

1. The unfinished façade of Barcelona's Cathedral, 1887. (Courtesy Arxiu Fotogràfic de l'Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona)

Invention and Authenticity in Barcelona's *Barri Gòtic*

Every day, hundreds of tourists walk through the *Barri Gòtic* in the historic center of Barcelona, where they admire a well-conserved district that, on its surface, seems to transport them back in time to medieval Barcelona. Most of these visitors leave the *Barri Gòtic* without realizing that this medieval quarter is, by and large, a creation of the twentieth century. It is effectively an enormous lie, albeit a lie built from authentic medieval fragments, intended to preserve their historical authenticity.

The origin and construction of the *Barri Gòtic* must be analyzed from an architectural and urban planning perspective, where it constitutes part of a long and complex project to transform the historic center of Barcelona. But more importantly, it must be analyzed as a mode of historical interpretation accomplished through architecture, where the architecture of the past was (and is) used to evoke, interpret, and reinterpret Barcelona's past. The idea for the *Barri Gòtic* was born in the nineteenth century and within the realm of the era's aesthetics. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the plan for the *Barri Gòtic* was defined under the influence of Catalan nationalism to promote Catalonia's urban tradition by an association with Barcelona's medieval past. The Gothic mode was seen as symbolic of Barcelona's greatest historical splendor, but the *Barri Gòtic* remained unbuilt. Under two periods of anti-Catalanist dictatorship in the second quarter of the twentieth century, Spanish nationalists seized the project and transformed its symbolism during its construction. The *Barri Gòtic* is, therefore, the history of an idea that endured Spain's twentieth-century political upheavals to emerge as a material reality.

The construction of the *Barri Gòtic* illustrates architecture's ability to evoke the past and create identity; the conservation and restoration of historic spaces almost always carries with it a strong symbolic content. At the same time, the *Barri Gòtic* retains a formal coherence despite the length of time that passed between its inception and ultimate completion, and the varying (and often opposed) ideologies of the actors involved in its creation and construction.

Invention and Construction of the *Barri Gòtic*

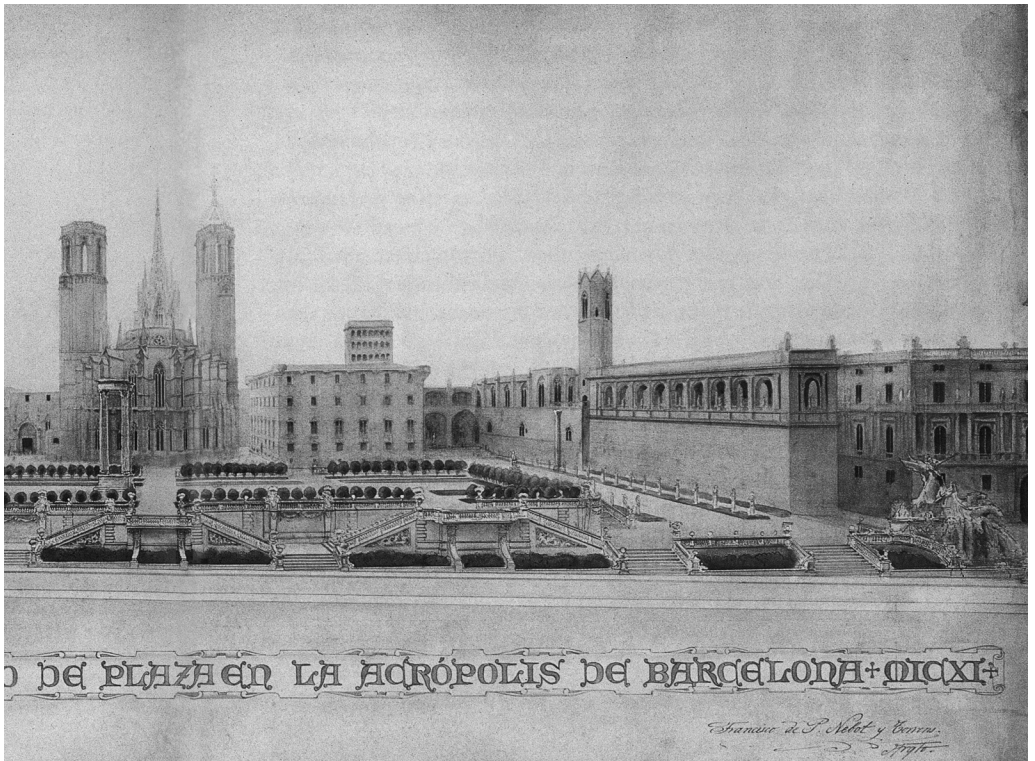
The name *Barri Gòtic* applies to a rather imprecise space covering an area of approximately twenty-five acres that extends

