interfere with the content, assigning another meaning to the place. The administration can also act on its own account. This all has a direct bearing on the configuration of the public space and the semiotics of the city itself.

This approach, when put into practice, becomes much more complex, as establishing "places" of memory in the city is not a neutral decision but rather requires that the political and moral references are explicit and visible. This means that the decisions acquire a highly symbolic quality, which is even more accentuated when dealing with

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a traumatic event with profound consequences, such as the military uprising, the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship that was established in Barcelona in January 1939 and which lasted nearly 40 years. It is clear that the "memory" of the present-day *democratic* city covers multiple aspects, rooted in the contemporary world. But, focussing on the (rather long) period marked by the trauma, it is questionable whether, with these references, the city recognizes itself in the values of the anti-Franco and anti-fascist struggles along with the endeavours in favour of the Republic, in the legacy of the insurgents and the dictatorship, or in the excitement of a transition that is understood as "Day 1" of democracy, without any earlier references.

Focussing on the first option, we can establish that the *democratic city* barely recognizes itself in the *anti-Francoist city*, tries to sever links with the *republican city*, but does recognize itself in the *anti-fascist city*, tending to identify with the defence of the population and with the victims of the Italian and Nazi air raids. The legacy of the dictatorship has been eliminated from the city very slowly and deficiently, meaning its presence can still be felt. Finally, the desire to "start over again" has been transformed into practices of hiding the past, or meddling with its remnants by reinterpreting it and assigning new meaning to public space, in the interest of the elite who fed off their impunity and the "equitable" distribution of responsibility for the war events, while drawing a veil over the dictatorship. The policies regarding historical memory in Barcelona after the death of the dictator have followed – quite shamefully – the paths laid out above.

In a chronicle on the restitution of the monument to Rafael de Casanova on 27 May 1977, Jordi Bordas summed up the peaceful nature of the event and observed that Barcelona was "[...] gradually recovering part of its appearance from before 1936. Step by step, progress is being made, reuniting with the history of Barcelona in a just and non-partisan way". Shortly after, the same was true of the monuments to Pau Claris, Francesc Layret and Dr Robert, which, without doubt, were fair initiatives and give character to the city. These characters all lived before 1931 and therefore had no direct connection with the *republican city*, and while they were incorporated into it, their symbolic value goes beyond it. This would be one of the key points of the "reuniting" and its "just and non-partisan" character; i.e., avoiding direct references to the Republic, a practice that would last until very recently and is evident in the biased, shameful and twisted approach applied to the monument to the Republic and Pi i Margall.

Inaugurated in 1936, it was radically altered by Franco's authorities in 1939 to an obelisk with the constitutional monarchy's coat-of-arms at the base, while the statue of the Republic and the effigy of Pi i Margall have been at a new site since 1990, the Plaça Llucmajor. In other words, the remains of the original monument – the obelisk –

has been stripped of its republican content and become a tribute to the constitutional monarchy of the transition. Until 2011 it shared its location with the Victory statue erected in 1940-1941 by Franco's authorities, while all the other original components are displayed in another space and assigned another meaning, demonstrated by a new plaque with the inscription: "In memory of all the men and women who fought for the Second Republic in Nou Barris". Nou Barris is the present-day municipal district where the monument is located – and which barely existed in 1931. It is therefore a perfect testimony which highlights the difficulties and obstacles that stand in the way of recovery of the memory of the Republic, conditioning the symbolic, political and moral content of the *democratic city*.

Fig. 1: Inauguration of the monument to Pi i Margall, at Passeig de Gràcia– Av. Diagonal, 12 April 1936. Photo: Pérez de Roza, AF

Fig. 2: Barcelona, military procession, Passeig de Gràcia – Av. Diagonal. Photo: Blasi. Centre Excursionista de Catalunya

Inaugurated on 12 April 1936 by the President of the Generalitat, Lluís Companys, it was the only monument in the capital of Catalonia dedicated to the Republic. With strong symbolic content, it stood in a central area, at the intersection of Avinguda Diagonal and Passeig de Gràcia. Its eventful journey began in 1902 when Barcelona City Council decided to pay tribute to three recently-deceased individuals who were symbolic of the regeneration of urban society: Doctor Robert, *mossèn* Jacint Verdaguer and Francesc Pi i Margall. The monument to the latter was unveiled during a rather partisan event on 29 April 1917 (the other two were inaugurated in 1910 and 1924),

having been preceded by fierce controversy and confrontations concerning the federal and republican activism of Pi, and amid problems with funding. All in all, as Stéphane Michonneau has pointed out, memory was incorporated into the political debate, became secular and an expression of political affiliation, which meant a modern formula of political involvement. (Michonneau, 2007)

The project came to a complete standstill during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and the controversy surrounding it focused on the design submitted by the sculptor Miquel Blay – who had received the commission from the City Council – and intensified even more after the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed on 14 April 1931.[2] Eventually, the new republican city council rejected Blay's proposal and chose to erect a monument to the Republic. To be designed by the architects Florensa and Vilaseca, this was an obelisk with a statue at the top to symbolize the Republic, a medallion with an image of Pi i Margall at the base, and the inscription: *Barcelona to Pi i Margall*. A public call for tenders for the statue received 58 submissions and was won by Josep Viladomat.[3] The new monument was set to be unveiled on 29 November 1934, but a political crisis in October meant the event was cancelled and the scaffolding was not taken down until 25 January 1935.[4] As mentioned above, 15 months later, Companys solemnly inaugurated the monument.

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[2] Màrius Gifreda expressed his opposition to Blay's design: "[...]it would be painful if the first monument dedicated to the Republic was this type of symbolic, carnival-style float". (Gifreda, 1931) Several years earlier Antoni Rovira i Virgili had used similar words: "[...]much vastness with no greatness [...] When a monument, apart from being bad, is almost colossal, it becomes a horrible thing". (Rovira I Virgili, 1924)

[3] More on the history of the monument and photographs of the submitted designs can be found in: "L'obra constructiva de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona. El monument a Pi i Margall", *Gaseta Municipal de Barcelona*, 5 December 1932, pp. 1001-1111. The statue by Frederic Marès won second place; see *Catàleg d'escultures i medalles de Frederic Marès* (Barcelona: Museu Frederic Marès-ICUB, 2002).

[4] Viladomat, offended by the cancellation of the event, climbed up the obelisk and inscribed the name "Azaña" on the pedestal of his statue. (Fabre et al. 1984)

Fig. 3: Acte contra el monument a la Victòria durant Manifestació per l'amnistia, 4 Aprill 1976. Photo: Robert Ramos

Fig. 4: Intervencions al monument a la Victòria. Photo: Pepe Encinas

Fig. 5: Monument a la República al seu emplaçament actual, plaça de Llucmajor. Source: Guillem Risques

Fig. 6: Trasllat als magatzems municipals del monument a la Victòria, 30 de gener de 2011. Photo: Guillem Risques

In 1939, the winning side in the Civil War undertook a process of purging the city and destroying all references to the Republic and communist-separatist ideas. On 12 April they decided to remodel the monument and transform it into a tribute to the *Nueva España* while the square was renamed Plaza de la Victoria. The statue by Viladomat was removed and the obelisk was crowned with an eagle, which remained there until the end of WWII. The medallion dedicated to Pi i Margall was replaced by a shield with the Spanish coat-of-arms, with the yoke and arrows. The inscription, "From Barcelona to Pi i Margall",[5] was replaced by another that read, "To the heroic soldiers of Spain who freed the country from the red-separatist tyranny. The grateful city." Finally, a commission went out to Frederic Marès for a new statue representing Victory, its right arm raised, to be installed at the base. From that moment, *La Victoria* took the place of *La República*.

The powerful symbolism was challenged by the anti-Franco movement: the monument suffered various attacks and, at the end of the 1960s, it became a focal point for illegal demonstrations, becoming particularly important in 1976 when, within the context of manifestations for amnesty, protesters unfurled Catalan and Republican flags above the statue and covered the yoke and arrows with banners that read "Freedom, Amnesty, Statute of Autonomy". The contestations continued, for example, during the demonstrations for freedom of expression and those for the Statute of Autonomy held on 11 September 1977 [national day of Catalonia]. In contrast, the area was also used on 31 January 1978 for a rather disquieting rally of extreme right groups, headed by Blas Piñar.

The monument's symbolic potential, strengthened by its central location in the city, was revealed once more on 14 December 1979. A group of citizens removed the shield with the yoke and the arrows, during the night, as a reaction to the lack of initiative on the part of the authorities, who continued to keep the statue of Viladomat and the medallion of Pi i Margall in a municipal warehouse.[6] The situation became even more strained four days after *23F* (the failed military coup led by a Civil Guard officer on 23 February 1981), when the City Council decided that the square, popularly known as *Plaça del llapis*, was to be renamed after King Juan Carlos I in recognition of his efforts as a champion of democracy against the coup leaders. A new coat-of-arms of the constitutional monarchy of the Transition was attached to the base of the monument,

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[5] This was confirmed during a municipal operation on 24 October 2012, when a team of workers removed the plaque with the coat-of-arms of King Juan Carlos I and found that there was no trace of the original inscription or the medallion. "Ni rastre de Pi i Margall", *La Vanguardia*, 25 October 2012, p. 23.

[6] See the photograph by Pepe Encinas. (Risques, 2012:300)

leading to a redefinition of its meaning together with the obelisk and the *Victory* statue. Of the three images, *Victory* would continue to be contested, the *Republic* neglected, and the *Monarchy* officially became the main symbol, although it never gained citizens' acceptance. During a demonstration for peace in 1983, *Victory* was wrapped in a white cloth while the *Republic* left the warehouse for a brief visit to Madrid as part of the *Catalonia in Modern Spain* exhibition. This meant that in the capital of the Kingdom one could contemplate what was not visible in the Catalan capital: the symbol of republican Barcelona.

After that, considerations of what to do with a statue that resisted falling into oblivion led to the decision to find a new location for it.[7] A plan to transfer the *Republic* to the junction of Via Laietana and Avinguda de la Cathedral was unsuccessful. Shortly afterwards, a proposal was made to install it at the upper end of Carrer Balmes, near Passeig de la Bonanova, but opposition from residents who seemed ill-at-ease with the work frustrated the initiative.[8] In the end it was decided to take it to Plaça Llucmajor, not to satisfy local residents' demands, but rather as a move within the framework of policies for the revitalization of the outskirts of the city under Mayor Pasqual Maragall. This meant that, for the first time since 1939, the statue went on public display in Plaça Soller, in May 1986, in the context of an exhibition on the Nou Barris redevelopment projects.[9]

The architects Albert Viaplana and Helio Piñón were commissioned to create a base for the sculpture. They decided to resize the roundabout in the middle of the square and build an abstract structure in Corten steel to support the *Republic*.

Two beams, each with one end resting on the ground and the other on a pillar, form a triangular front and support a 15-square-metre surface with rails, which enables the sculpture symbolizing the Republic to move diagonally. This will allow it to be seen from all the streets that converge on the square. Between the two beams there are stairs without risers. The pedestal will be placed on a 23-square-metre, circular, convex surface. (Viaplana, Piñón, 1986: 105)

In the end the idea of a moving statue was discarded, while the stairs were kept, seemingly emerging from the earth, to create the sensation that something that had

disappeared is climbing up them. The medallion of Pi y Margall was not used in the original design, but pressure from various sources led to its inclusion. The inauguration took place on 14 July 1990, in clear reference to the Storming of the Bastille that sparked the French Revolution. The event was presided over by Mayor Pasqual Maragall. The journalist Lluís Permanyer, remarking that "At last the *Republic* has returned", described the creation of Piñón and Viaplana as follows:

> Plaça de Llucmajor, more than an important traffic hub, is an essential feature of the imaginative redevelopment effort of the Maragall administration, which started , several years ago, with the works on Vía Júlia. From the centre of the square, the views acquire considerable strength [...] along Passeig de Verdum, Vía Julia – mentioned above – and, most convincingly, along Passeig Valldaura. This led Viaplana and Piñón to position the Republic figure according to the force emerging from Passeig Valldaura [...] Though they used several traditional elements, such as the obelisk, the formal staircase and the pedestal, they treated them with their matchless and radically innovative avant-garde style. (Permanyer, 1990)

The project as a whole derives from the aesthetic and avant-garde inspiration of Piñón and Viaplana, which was based on the consideration of it having an internal force to integrate within its setting, beyond its content of symbolism and memory.[10] During a public event in April 2009, the Dignity Commission put forward a demand to the City Council for the statue to be reinstalled in its original location. Rejection of this demand was defended by Ignasi Cardelús, who argued that the work was located in the heart of a district that represented a part of the modern city " [...]that cherishes and embodies, in a very special way, the values of the icon of liberty". (Cazorla, 2009)

In the same article, Josep Ortiz, spokesman of the coordinating body of the Nou Barris residents' association, stated that "[...] the allegory of the Republic, embodied by a female nude, is one of the symbols of the neighbourhood and the people will mount strong resistance to anybody aiming to have it removed". However, the neighbourhood had until then lived largely with its back turned to its distinguished guest: "[...] in Plaça de Llucmajor only a few are able to affirm to what or whom the figure is dedicated. A shopkeeper says that 'those responsible for installing it here, using public funds, never bothered to place a clearly visible information panel by its side'. A bank clerk is wondering what the object of the homage is: 'To the fallen in the civil war? To the town of Llucmajor in Mallorca?' 'I believe it has to do with the new wave of immigration', suggests a local resident. A few get it right and affirm it represents the Republic. Nobody makes any references to Pi i Margall". (Cazorla, 2009)

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[10] Conversation with Albert and David Viaplan, *op.cit*.

Later, the aforementioned inscription was put up, renaming the monument and transforming it into a tribute to the men and women who fought for the Republic in an area that hardly existed as a neighbourhood at that time. In July 2011, a group of residents asked for the name of the square to be changed to one referring to the republican government.[11]

Now *Victory* still had to be dealt with. In March 2009, the council of the district where it was located agreed to have it removed, largely as a result of the application of a law known as the *Ley de Memoria Histórica.* It was not removed until 30 January 2011 when, in the presence of Mayor Jordi Hereu and some 100 citizens, a municipal unit took it down and transported it to the Zona Franca warehouses belonging to the Museu d'Història de Barcelona (MUHBA). Two days earlier, the Dignity Commission had sent a letter to the City Council, congratulating them on their decision and insisting on the restitution of *la República* and the Pi i Margall medallion to their original site. Quite different feelings were expressed by Lluís Sans, president of the Friends of Passeig de Gràcia organisation. They considered the council decision a mistake, as the statue was part of the city's history, which was impoverished by its removal: "It would have made sense to remove it in 1975 or 1976 but not in 2011 [...]"; emphasizing that there were few individuals still alive who had witnessed the statue's transformation into a symbol of Franco's regime. Moreover, the monument was not a physical obstacle and there was no citizen demand for change, which highlighted the insubstantial nature of the City Council initiative in terms of historical memory.

However, the controversy continued. The political parties in the City Council expressed varying opinions. The outgoing mayor, Jordi Hereu, proposed using the obelisk to commemorate the values related to the system of social protection, arguing that they were more than ever necessary. The mayor elect, Xavier Trías, was in favour of paying tribute to Freedom as a supreme value that takes in individual, collective and national liberties. Alberto Fernández Díaz of the right-wing Popular Party (PP) suggested dedicating the work to King Juan Carlos I, "[...] as a guarantor of freedom and the values of democracy and coexistence [...]"; Jordi Portabella of the left-wing republican party, ERC, wanted it to remain a monument dedicated to Pi, while Ricard Gomà, a member of the ICV-EUiA coalition of left-wing parties, argued for restitution of the medallion in homage to Pi i Margall.

Other proposals, made on a personal basis, were also submitted, some of which focussed on re-establishing the republican content and the reference to Pi i Margall, even maintaining the two locations and including a replica of the statue by Viladomat.

[11] See: El Periódico de Catalunya, 19 July 2011.

Others opted for motifs ranging from a tribute to Ildefons Cerdà to including the bequest of the slogan *No a la guerra* (No to the war), used during the protests against the Iraq war.[12] All in all, a wide range of opinions were put forward, to a great extent a result of the erratic nature of the policy on historical memory, based around a desire to remove a reminder of the Republic from a central space in the city, impose a "place" of homage to the monarchy and, until very recently, tolerate the memory of the Franco era. Altogether this led to the historian Jordi Guixé's proposal to leave the obelisk bare, without any additions, as a metaphor of the void in ethics and how historical memory is dealt with in present-day democracy. (Guixé, 2011) We might add that the metaphor also represents the incapacity to overcome resistance and problems, and the lack of political will, to setting up a relationship between the *republican* and the *democratic city*, thereby doing away with the *Franco-era city*. This motivated Ricard Vinyes to refer to Barcelona as an *immoral city*. (Vinyes, 2011:85-88)

Problems have also conditioned recovery of the *anti-fascist city*, the decisive agent in, and inseparably linked to, the victory over the military uprising on 19 July 1936. The Civil War broke out and blocked the results of the victory. The public space underwent radical changes due to the war and the accompanying revolutionary events, mainly linked to violence and collectivizations. The public-private distinction tended to level out with the new social needs resulting from the war, filtered by the spread of egalitarian ideologies and strained by the arrival of refugees. This levelling out occurred alongside confrontations within the anti-fascist movement and fifth-column activity. Altogether, this led to the establishment of places of repression which, for a rearguard turned into a war objective, ended up being in contradiction of democratic premises and the will to end the impunity of violence.[13] Finally, and very importantly, the city had to confront direct fascist aggression, the most brutal materialization of which was the air raids that foreshadowed what would be common practice in armed conflict: hitting the civil population. As a reaction, spaces were built for passive (air-raid shelters) and active (anti-aircraft batteries) defence, which left their mark on the *anti-fascist city* at every level. (Miró, 2009: 163-180)

    With regard to the policies on historical memory concerning the *anti-fascist city*, reflection on three matters is absolutely necessary. In the first place, there is not a sin-

[12] See: El Periódico de Catalunya, 31 May 2011.

[13] The state of being a war-time rearguard meant there were exceptional circumstances. However, there was a will to re-establish the unusual democratic rules, such as judge Quintana's efforts to put an end to the impunity which the authors of the revolutionary assassinations used as an excuse for their actions. (Dueñas, Solé, 2012)

gle element to commemorate the victory over fascism, which deprives Barcelona of one of its decisive attributes. There is no trace of the events in the city centre, in its heart – Plaça Catalunya – or any of the historic spaces: 19 July 1936 is reduced to an insignificant date, a fact that stresses the void mentioned earlier. There is, however, a monument to the memory of Francesc Macià, the first president of the republican Generalitat, who died at the end of 1933.[14]

Secondly, when considering the popular resistance to the air raids, the results are more positive. A clear example is in the recovery of air-raid shelters: "307" in the Poble Sec neighbourhood, the one in the neighbouring town of Sant Adrià de Besòs, and that of Plaça de la Llibertat in the Gràcia district. The clear unanimity on these elements of heritage results from their content in terms of human suffering, but this certainly does not mean other dimensions are excluded. Another important contribution to the heritage is the recovery of the anti-aircraft batteries in the Carmel neighbourhood on 27 March 2011. (Lecea et al., 2001)

In the end, the tribute to the victims of the air raids and to the city which opposed the bombings encountered a tortuous course and a miserable solution. Josep Benet presented a proposal to the first democratic city council of 1979 to erect a large monument in memory of and in tribute to those victims and as a " [...] cry of protest and condemnation against the cruelty of the Franco regime". (Benet, 2008:318) He also suggested including the well-known words Churchill pronounced in June 1940, in a reference made to the resistance offered by Barcelona citizens.[15] Benet's ideas were ignored, despite the signs in favour from the general public.

In 1998, the Civil Rights department of Barcelona City Council requested Benet's collaboration for the promotion of a programme named "Recovering Historic Memory, Working for Peace", among other things, to create a monument to the air-raid victims. Amid continuing controversy on the project in the press, prominent characters such as Lluís Permanyer and Josep Maria Huertas Clavería gave support to Benet's proposal, suggesting a highly visible location (Permanyer suggested the area opposite Barcelona Cathedral) and criticizing the indifference of municipal authorities. In the end, on 29 April 2003, the monument *Encaix* (Fitting) was unveiled in front of the Col-

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[14] The monument to Macià was inaugurated on 25 December 1991 after a long and complicated period of preparation. The project started with a public appeal for funds organised by the newspaper *Avui* on 6 January 1977. The 5,600,000 pesetas that were raised were presented to the Catalan Ministry of Culture in April 1980. This led to a confrontation with Barcelona City Council which lasted until the October 1989 agreement, which was also supported by the Citizen Commission promoting the monument to Macià.