2. Plan for a large square by F.P. Nebot, 1911. (A. Nicolau, ed. *La construcció de la gran Barcelona. La Via Laietana 1908–1958* [Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2001], courtesy Museu Història Ciutat de Barcelona)



between Barcelona's political center, Plaça Sant Jaume, and its religious center, the Cathedral.¹ The Gothic Cathedral was constructed in the fourteenth century, but was left unfinished without a façade. In the second half of the nineteenth century, many European cities turned their sights back to their historic cathedrals. As in Milan and Cologne, Barcelona's middle class, which had grown rich during rapid industrialization, wanted to display its economic power through the city's most emblematic symbol.

In 1860, Manuel Girona, the city's main financier, promised to fund the completion of the Cathedral and the replacement of its plain façade with one in character with the city's wealth. In previous decades, it had been common practice across Europe to complete unfinished Gothic cathedrals with Baroque façades. In Barcelona's case, however, the spread of Romantic ideas prompted a change of criteria. In 1848, Pau Piferrer, one of the primary actors in introducing Romanticism to Spain, proposed following a medieval project that had been discovered in the Cathedral archives. Piferrer envisaged constructing a Gothic façade in character with the original style of the Cathedral, and also thought it necessary to crown the monument with a dome that was "acute, deep, and positioned almost directly above the main door, so that it can rival, in both grace and delicacy, the two great twin towers that rest upon the two extremes of the crossing."²



Girona, a man of profound religious convictions who also held a great interest in art, dedicated much effort and a large sum of money to the construction of the façade. Work progressed at an extremely slow pace, however, and the façade was not completed until 1912. The final cost of completing the façade was a staggering total of 1,672,000 pesetas, a sum nine times greater than the total amount that the Spanish state had invested in the conservation of all of the historic monuments in Catalonia in the second half of the nineteenth century.³

Work on the Cathedral quickly aroused interest in the urbanization of the surrounding area. The authors of the two most complete proposals were key figures in the urban history of Barcelona: the architect Lluís Domènech i Muntaner, who was one of the main precursors of Catalan Modernism (or, Art Nouveau), and José A. Baixeras, who had been responsible for the reshaping of the inner Barcelona. The two plans—Domènech i Muntaner's in 1879 and Baixeras' in 1883—reflected a conception of space inherited from Baroque urbanism and later revived by Beaux Arts city planning, in which monuments were isolated from neighboring structures and placed on monumental axes or squares. Both plans proposed knocking down all buildings surrounding the Cathedral deemed “lesser structures” and leaving a large square behind the apse to connect the Gothic palace of the city hall and the

Gothic-Renaissance palace of the Generalitat, which had been the seat of the Catalan administration in its past glory.

Under the two proposals, the religious and political centers of the city would be brought together in the same square. At the middle of the square would stand three columns recovered from the Roman temple of Barcino, the ancient city that had been discovered at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The columns, resituated on their approximate original site, would anchor Barcelona in two thousand years of uninterrupted history. Nevertheless, Doménech i Muntaner admitted that such a plan was an unfeasible dream.⁴

While work on the façade advanced, the area around the Cathedral remained unaltered. In part, the inaction was closely linked to another ambitious project, the redevelopment of Barcelona's core, which was proposed in 1860 but did not begin until 1908.⁵ In the same year, work began on the demolition of properties that were to make way for the Via Laietana, the first avenue in the plan to improve the city center.

The new avenue cut a straight path through the heart of medieval Barcelona, where the city council predicted archaeological remains would be unearthed. Demolition uncovered a hidden city, concealed by later vernacular construction, with intact Gothic windows, arcades, capitals, and stairways. No museum possibly could have housed such a large quantity of archaeological material, which included whole buildings, among them a number of intact medieval guild halls.

The discovery of the unforeseen reserve of medieval building material and complete buildings prompted prominent Barcelonian architects to propose the construction of a Gothic quarter around the Cathedral. In an interview published in 1908 in the newspaper *Diario de Barcelona*, the architect Antoni Gaudí advocated the conservation of the monumental remains recovered from the demolition process and their use to improve the aesthetics of the city.⁶ Later the same year, the *Asociación de Artistas de Barcelona* and the *Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña* published documents written by the architect Jeroni Martorell addressed to the Barcelona City Council. Martorell proposed the construction of an open-air museum capable of housing the most important architectural remains salvaged from the demolition process, similar to architectural museums in Stockholm and Oslo that featured complete traditional and historic buildings in an outdoor setting.⁷

In 1911, the writer Ramon Rucabado published a detailed description of the form he believed the *Barri Gòtic* should take.⁸ Rucabado identified a series of Gothic buildings (although in reality, not all of the buildings cited were of this style) that, at the time, were scattered among contemporary houses and shops. Rucabado argued that such heterogeneity



3. Archaeological materials stored in municipal warehouses, circa 1914. (Courtesy Arxiu Fotogràfic de l'Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona)

reduced the artistic value of the Gothic buildings, and proposed giving the area around the Cathedral a more uniform appearance. He proposed recasting the streets and houses in a Catalan-Gothic style, including the shops fronts, stairways, and streetlamps.