[15] In a speech to the British people who were suffering the first air raids by the German air force, he said: "I do not at all underrate the severity of the ordeal which lies before us; but I believe our countrymen will show themselves capable of standing up to it, like the brave men of Barcelona." Published in the *Daily Telegraph*, 19 June 1940.

iseum cinema. It is dedicated to "The people who died in the fascist air raids (1937-1939) on Barcelona in the Civil War and to all the peoples who have been victims of other wars". Benet was bitterly disappointed and immediately many voices were heard which, beyond aesthetic considerations, criticized the flimsy nature of the sculpture, its location and, above all, the symbolic content expressed in the plaque. (Benet, 2008:318-325) It neglected the condition of the city itself, avoided condemning Franco's regime, did not include Churchill's words and watered down the content with the generic support of victims of all wars. During the inauguration, Mayor Clos re-called the fact that Barcelona was the first city to have suffered systematic bombing, adding that the recent events in Iraq had brought back "the memory, fear and impo-tence of Barcelona citizens".[16] A veneer of "pacifist welldoing" with opportunism con-nected to ulterior motives, aimed at linking the city's past and present and, in a cer-tain way, weakened the anti-fascist memory by severing the connection with the rebuilding of the democratic tradition, something that was dealt with, for example, in the exhibition *Quan plovien bombes* (When It Rained Bombs).[17]

A kind of perverse last stage was reached later, on 15 December 2012, when Mayor Xavier Trías unveiled a monument to Winston Churchill which had been proposed a long time before by the Catalunya Oberta Foundation, linked to the Convergència i Unió political party.[18] The objective was not to recall what Churchill said about the Barcelonans, but to sum up his leadership in the fight against totalitarian regimes. As stated rightly by Lluís Permanyer, Barcelona was erecting a monument to a man who, from the outset, was against the World War II allies taking action to depose Franco, the one wielding power and ultimately responsible for the air raids. This made Churchill a guarantor of Franco's permanence. (Permanyer, 2012)

With varying nuances, the authorities have shown resistance to establishing, in symbolic and historical memory terms, the city's republican and anti-fascist referents, have forcibly created a barrier, and, quite often, have obstructed historical memory. As we will see later, this has extended to the *anti-Franco city* as well. From positions of power, the aim has been to set up new lines of discourse which converge on what has been described by Ricard Vinyes as the Spanish model of equitative impunity based on the ideology of reconciliation: "This option renounced explaining democracy

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[16] Article by *Europa Press*, 29 April 2004, published in several media.

[17] The Dirección General de la Memoria Democrática promoted the exhibition, organised by commissioners Judith Pujadó and Xavier Domènec, and inaugurated at the Museu d'Història de Catalunya in February 2007. It was later exhibited in several Catalan and Italian cities.

[18] On the corner of Via Augusta and Ronda del General Mitre. Carved in basalt by Pep Codó, the sculpture is 2.2 metres high, and includes a bas-relief portrait of Churchill.

as something acquired by a common effort on the city streets. It failed to respond to any of the questions on values that served to establish democratic institutions, and avoided drawing the line between democratic cultures and dictatorship". The unavoidable outcome is that historical memory has been confined to the realm of the individual, made private.[19] We will analyse this by looking at several of the most representative projects carried out by the Barcelona City Council and the Catalan Autonomous Government since 1979.[20]

In September and October 2012, the Civic Centre of the Les Corts District promoted the *La presó invisible* (The Invisible Prison) project, a series of activities centred on the women who were sent to Les Corts prison by Franco's authorities between 1939 and 1955. There is no trace left of the prison itself, as, over 50 years ago, the major department store El Corte Inglés was built on the site. It was established as a provincial prison to hold around 150 prisoners, but on 19 August 1939 a peak of 1,763 inmates was reached, and 43 children whose imprisonment was never registered, favouring deportations and childhood death. It became a repository of republican and anti-Franco women, 11 of whom were executed following a court-martial. (Acme, 2010) Over the years, the prison was "emptied" and when it was closed, the remaining 263 women and 19 children were transferred to the women's wing of the Modelo prison until the Trinidad prison opened.

[19] It should be kept in mind that the law on historical memory, approved in 2007, "[...] recognises the individual right of every citizen to personal and family-related memory." (Vinyes, 2009, 2011)

[20] Andrés Scagliola, *Canvi en les polítiques publiques de memoria a Catalunya: el passat com a problema*, written for the first event of the Coloquio Internacional Memorial Democrático Políticas Públicas de Memoria, held in Barcelona in October 2007. The website is http://memorialdemocratic.gencat.cat/ca. A Spanish translation was published in *Entelequia. Revista Interdisciplinar*, 7, September 2008, http://www.eumed.net/entelequia/pdf/2008/e07a18.pdf. See also: Joan Sagués San José, "Han vuelto a pasar (casi) cuarenta años. Memoria y políticas públicas de memoria en España desde la muerte del dictador" in *Duelo y memoria. Espacios para el recuerdo de las víctimas de la represión franquista en perspectiva comparada*, ed. Conxita Mir Curcó and Josep Gelonch Solé (Lleida: Edicons de la Universitat de Lleida, 2013)

Fig. 7: Antiga Presó de les Corts. Source: Arxiu Històric de les Corts.

Fig. 8: El Corte Inglés, a l'antic emplaçament de la presó de dones
de Les Corts, Avinguda Diagonal 617.

The gravity of the repression suffered in the prison in the Franco era matched its "invisibility" in the democracy, until well into the twenty-first century when local authorities finally yielded to the pressure exerted by individuals and historical memory

collectives. On 25 November 2009, within the framework of the commemorative events of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, the City Council unveiled a plaque, but what was written was a surprise: "From 1886, this site housed the Bon Consell Institution. From 1936 to 1955, it was used as a prison for women. Today we remember all the female prisoners, along with their sons and daughters, who lost their freedom in this facility." These lines refrained from referring to the prison as a Franco institution, which was exactly what had caused the public to demand a memorial. There was immense disappointment. The "invisibility" continued. The authorities stated that the text on the plaque was the result of a pact with the owners of El Corte Inglés, which included the agreement that the exact wording would avoid *"hurting anybody's feelings"*. As a consequence, all references to the Franco era were eliminated. Disputed by the organizations involved in historical memory, the plaque was taken down and alternative texts were submitted, recalling the republican and anti-Francoist women who were held in the prison, and its repressive nature.

Fig. 9: Placa commemorativa de la presó de Les Corts, al Corte Inglés, 2010. Photo: Guillem Risques

A year later, in November 2010, the plaque was put up again, but without the slightest change – and so it remains today. Moreover, it is at a height that favours its

"invisibility". During the 2012 *Invisible Prison* project mentioned earlier, criticism was voiced once again against the so-called "plaque of shame", to which – significantly – one of the public administration people in charge (of the left-wing IC-Verds party) replied that it was better to keep it rather than face the possibility of having nothing at all. It is indeed an "invisible" prison. (Fernández, 2009:89-98)

Premeditated "invisibility" characterises what was the most notorious of all police buildings in the city, the Jefatura Superior de Policia, on the Via Laietana central thoroughfare. It housed the *Brigada Político-Social*, established in 1939 to relentlessly persecute any form of opposition, and in mid-1977, following the first democratic elections, was transformed into a regional investigation unit.

In the surrounding blocks of peaceful flats, the residents seemed to be unaware of what was going on inside: beatings and torture inflicted with total impunity. Testimonies and accounts leave no doubt about what happened: suffice it to remember that, for many men and women who raised their voice against the regime it was a relief to be sent to prison and leave the police station behind – although they could again face questioning by the police. The memory of that place lives on in those accounts, while no steps have ever been taken to transform the site into a place of historical memory. As such it is inexistent. At present, it is used by a National Police unit whose main focus is on immigration, passports and customs, since the bulk of policing tasks have been taken over by the Catalan *Mossos d'Esquadra* police force. The proposal to use the building for the *Memorial Democràtic* organization was unanimously rejected by the socialist government of Spain and the three-party coalition governing Catalonia at the time. Also dismissed was the claim promoted in 2005, by the left-wing ERC party, to have the building transformed into a museum of the repression, to be opened in 2007 to coincide with the 30th anniversary of the amnesty law.[21]

[21] "ERC proposa convertir la Prefectura de Barcelona en museu de la repressió", *Avui* 1. VIII. 2005.

Fig. 10: Prefectura de policia, Via Laietana.

Very recently, the local politicians of the IC-Verds-EUiA party, considering the building had fallen into disuse, managed to get approval by the City Council to ask the national government to transfer the property to the city, to be used for activities in the field of democratic memory. A member of the Catalan parliament from the same party, Jaume Bosch, managed to get a pledge from the Catalan government to collaborate with the City of Barcelona to have *Memorial Democrátic* housed in the building. In the words of Vice-President Joana Ortega: "[...] I make a commitment: we shall speak with the City Council of Barcelona to find the way for this building, given the symbology it contains, to be the seat of Memorial Democràtic".[22]

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[22] Catalan Parliament plenary session number 15.1, held 17 July 2013, http://www.parlament.cat. I am grateful to Ricard Conesa for the reference.