From its inception, the *Barri Gòtic* was projected as a recreation of Barcelona's past as well as its historic city center. But this past was effectively an invention of Catalan nationalism, since its historical foundation was based only upon a small number of Gothic buildings. For supporters of the project, the existence or absence of Gothic buildings was of secondary concern, since the appropriate material could be rescued from the demolition work for the Via Laietana. Far more important was the creation of a whole ensemble that wore the patina of Gothic uniformity. This gave the design a semblance of authenticity and helped demonstrate the power and wealth of the city during the Middle Ages, when it had been a key port for Mediterranean commerce.

A gap of nearly two decades would pass between the definition of the *Barri Gòtic*'s form and its construction. In the meantime, demolition work along the Via Laietana came to an end in 1913, ending the flow of archaeological material into the present. The remains of recovered material lay in storage, scattered among municipal warehouses.

The construction of the *Barri Gòtic*

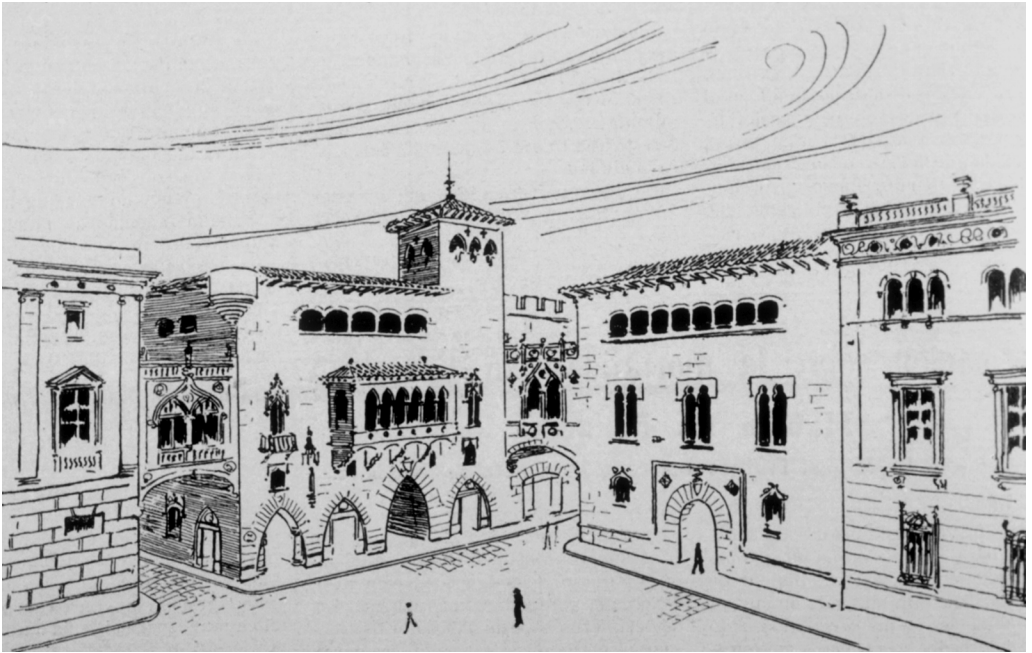
Preparations for the *Exposición Universal* (World's Fair) of 1929 brought the re-emergence of plans for the *Barri Gòtic*. The dictator

Primo de Rivera took up the plan for the historic quarter—originally proposed by Catalan nationalists—but with markedly different intentions and a predominantly anti-Catalan emphasis. From the very start, organizers of the *Exposición Universal* saw that architecture would play an important role, and it was with this in mind that they put together the project for the *Poble Espanyol*, a large papier-mâché mock-up that reproduced architecture from different geographic areas of Spain. Assembled together, the elements took the form of a typical Spanish village. The objective of the *Poble Espanyol* was to show how, despite considerable regional differences, it was still possible to speak of a single form of Spanish architecture based on a common tradition.