On the seafront between Barcelona and Sant Adrià de Besòs is an area known as Camp de la Bota (Monferrer, 2012) where, in 1936, those sentenced for their active participation in the military uprising on 19 and 20 July that year were executed. There were only a few, because the republican repression moved to Montjuïc Castle. (Risques, Marin, 2008; Risques, 2009) After Franco's forces took the city, this shantytown became a favourite location for the "New State" violence. Between 14 February 1939 and 14 March 1952, of a total of 1,717 executions in the whole city, some 1,686 were carried out here. The sentences were handed down by court-martial, 83 % in 1939 and 1940. (Corbalán, 2008) There is no doubt that this area was the focal point of Francoist repression, the place where death penalties were exacted after being confirmed by the Caudillo: republicans who had been arrested for their participation in the Civil War and those who opposed the dictatorship after the *Victoria*. The last to be executed in Camp de la Bota were five anarchists, in 1952, only two months before the International Eucharistic Congress.[23]

Fig. 11: Camp de la Bota, Monument "Fraternitat", Miquel Navarro, 1992. Rambla Prim/Passeig Garcia Faria. Photo: Guillem Risques
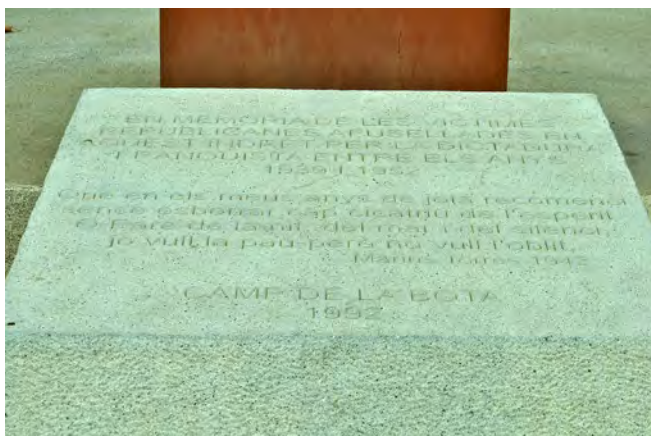

Fig. 12: Inscripció en la base del monument Fraternitat, Camp de la Bota. Photo: Guillem Risques

On many occasions, the site has been reclaimed by organizations of historical memory, in particular the AEPPC, the Catalan former political prisoners' association. In 1991, the City Council expressed its willingness to put a monument on the site in tribute to "the victims of the Civil War in the Camp de la Bota area", although most of

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[23] Pere Adrover, Jordi Pons, Josep Pérez, Genís Urrea and Santiago Amir were executed on 14 March 1952. (Huertas, 2002)

the executions were in the post-war period. (Lecea et al, 2001) The commission went out to Miquel Navarro and the work was unveiled on 21 June 1992: a 28-metre-high, abstract column with a stone plaque dedicated to "all those executed by firing squad and to all the victims of the Civil War", along with a few lines by the poet Màrius Torres.[24] Complaints were voiced immediately, not only by the AEPPC, because the meaning of the homage had been changed to a generic reference to *all* the victims, including the military who took part in the uprising, and above all, there was no reference to those killed during the dictatorship. The City Council's promise to look into the question (Huertas, 2004:31) coincided with the redevelopment of the area and the disappearance of the Camp de la Bota area when facilities for the Forum of Cultures were built. This caused alarm about the future of the monument and the controversial plaque, which was lost. Various complaints were lodged and some alternatives were also proposed, such as building a wall bearing the names of all those executed.[25] A project by the artist Francesc Abad is particularly worthy of attention.[26]

The monument by Navarro was relocated to one of the squares in the new Forum complex and a modified plaque was installed with, added to the original lines, the phrase: "and those of the post-war period, 1936-1952". At the initiative of the APMILC, the association promoting the memory of those who sacrificed themselves for the freedom of Catalonia, an event was organized to unveil a new inscription, attended by almost 40 pro-memory associations. Substituting the previous one, this plaque is at the base of the monument and exclusively remembers the republicans executed in Camp de la Bota during the post-war period. Barcelona City Council refrained from adding a panel with historic information on the site – but the Memorial Democrático organization[27] and the City Council of Sant Adrià de Besòs – the town where the firing squad wall was located – did install one.

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[24] "May joy begin again in my old age / without erasing any scars. / Father of the night, the sea and silence / I want peace but I do not want to forget." (Que en mis años la alegría recomience / sin borrar ninguna cicatriz. / Padre de la noche, del mar y del silencio / yo quiero la paz pero no quiero el olvido.)

[25] See: "De com el Forum 2004 contribueix a esborrar la memoria històrica", http://barcelona.indymedia.org/newswire/display/85957/index.php.

[26] The project can be consulted at http://francescabad/Campdelabota.com which also includes the dossier "Diagonal, núm.1 08019 Barcelona," published in *L'Avenç* 291, May 2004. This virtual project has been exhibited in several cities in Catalonia and elsewhere.

[27] See the magnificent signposting of the Camp de la Bota execution wall, installed by the Memoria Democrática board in 2009.

The last project to be analysed here is a large piece of land at the foot of some cliffs by Montjuïc Cemetery, mentioned above: Fossar de la Pedrera (El Fossar), used as a mass grave for those executed by Franco's authorities. At the beginning of the democratic era it was completely deteriorated, a feast for rats, covered in garbage. Since 1977, the APMILC association had proposed recovering and improving the site, installing a monument to commemorate those who died "fighting for democratic liberties", and transferring the mortal remains of the former Catalan president Lluís Companys there. They also asked for burials at El Fossar to stop, which was conceded in 1979.[28] Shortly after that, the City Council started cleaning the area and considered the need to work on improving and redeveloping it, while the APMILC initiated a public campaign to raise funds for the monument (a Descent from the Cross) mentioned above, commissioned to the sculptor Ferran Ventura on 13 June 1981.

The stone work was to be installed in the courtyard of the Catalan Parliament library, while a replica in bronze was made for El Fossar. The stone figure was inaugurated on 15 June 1984, the bronze on 21 October. The Fossar area being in the middle of redevelopment did not stop hundreds of citizens attending the event, which was clearly marked by major demands. Heribert Barrera, President of the Catalan Parliament, recalled the fact that there were still those "defeated in the war", and while there were minor references to the place where President Companys was shot, "[...] the statue of his executioner still dominated the area. How much longer do we have to put up with this dishonour", in reference to the large equestrian statue of Franco in the courtyard of Montjuïc Castle. (Conesa, 2013)

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[28] Historical data published in 2004 by the Associació Pro Memòria als Immolats per la Llibertat a Catalunya.
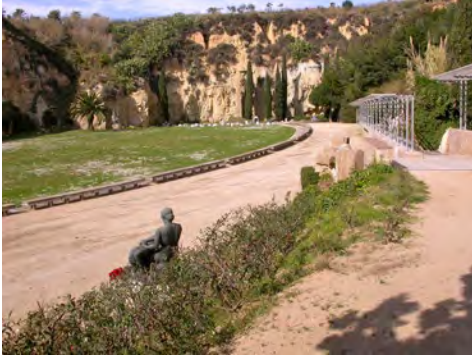
Fig. 13: Perspectiva del Fossar de la Pedrera, amb la "Pietat" en primer terme. Photo: Guillem Risques

Fig. 14: Columnes amb els noms dels afusellats a l'entrada del Fossar de la Pedrera. Photo: Guillem Risques

Fig. 15: Text de Mª Aurèlia Capmany, Fossar de la Pedrera. Photo: Guillem Risques

Fig. 16: Tomba del president Lluís Companys, Fossar de la Pedrera. Photo: Guillem Risques

On 27 October 1985, the remodelled El Fossar was officially opened.[29] In his speech, Jordi Pujol, the president of the Generalitat, stated that the site was also the grave of the victims of the air raids as well as those, above all priests and members of religious orders, who died as a result of the violence of the revolutionaries: "[...] All of them, from the unknown soldiers to the nuns, victims of that outburst of fratricide". His words corrected the attitude of Barrera and appealed to a historical memory that would not be based "[...] on resentful memories, or on a spirit of vengeance and hate [...] the Catalans should look to the future [...] as brothers and sisters, without harbouring any sense of resentment". He eliminated all the distinctions between the victims and introduced the factor of negative feelings, not used by the associations (vengeance, hate, resentment), to put a stop

[29] Designed by the architect Beth Galí.

to policies of redress regarding historical memory which demanded the assumption of responsibilities (which in no way supposes a recourse to negative feelings) as a base for reconciliation. He also raised doubts on the area being reclaimed as one of republican and anti-Francoist mourning, by widening the political scope of those buried there.

Fig. 17: Làpides, Fossar de la Pedrera. Photo: Guillem Risques

Fig. 18: Làpida familiar, Fossar de la Pedrera. Photo: Guillem Risques

Fig. 19: Memorial 1939-1945, Fossar de la Pedrera. Photo: Guillem Risques

Fig. 20: Làpida memorial, camp de Mauthausen. Photo: Guillem Risques

As a result, El Fossar has become a rather unusual space of redress, not free from "conflicts" of historical memory. It is designed as a route for the visitor to discover commemorative monuments: there is a set of stairs leading to a group of columns which bear the names of those executed during the Franco era. The first two columns have a quote by the author Maria Aurèlia Capmany.[30] Past the group of columns is a

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[30] "Here in El Fossar de la Pedrera lie the remains of those executed by fascist forces in El Camp de la Bota and other places, from 1939. We will never know the names of many of them, but our tribute is to all of them. This is a former common grave used until 1979 to bury those who had no resources for a proper burial, and those who

large open area. To the left, ten monoliths commemorate the Holocaust. To the right, a cement bench in several sections delimits the area and forms the access to the monument to those who sacrificed themselves and to the tomb of President Companys. At the far end are several stone plaques and steles dedicated to: Joan Comorera, the founder of the PSUC political party and minister of the Generalitat; the members of the International Brigades (Jewish, Austrian, German, etc.); the guerrilla fighters who died in Catalonia; the men and women of the PSUC; the Masonic Lodge, and many others. But there are also family tombstones. In October 2010, the Memorial Democrático organization put up several information panels by the tomb of Companys and, in June 2011, the CNT trade union installed *a steel monolith* in the square. The morphology is related to interesting conflicts of historical memory.

1. As President Pujol remarked, and as recent research by Ricard Conesa confirms, the space, with its solemn character, *does not only refer to those who were shot during the Franco era*. From 1936 to 1979 the area was used as a common grave, meaning that members of the republican rearguard who died or were assassinated were buried there, as well as people without financial resources – several individual inscriptions attest to this.[31]

2. The APMILC promoted the idea of a claim on the graveyard to identify it exclusively with the republican and anti-Francoist victims. This caused a conflict with the initiative of Jewish organizations to remember those who had died in the Nazi concentration camps. The City Council's decision to accept the Jewish request was vilified by the APMILC, but nevertheless, it was carried out. Also, the presence of several stone plaques and steles has motivated memorial tributes, such as that to the survivors of the International Brigades in 2009, the guerrilla fighters, and to the PSUC. Finally, the tomb of Companys has attracted the most intensive memorial events, with major nationalist and institutional content, every year on 15 October, the day he was executed by firing squad.

3. There is a *lack of criteria* in the names inscribed in the columns. Some are of people who were executed during the dictatorship, but were *not* buried in El Fossar ("Txiqui", for example), and not all names correspond to people killed during the dicta-

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wished to express their solidarity with the poor and those who had sacrificed themselves. Their graves bear no names but the memory of them will be with us forever." ("En este fossar de la Pedrera reposan quienes fueron fusilados en el Camp de la Bota y otros lugares por las fuerzas fascistas desde 1939. De muchos de ellos no sabremos nunca el nombre, pero nuestro homenaje es para todos ellos. Antigua fosa común donde fueron enterrados hasta 1979 quienes no disponían de sepultura y quiénes quisieron expresar su solidaridad con los humildes y los inmolados. Su tumba es anónima pero su recuerdo nos acompañará siempre.")

[31] A graphic testimony worth highlighting is a photograph by Eugenio Forcano showing a little boy praying in front of a grave in El Fossar de la Pedrera. The image was reproduced in Molinero, 2012.

torship (some are of pro-independence activists killed in 1978 and 1979). Finally, several names need to be highlighted, such as Justo Bueno. As a member of the FAI anarchist federation, he was one of the four assumed to be behind the assassination of the separatist leader Miquel Badia and his brother Josep, on 28 April 1936. During the Civil War, Bueno carried out other assassinations and committed robberies. He was persecuted by the republican authorities and, following a tortuous process, the Negrín administration issued an order to extradite him from France to Madrid. When the national troops took Barcelona, Bueno was set free, after it was argued that he had been persecuted for his anti-Catalan and anti-communist ideas. However, once in Barcelona, he was arrested again by Superintendent Pedro Polo of the Brigada Político-Social, who had formerly worked with Miquel Badia. Shortly afterwards, he was executed by firing squad. These events, with many obscure circumstances, have led to his name being erased from the column by supposed activists of the Estat Català political party, only to be re-inscribed – the name appears and disappears.

4. The existence of another common grave in Montjuïc Cemetery has been verified, known as Agrupación Sant Jaume. It is in the Mediterranean gardens and has stone plaques with inscriptions about the dictatorship from before and after the Civil War.

Whatever the case, even now, El Fossar, one of the few places in Barcelona dedicated strictly to redress, is of very limited value due to being far from the city centre and its rare use as a memorial (except for the 15 October ritual tribute to Companys). According to Ricard Conesa, its situation raises the question of its social function as a place of memory, not so much because of its geographical location, but rather due to the lack of clear public policies of redress for the republican and anti-Francoist memory.

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/ Reclaiming Memory. Historical Memory Itinerary of Les Corts District, Barcelona

Núria Ricart[1]

Well into the twenty-first century, we coexist in Barcelona in a public space of construction, destruction and recovery, overlaid with layers of memory. (Remesar, Ricart; 2014) This dynamic is very evident in districts such as Les Corts, in the western part of the Barcelona plain, where two of the most significant monuments of Franco's dictatorship have been completely removed from the public space: one dedicated to José Antonio Primo de Rivera, inaugurated in 1964 and demolished in 2009, and the other in homage to the fallen, built in 1953 and taken down in 2005. Both sites still lack a new project that could provide, from a democratic position, justification for those belated removals, almost forty years after the dictator's death.

Fig. 1: Centre of Les Corts, 1924. The Church of El Remei is in the foreground and Avenida Diagonal in the background. Source: Archivo Maria Barceló i Mas.

[1] CR POLIS – GRC, arte, ciudad, sociedad (Universitat de Barcelona).

Les Corts was originally an independent municipality, autonomous between 1836 and 1897, the year in which Barcelona began its annexation policy. As a predominantly agricultural area, it was dedicated, at the time, to growing cereals. It underwent gradual suburban expansion, although it should be noted that the population density is, and has always been, very low when compared with the Barcelona that spread under the *Ensanche* expansion plan devised by Ildefons Cerdà (1859). Another late-nineteenth century feature is the introduction of the textile industry and major facilities that operated at an intermunicipal level, such as the psychiatric hospital and the Maternity Complex.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, with Les Corts already a part of larger Barcelona, urban development led to the creation of Avenida Diagonal, the first stadium of Futbol Club Barcelona, and the San Ramón neighbourhood.
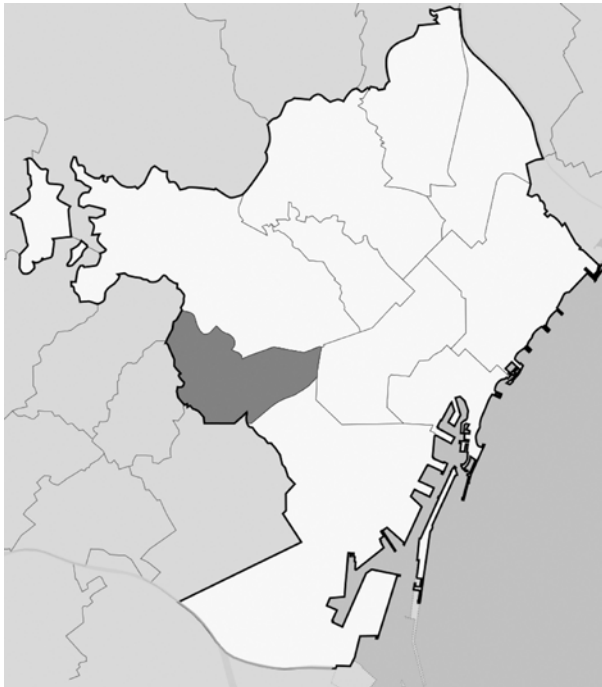

Fig. 2: Les Corts District in Barcelona, 2014. Source: Author.

However, it was mainly during Franco's dictatorship when the district acquired its current structure and urban density. Particularly important in this long and intense period were the development of the Zona Universitaria campus, at the western end of Avenida Diagonal; the development of the La Mercè neighbourhood and Pedralbes,

with housing for the wealthier classes; the arrangement of Plaza Pío XII y María Cristina as a venue for the Eucharistic Congress of 1952; and finally the construction of the first urban ring road. While Les Corts underwent urban development as one of the areas of real and social power linked to the regime, its appearance was still rather varied throughout the 1950s and 1960s, with clusters of shacks scattered around its territory, in particular those in the areas of María Cristina and Camp Nou.
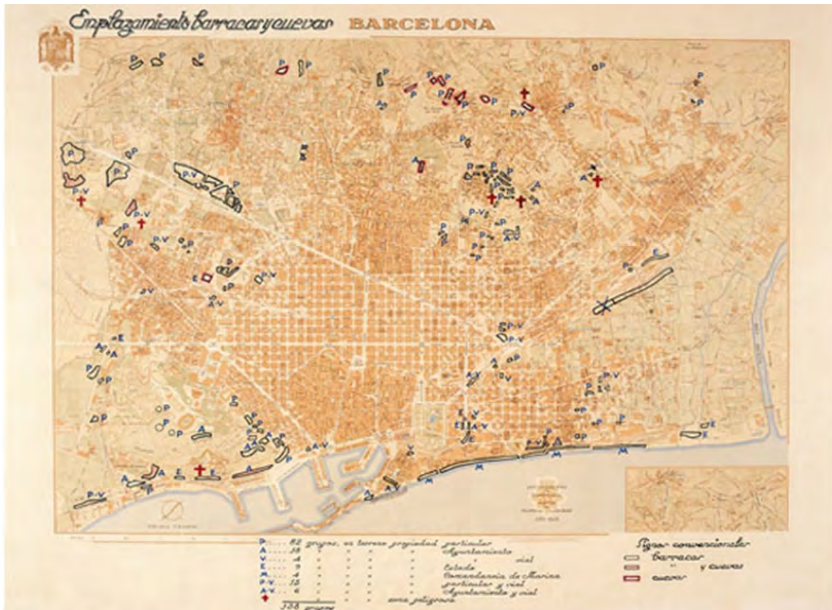

Fig. 3: *Location of shacks and underground dwellings*, Barcelona City Council. City Map Service, 1945. Source: Barcelona administrative municipal archives.

During the dictatorship, Les Corts housed several facilities whose reach went far beyond the local level, such as the residence for army officers and the women's prison, which, along with Las Ventas prison in Madrid, was one of the most important in all of Spain. These two and the Cuartel del Bruc military barracks at the southern end of Avenida Diagonal - from 1939 to 1976 called *Avenida del Generalísimo* – complete the trio of facilities that determined a concentration of military power and repression during Franco's dictatorship.

Major state projects for monuments appeared alongside these infrastructures forming the embodiment of power. This became the perfect place to house the symbolic works and rituals of the dictatorship. (Cirici; 1977) Several monuments were added to the two newly built ones mentioned above. One was *Héroes de Espinosa de los Monter-*

os, erected in 1955 in tribute to the men who fought in one of the epic battles of the Spanish Civil War, and another the monolith dedicated to the Condor Legion, inaugurated with Nazi paraphernalia in 1941, during World War II, and torn down in 1980.

All these sites have been disfigured by citizens and the heritage management policies carried out by the City Council since the arrival of democracy in 1979. (Remesar, Ricart; 2014) Added to this is the character of the district: a business hub, a residential area for middle and upper classes and home to the institution and the most-visited museum in Catalonia of the Futbol Club Barcelona.

As with any urban area, Les Corts is much more than a collection of memories, firmly founded on historical events along with testimonies, experiences and images. (Harvey) Even so, this is the area where we can understand the development of dictatorial power over almost forty years, paying attention to the means and infrastructures of repression, forms of ideological control and the construction of places for ritual and symbolic events. (Cirici: 1977) The development over forty years of what could be considered a network – more or less designed – of the embodiment of power.

There is a growing interest in the study of places of memory, their identification and legitimisation:

> These places of memory are, fundamentally, the last remnants of a memory awareness which has barely managed to survive in a historical era that reclaims memory because it feels memory has abandoned it [...] Places of memory have their foundations in the sensation that there is no spontaneous memory, that we should deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organise celebrations, give praise and draw up laws since these are no longer natural activities. (Nora: 1989, p.15)

In the case of Les Corts District, places of memory can take on the shape of a route, as a means of communication not only of a single site, but of a network of spaces intrinsically linked to a certain historical period. This was the context for the project for a historical memory itinerary in Les Corts. Begun in 2011, the project was run by the CR POLIS research centre and the master's degree in Urban Design offered by the University of Barcelona in collaboration with the Association for Culture and Memory (Asociació Acme) and the European Observatory of Memories (EUROM). Supervisors were Antoni Remesar and Nuria Ricart on behalf of CR POLIS, and Jordi Guixé for EUROM and Acme. Presented to the public in January 2013, it was met with an enthusiastic response and made a great impact.[2]

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[2] See: https://rutadememoria.wordpress.com.

Fig. 4: Image of the *Ruta de la Memoria Histórica de Les Corts* exhibition held 9-30 January 2013 in Les Corts civic centre. Source: Núria Ricart.

Taking into account the scope of the idea and the study of other examples in Barcelona and beyond, where places of memory have been signposted and dignified, the project was given a double entry into the public space. One is physical, provided with the amount of texture Lefebvre would require (Lefebvre, 1971, p.76) so that communication can take place in an urban context using the city's own language. The other is virtual, as a memorial, with all the required historical information, documentation and records accessible online, enabling a layer-by-layer understanding of the evolution of the territory. This includes things of interest, such as information on Barcelona public art, publicly accessible since 2004 on the bcn.cat/artpublic website and via a smartphone application since 2013. Another example, strongly characterised by making available historical data and its geo-referenced information, is the memoriabcn.cat project, which can be accessed from the sites of memory themselves. This has been promoted by Barcelona City Council and the Conèixer Història Association since 2013.

The project aims to interweave the physical and virtual elements. The physical elements in the public space, ranging from iconic items to artistic or monumental objects, have greater or lesser referential ability to convey the defining features and identity of a specific place of memory. The online information and documentation is meant to reduce interference from the number of signs in the urban context. A hybrid solution in the form of an info-totem has been applied in some very specific places of memory, such as the Maternity Complex.

While the dissemination of virtual content and the provision of access to it have already become a part of heritage and culture management – and are becoming more and more preeminent – it is essential to also consider the relevance of the influence of historical information found in the physical form in the territory. Both channels of communication and representation are increasingly ambivalent and necessary.

The project puts forward an urban itinerary of 15 sites in Les Corts District, which were symbols of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), the Civil War (1936-1939), the Franco era (1939-1975) and the transition to democracy (1975-1981), and which are now being reinterpreted from the critical point of view of the present. Along the itinerary, the spaces where public art, iconography or architecture itself were erected as the image or physical representation of an authoritarian system are signposted and contextualised through various initiatives. (Fisas et al. 2012)

The project delves more deeply particularly in those places where demolitions were carried out without a new design being offered, which resulted in sites without memory (Ricart, 2012) at present completely expressionless. This is the case of the old monuments to José Antonio Primo de Rivera and to the fallen, and of the women's prison. For these, design projects for urban planning and public art were drawn up with the intention of, firstly, dignifying the sites as public spaces, and secondly, making the sites visible and giving them iconographic expression according to their role during Franco's regime.

The itinerary's design stage involved:

- identifying places of memory,
- the logo for the itinerary,
- the elements that identify each place of memory,
- the info-totems for specific places along the route,
- artistic and public space initiatives for those spaces without memory,
- a webpage interface as a prototype to store and revitalise content,
- a leaflet with the itinerary description.

Fig. 5: Itinerary logo. Design by: Fisas, Ortiz, Panagiotopoulu, Urbanska - master's degree in Urban Design, 2012. Ayala, Contreras, Martínez, Taji - master's degree in Urban Design, 2013. Supervisors: Remesar, Ricart (CR POLIS); Guixé (EUROM - Acme).


Fig. 6: Element to identify places of memory. It has a QR code to access online content. Design by: Fisas, Ortiz, Panagiotopoulu, Urbanska - master's degree in Urban Design, 2012. Supervisors: Remesar, Ricart (CR POLIS); Guixé (EUROM - Acme).
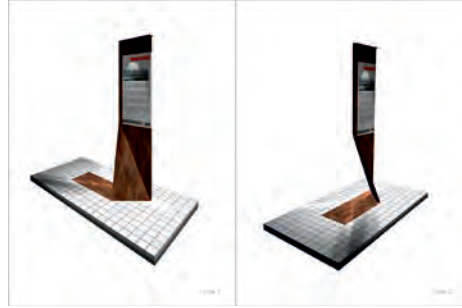
Figs. 7 and 8: Info-totems installed at certain places of memory. Design by Ayala, Contreras, Martínez, Taji - master's degree in Urban Design, 2013. Supervisors: Remesar, Ricart (CR POLIS); Guixé (EUROM - Acme).

A study was made on the use of applications to download audiovisual content to mobile devices. The identification elements at the sites were to incorporate Quick Response (QR) codes to give access to the site's history in writing (text files), visually (image galleries) and in sound (podcasts). Recognizing that to remember what happened there and the significance of a place, a symbol or an occurrence is an essential exercise towards comprehending the present and being able to understand the past, as it makes visible the memory that our constructed surroundings have been burying. (Fisas et al., 2012)

A proposal was made for the identification elements of the places of memory to be installed in the pavement, using transparent resin blocks measuring 40 by 40 cm, to fit in with Barcelona's concrete paving stones. The itinerary logo, made of steel and embedded in the blocks, would be clearly visible. The aim is to identify places in a subtle yet attractive way, using the right size for small and medium-scale settings. On the other hand, thought was given to the need to install "totem-type" information panels to more emphatically identify places such as the Maternity Complex, whose scale requires larger elements that enable clearer labelling of the territorial and chronological intricacies of the place of memory as part of the itinerary.
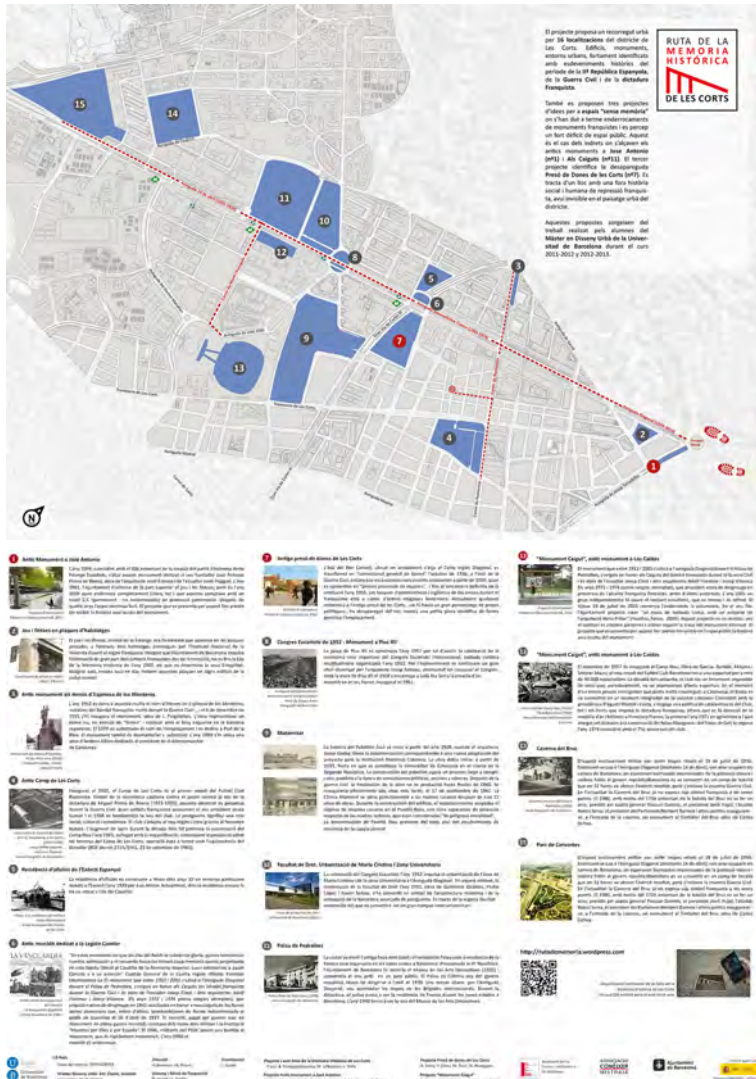
Figs. 9 and 10: Front and back of the itinerary leaflet. Design by: Fisas, Ortiz, Panagiotopoulu, Urbanska - master's degree in Urban Design, 2012. Ayala, Contreras, Martínez, Taji - master's degree in Urban Design, 2013. Supervisors: Remesar, Ricart (CR POLIS); Guixé (EUROM - Acme).

The itinerary marks several places along the stretch of the main artery, Avenida Diagonal, from Plaza Francesc Macià to the Cuartel del Bruc military barracks. The thoroughfare itself, one of the most important in the city, is also a place of memory: in 1936, troops taking part in the military uprising marched from the barracks to Plaza

Cataluña. In 1938, along the section near Palau de Pedralbes, at the time the seat of the republican government, the International Brigades marched down the avenue prior to leaving the country, and the republican army, to its own devices. The official street index is a record of the nature of this space. In his 1859 *Ensanche* expansion project, city planner Ildefons Cerdà named the thoroughfare *Avenida Diagonal*, in reference to the angle cutting through the orthogonal grid of the new district. During the Second Spanish Republic it was named *Avenida 14 de April*. In the years of the dictatorship it was denominated *Avenida del Generalísimo*. With the return of democracy, the avenue recovered its original name.

The first place marked on the itinerary is in present-day Paseo Josep Tarradellas, very close to Plaza Francesc Macià. Between 1964 and 2009 it was the site of the monument dedicated to José Antonio Primo de Rivera, designed by the architect Jordi Estrany and with reliefs by the sculptor Jordi Puiggalí (no. 1 on the itinerary). The work was built for the thirtieth anniversary of the creation of the far-right Falange Española party. In 1981, in the democratic period, the City Council removed the shield with symbols of the dictatorship which was highly visible at the top of the central monolith, but it wasn't until 2009, almost 30 years after this first move, when the whole monument was torn down. The decision was very surprising since the monument had been given a C:C (not to be demolished) classification for cultural heritage protection. The decision did not involve an appropriate public space project. In 2014, five years on, the site was in a sorry state of abandonment.[3] (Remesar and Ricart, 2014)

Fig. 11: Front view of the monument dedicated to Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera; image from before 1981. Source: Archivo Huertas – Fabre (CR POLIS). Fig. 12: Rear view of the monument dedicated to Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, 2001. Source: Antoni Remesar. Fig. 13: Present-day view of the site following the removal of the monument, 2013. Source: Núria Ricart

The site was to be marked as one of the 15 spaces on the Les Corts historical memory itinerary through the installation of a resin plaque in the pavement. Also, given its present state of abandonment, a design was made for a complete remodelling of

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[3] The destruction of dictatorship monuments has been studied by Gamboni (1997) and Rocha (2006).

the site (Rios et al. 2012) involving the creation of a slight change of level in the area where the monument used to stand. This is with a longitudinal ridge, opposing the volume of the former monument (which stood transversally on the avenue), whose edge, like a timeline, produces a new reading of memory. The idea is for the line to allow explanations of the most significant events that occurred there after the inauguration of the monument. This information is to be combined with the changes in the street name since it was built, as registered in the official index of streets.

The design proposes using reddish, unpolished corten steel for the timeline and the edges of the ridge. For heightened contrast, grey asphalt is to be used for the rest of the pavement. The lower area will feature a subtle reminder of the outline of the old monument, using a corten steel profile to mark the perimeter of what once stood there. On either side of the avenue a line of black locust trees (Robinia pseudoacacia) is foreseen to frame the space and enhance the linearity of the avenue which at present is fully blocked.

Fig. 14: Renderings of the design for the former monument to Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera (Rios, Castillo, Duarte, Gutiérrez, Künzler, Tobón - master's degree in Urban Design, 2011-2012. Supervisors: Remesar, Ricart (CR POLIS); Guixé (EUROM - Acme). Itinerary site no.1.

The itinerary continues along Avenida Diagonal with a stop at one of the most used signs of the regime, a plaque marking *viviendas de protección oficial* – subsidised housing – built under Franco's administration (no. 2 on the itinerary). Clearly visible on the plaque is the fascist symbolism of the Yoke and Arrows along with the words *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* (National Housing Institute). Though the city of Barcelona has promoted the removal of all Franco symbols – from 2007 based on the Historical Memory Law – today there are still several plaques attached to buildings throughout the city because the decision to remove them must be taken by the association of property owners of each building.

Fig. 15: Photomontage highlighting the typical symbols of the National Housing Institute. This example is attached to the building at 493, Avenida Diagonal. Source: Authors. On the occasion of the exhibition *Ruta de la Memoria Histórica de Les Corts* (January 2013). Site no.2 on the itinerary.

Fig. 16: Image of *Monumento a los Héroes de Espinosa de los Monteros*, in the square now dedicated to Prat de la Riba. Source: Archivo Huertas-Fabre (CR POLIS). Site no. 3 on the itinerary.

On Avenida de Sarrià, at the junction of Gran Via de Carlos III, is the site of the former *Monumento a los Héroes de Espinosa de los Monteros* (no. 3 on the itinerary). By J. Puigdollers, this was erected in 1955 as a tribute to the Catalans who fought alongside Franco's forces and were killed during the Civil War. It featured a naked man standing to attention with his left arm holding the Spanish flag. In 1979, the site was

renamed and dedicated to Prat de la Riba and the monument was taken down. In 1999, a statue by Andreu Alfaro was installed, dedicated to the President of the *Mancomunidad de Cataluña* (an institution grouping Catalonia's four provincial administrations).

Fig. 17: Aerial view of the Fútbol Club Barcelona stadium in Les Corts (1930-1936). Source: Josep Maria Sagarra, Pau Lluís Torrents. Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona. Site no. 4 on the itinerary.

Fig. 18: Aerial view of the new Fútbol Club Barcelona stadium (Camp Nou, 1961). Source: Arxiu Municipal del Districte de les Corts. Site no. 13 on the itinerary.

The next site is where the first stadium of the Fútbol Club Barcelona used to stand. Opened in 1922, it was known as *el Campo de Les Corts* (Site no. 4). Since the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), the football club had been a symbol of Catalan resistance against the central power, maintaining its identity during the Civil War, when Franco's soldiers killed the club's chairman, Josep Sunyol, and bombed its headquarters. The postwar period led to social, cultural and economic crises. They adapted to the new regime and managed to grow thanks to the brilliant player Kubala. In the 1950s, the growing number of members made it possible to build Camp Nou in 1957 (no. 13). It was designed by García-Barbón, Mitjans and Soteras Mauri, with funding from land speculation following the rezoning procedure of the old football stadium. This planning development was carried out with the acquiescence of the dictator (published on 23 September 1965 in the official state gazette: BOE, decree 2735/1965).

On the site of the former football ground we now find a sheet of black marble with an inscription in memory of the location. Once installed in the new premises, club membership shot up which, paradoxically, was not accompanied by sporting successes. In a period of large-scale migration that saw many people move to Catalonia, *Barça* became a medium of integration into Catalan society. When Agustí Montal i Costa

was chairman of the club, a policy of Catalanisation was instituted, defying the limits imposed by Franco's dictatorship. At the same time, the club presented Francisco Franco with two gold and diamond medals. The first in 1971, in appreciation of the dictator's support for the construction of the *Palau Blaugrana* and *Palau de Gel* – the football stadium and the ice rink; the second in 1974, on the 75th anniversary of the club.

We now reach Plaza de María Cristina, a site with strong ideological significance. Here we find the residence for army officers (no. 5), built in the late 1950s on private land that had been ceded to the army in 1939 for military use. At present, there is still a portrait in oil of the *Caudillo* inside the building.

Fig. 19: View of the residence for army officers (1940). Source: Josep Permanyer. Arxiu Municipal del Districte de les Corts. Site no. 5 on the itinerary.

Fig. 20: Inauguration of the monolith dedicated to the Condor Legion. Source: *La Vanguardia Española* (23 November 1941). Site no. 6 on the itinerary.

Nearby is the site where the monolith dedicated to the Condor Legion was erected (no. 6). Financed by the Nazi Government in 1941, it was erected in honour of the German aviators who, as a sign of support and goodwill towards Franco's army, bombed the town of Guernika on 26 April 1937. A symbol of recognition for the German Embassy's support of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War, the memorial had an inscription in German and the phrase *Muertos por Dios y por España* (Fallen for God and for Spain). In his inauguration speech, Alfredo Kindelán, Captain General of the fourth region stated:

> At a time when the wings of the Reich are covered in glory, I wish to state our admiration for and remembrance of the heroes whose memory is perpetuated with this stone plaque. Convey to the Führer of Imperial Germany, how much we admire that army and its aviation. (*La Vanguardia* newspaper archives)

In 1946, PSUC activists bombed the monument, but it was quickly rebuilt. After the return of democracy, in 1980, the monolith was removed from the public space. It was the first demolition planned by the City Council after the first municipal elections of the new democracy. (Huertas and Fabre, 2004)

Another nearby site on the itinerary is marked as one of the most important penitentiary institutions of the postwar period; the women's prison of Les Corts (no. 7). Located on the outskirts of the city on the road from Les Corts to Sarrià, it became a prison in 1936, although the bloodiest events took place between 1939 and 1955. During this period, thousands of women and children were crowded together there, and eleven prisoners were executed at the other end of Barcelona, at El Campo de La Bota. Changes in land use and the consolidation of the area as an administrative, commercial and business centre have turned it into a hub of activity that is completely oblivious to the events that took place there at an earlier stage. More specifically, the plot where the prison building used to stand is now occupied by one of the El Corte Ingles department stores. The area that was taken up by the prison's vegetable plots and the fountain now has residential buildings and office blocks. Today there are no pre-existing elements that bear witness to the past. The social and political oblivion this prison has faded into has also meant the oblivion of the vindication of the memory of the women incarcerated there and what they were put through.

Fig. 21: Temporary public space of memory for the Women's Prison of Les Corts. Citizen participation process http://blocs.lescorts.cc/presodedones. Site no. 7 on the itinerary.

Fig. 22: Signposting system identifying the Women's Prison of Les Corts and Camp de la Bota area (P. Fernández, F. Marín, I. Navas. Supervisors: A. Remesar, N. Ricart, D. Esparza (CR POLIS – UB) and J. Guixé (EUROM – UB) (2013-2015). Construction in 2015, related to the Citizen participation process http://blocs.lescorts.cc/presodedones.
Site no. 7 on the itinerary.

This was why a series of design projects was carried out to promote a monument dedicated to these victims of reprisal during Franco's regime. All the proposed designs make use of an abstract language, but aim to be intelligible, taking shape through images and texts that explain the historical meaning of the monument. This level of communication is not only important for the victims and their relatives but also for those citizens who have daily contact with this work of public art. (Young: 1994)

In 2013, at the request of the residents' association of Les Corts, the students' projects were presented. After that, it began a citizen participation process related with the recovery of this memory. (Ricart, Guixe, 2015)

The next site of memory is in Plaza Pio XII (site no. 8), which was laid out in 1951 after the demolition of a shanty town that had been built during the postwar area. The square was to be the venue for the most important ceremony of the 1952 International Eucharistic Congress, a massively attended Catholic event in Barcelona. An immense altar, designed by the architect Josep Soleras, built for the event and dismantled after the Congress, is today considered an important work of ephemeral art (Fig.23). On the death of Pope Pius XII in 1958, Julián Río Sierra received a commission to create a sculpture in his honour (unveiled in 1961). The sculpture has two elements: a white limestone monolith representing a cassock, and a contrasting cross-shaped crosier of weathered bronze. (Huertas, Fabre, 2004)

Fig. 23: Altar for Pius XII at the Eucharistic Congress (1952). Source: Pérez de Rozas. Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona. Site no. 8 on the itinerary.

Fig. 24: Aerial view of the Faculty of Law. Source: Pablo Tena "Universalidad y adecuación en la obra de LIGS", Pedro López Iñigo, Guillermo Giráldez Dávila and Xavier Subías Fages (1956-1966). Site no. 10 on the itinerary.

The 1952 Eucharistic Congress boosted the urban development of the Zona Universitaria (site no. 10). In 1958, courses began at the Faculty of Law, a symbol of modern architecture and the conception of an advanced postwar Barcelona, designed by Guillermo Giráldez, Pedro López and Xavier Subias. It is the second building of what went on to become a large inter-university campus.

In the same area is the Maternity Complex (site no. 9), built between 1889 and 1898 by the Barcelona Provincial Council as a maternity hospital and a home for abandoned children, serving the province of Barcelona. The charity project was extended over the following decades. In 1928, the architect Josep Goday designed the *Pavelló Blau*, a building with a distinctly modern character, intended for the care of married mothers. The construction proved to be long and complicated, with work completed at the end of 1940 and the official opening taking place two years later, on 17 September 1942. In line with the general situation throughout the country, there were no major improvements to charity institutions during the postwar period. Economic difficulties of the time meant funding had to be sought from private donors and only minor renovation and maintenance could be carried out. In November 1953, the first stone was laid of the last building in the complex, the *Pavelló Cambó*, an extension of the ward for young children, built thanks to the legacy of Francesc Cambó. The Provincial Council architect Manuel Baldrich i Tibau took charge of the design of this structure which was to fit exactly between two existing buildings, closing off the complex along the side running parallel to the street Travessera de Les Corts. The building was officially inaugurated on 25 June 1957.

Fig. 25: Photomontage of one of the entrances to the Maternity Complex with, in the foreground, an info-totem of site no. 9 on the itinerary. Design by Ayala, Contreras, Martínez, Taji - master's degree in Urban Design, 2013. Supervisors: Remesar, Ricart (CR POLIS); Guixé (EUROM - Acme).

The eleventh site on the itinerary is the *Palacio Real* or *Palacio de Pedralbes*, the residence of the Spanish Royal family on their visits to Barcelona between 1919 and 1931. During the Second Republic, it passed into the hands of Barcelona City Council, who used it to house the Museum of Decorative Arts (1932) and transformed the garden into a public park. The palace was the last seat of the Republican Government before they went into exile in 1939. During Franco's regime, the palace became the residence of the head of state and upon the return of democracy, once again became the Museum of Decorative Arts.

Fig. 26: Alcalá Zamora, Francesc Macià, Jaume Aiguader and others visiting the Palacio de Pedralbes (1930-1936). Source: Alexandre Merletti. Institut d'Estudis Fotogràfics de Catalunya. Site no. 11 on the itinerary.

Fig. 27: Redress event at the *Monumento a Los Caídos* (1974). Source: Pérez de Rozas. Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona. Site no. 12 on the itinerary.

From the time the palace was constructed, there was a semicircular developed area opposite the main entrance, on the other side of Avenida Diagonal. It became the site of the monument to the fallen (site no. 12), made in 1953 by the sculptor Josep Clarà, and the architects Adolf Florensa and Josep Vilaseca. It was part of a general postwar move that was promoted under the slogan "celebrating ten years of peace", which involved projects for monuments and plaques, in every city and village, paying tribute to those on Franco's side who had died in the Civil War. These monuments generally had the inscription, "Fallen for God and for Spain".

Despite its modest budget, the work was designed as a monumental structure matching the importance of the site: along the thoroughfare entering the city from the rest of the peninsula, and standing opposite Palacio de Pedralbes, Franco's residence. The design proposal included a semicircular colonnade to frame a sculpture featuring two males, one standing supporting the other, his fallen comrade. In addition there were a few bodies of water to heighten the sense of depth of the scene.
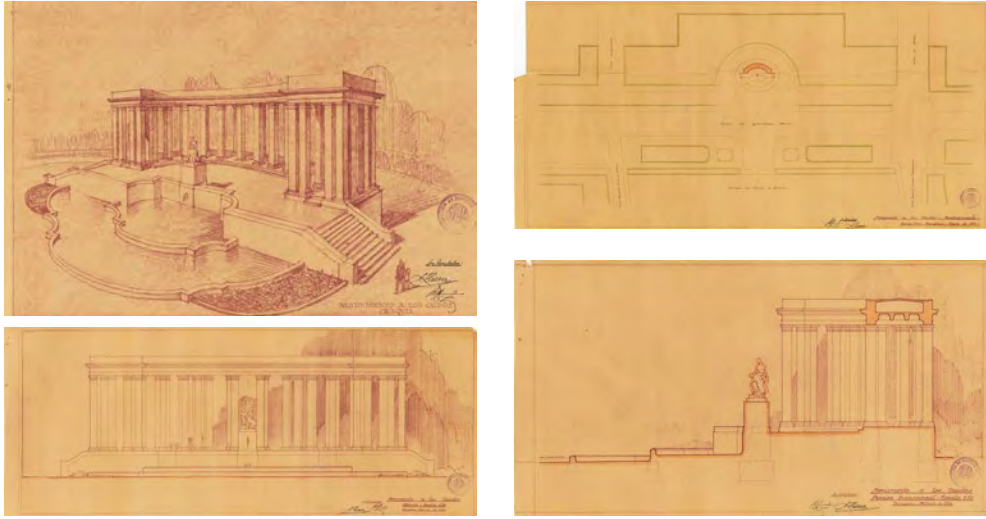
Figs. 28-31: Perspective, floor plan, elevation and cross-section from the design for *Monumento a los Caídos*. Source: Memoria del Proyecto Adolf Florensa y Jose Vilaseca, 1950 (General Archives of the Administration). Site no. 12 on the itinerary.

The work suffered organised attacks from the very beginning. On 18 May 1972, the Front d'Alliberament Català, a clandestine political group, damaged the monument, which thereupon was the object of a redress event attended by the francoist mayor Porcioles. Two years later, an anarchist group carried out another attack on the monument, which was followed by another redress event on 26 January 1974, in the presence of the authorities and important figures singing *Cara al Sol*, the anthem of the Falange organisation, their arms raised in the fascist salute (Fig. 27). Finally, after the anti-fascist platform of Barcelona damaged the monument on 1 June 2001, it was taken down (Fig.32).

It was because the pro-independence group Maulets had placed banners in opposition to the Spanish army, a few hours before the attack, that the *El Periódico de Cataluña* newspaper identified them as the perpetrators on 2 June. On Thursday, 28 July 2005, with the statue already gone, demolition work began on the colonnade. The City Council planned to convert the site into

[...] a civic meeting point, with a design by the architect Helio Piñón which includes a five-metre-high glass prism and an irregular slab of stone with steel profiles which reflect the sunlight during the day and are lit at night with a fibre-optic installation. (Huertas, Fabre, 2004; Español, 2003)

The project was not executed: instead, flowerbeds were laid out and trees were planted along the perimeter of the disappeared monument. In 2013, the site was named Plaza de Ramón María Roca. By covering the site, the main achievement was the creation of an area that is completely oblivious to its history.

Fig. 32: Photo of Clará's work for *Monumento a los Caídos*, attacked in 2001.

Fig. 33: Rendering of the design by Helio Piñon - not executed - for the former *Monumento a los Caídos*. Source: *La Vanguardia*, 11 September 2005.

This lack of memory is the context for the design project "Fallen Monument". (Ballesteros et al. 2012) The aim is to make the currently hidden history of the monument visible in the public space, installing vinyl panels at the main public transport nodes that connect the area. An illustrated timeline, whose title makes reference to the ancient monument, to mediate between the gaze of the citizen, the public transport user, and the place, devoid of content.

Fig. 34: *Monumento Caído*. Design project for site no. 12 on the itinerary. (Ballesteros, B., Campos, P., Mao, Y., Mejía - master's degree in Urban Design, 2012. Supervisors: Remesar, Ricart (CR POLIS); Guixé (EUROM - Acme).

On 19 July 1936, the troops which took part in the military uprising set off from the Cuartel del Bruc military barracks (site no. 14). From Avenida Diagonal (then named Avenida 14 April), they moved further and further into the streets of Barcelona, where they were awaited by makeshift barricades set up by the working population, men and women, and even soldiers that remained loyal to the republican government. Barcelona became a battlefield and the insurgent troops were defeated in 32 hours. But the military uprising had begun: a bloody foretaste of the beginning of the Civil War. At present, the Cuartel del Bruc continues to fulfil its military function, but the façades no longer display any Francoist symbols.

Fig. 35: View of Cuartel del Bruc (1934). Source: Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona. Site no.14 on the itinerary.

The last stop on the itinerary is at Cervantes Park, located on land that was cut through by the Estela, the stream which drained the water coming down from the peak of Sant Pere Màrtir. The park is in a triangular plot bounded by the last stretch of Avenida Diagonal, Avenida Esplugues and Calle de Manuel Ballbé. Lluís Ruidor i Carrol, the chief architect of the parks and gardens department from 1939 to 1967, made the landscaping design for the park in 1965. He defined two different types of landscaping for the surface of over nine hectares, although the heart of this park is the rose garden, which boasts approximately 220 varieties of roses, the result of the relocation and expansion of the Amargós rose garden on Montjuïc mountain.

› Conclusions

The city has achieved the category of a huge and complex palimpsest on which the present is built, a present which is remarkable or ordinary, sensitive or indifferent to the past. The force of the present can allow forgetfulness towards the city and the occurrences in it, an unintended neglect of facts, places and people. On the other hand, it may boost the mythification of the past, suspending the present in pursuit of idealising history.

The destruction of art related to Franco's dictatorship in Barcelona lies at the base of the Historical Memory Itinerary of Les Corts district, which promotes a mixture of two related strategies; differentiating between the construction of new public art projects (fixing memory in the public space) and memorials (which can be developed in TIC platforms). (Remesar, Ricart; 2014) New technologies offer the explanation, significance and appreciation of places of memory. In some cases, due to their preponderance, these places should include public art as monuments to link their use and form to the events that took place in their contemporary history.

Historical memory is synonymous with conflict, even today, almost forty years after the death of the dictator. Therefore, it is our duty to continue to work to prevent the conflict being misrepresented, hidden or distorted. We must delve into those sites to dig up the layers of history. We must understand the symbolic dimension of our heritage, of the place, of the built or effaced object, in order to inform, clarify, explain, reveal, vindicate, etc., as ways to dignify democracy, citizenship and public space now and for the future.

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/ PUBLIC SPACE AND MEMORY

This publication aims to generate an open arena for debate dealing with memory and public space; issues which are highly complex in both theoretical and practical terms. The broad scope of perspectives presented in the papers helps us understand some of the current lines of thinking on memory and the city from an interdisciplinary point of view (art, urban design, history), looking at the politics and management of memory in public space. Ruins, remains and immaterial spaces of memory or heritage may be understood as elements which organise space in relation to its connections with the events of the past and the future; stimulating debate about current political consensus and dissent. The remnants of the past, John Berger would say, are not just those which remain when something has disappeared: they may also in themselves form the mark of a project.