At the same time, plans were under way to reproduce the most significant elements of historic Barcelona in a similar way to the re-creation of *Vieux Paris* at the 1900 World's Fair.⁹ While the construction of the *Poble Espanyol* proved to be very popular with the public, important doubts existed as to the wisdom of reproducing part of Barcelona within the same city dedicated to the *Exposición Universal*. The argument was simple: it was difficult to justify building a reconstruction of a past Barcelona when visitors could see the real object only a few hundred meters away. As the architect Bonaventura Bassegoda pointed out in 1927, "Barcelona must not offer itself to strangers, from wherever they may be, as the city of the operetta, as a *Vieux Paris* from the Universal Exhibition, to accept all that is in the *Parque de Monjuic*. Barcelona should proudly exhibit its true, well-conserved, artistic treasure, which has never been corrected or increased in the modern way."¹⁰ The plan for a recreation of historic Barcelona was scuttled.

In its place, the City Council decided to embark upon a campaign to recover the historic center. First, it began to restore the most important buildings there and improve the streets in the area nearest to the Cathedral. Then, in 1927, it created the *Servicio Municipal de Conservación y Restauración de Monumentos*, a municipal service responsible for the conservation of the city's monuments. This body would institutionalize and unite forces that until then had largely moved in separate directions. To a large extent, the creation of this governmental bureau constituted the beginning of the construction of the *Barri Gòtic*.

The architect Adolf Florensa (1889–1968) was the primary steward who gave form to the *Barri Gòtic* with the aid of the *Servicio Municipal de Conservación y Restauración de Monumentos*, which he would later manage. Over a period of almost thirty years, he painstakingly researched and restored the historic center of Barcelona with the inestimable



4. Proposal for buildings surrounding the Gothic Square by J. Manich, 1925. (Amadeo Llompart, "El urbanismo en la Escuela de Barcelona," *Arquitectura* no. 71 [1925])

collaboration of the historian and archaeologist Agustí Duran, the General Manager of the *Museo de Historia de Barcelona*.

In the first years of his career, Adolf Florensa had played a decisive role in the modernization of Catalan architecture.¹¹ By the end of the 1920s, however, he dedicated more and more of his time to the restoration of monuments. Two of the main representatives of Catalan Modernism, Domènech i Montaner and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, were his masters.

Florensa also had other influences critical for understanding his work in the restoration of the *Barri Gòtic*. First, it is important to stress the influence that Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's work had upon the training of Catalan architects at the beginning of the twentieth century. The ideas of Viollet-le-Duc impregnated almost all aspects of Catalan architecture in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Indeed, even the work of Antoni Gaudí cannot be fully understood without an understanding of the solid base provided by the theories of Viollet-le-Duc. It was upon this same base that Florensa constructed his own interpretation of a freer and more imaginative form of architecture.¹²

Years later, Adolf Florensa also recognized the importance that Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française* had had upon his training: "The dictionary became an obligatory reference in the library of every serious architect....¹³ When one of us expressed a doubt concerning a particular project, one of our teachers, Augusto Font i Carreras, who was both an excellent architect and excellent teacher, would simply say 'Consult the Dictionary,' and no further explanation was



5. The Plaça del Rey with the old royal palace, one of the invented squares in the *Barri Gòtic*. (Photograph by Pere Vivas, 2001; courtesy Museu Història Ciutat de Barcelona)

necessary. We knew that ‘the Dictionary’ was the *Dictionnaire raisonné*.”¹⁴

Another fundamental influence upon the treatment Florensa gave to historic spaces came from the late-nineteenth century works of Belgian urban planner Charles Buls and Viennese architect Camilo Sitte.¹⁵ The latter in particular was a decisive influence: Sitte criticized contemporary European planning orthodoxy, in which sites were isolated from the city and placed in large square. Instead, Sitte praised the value of the older parts of the city and especially praised medieval town planning.¹⁶ Until then, medieval urbanism had largely been considered chaotic and organic in contrast to the ordered rationalism of classical and Baroque urbanism. In the light of new studies, however, the older model began to be seen as the product of coherent principles that resulted in a city near to the human scale.

The architectural ideas of Viollet-le-Duc and the planning concepts of Buls and Sitte both exhibit themselves in conception of the *Barri Gòtic*. The plans for this quarter represented an extension of the concept of unity of style that Viollet-le-Duc had systematically applied to his restorations. Here, the unity of restoration applied to a historically complete quarter rather than a single building. Buls and Sitte’s criticism of the isolation of monuments and the value of medieval urbanism were key arguments for rejecting the proposed creation of a large square and in favor of the recreation of the (supposedly) original street plan and architectural style.

A final influence upon Adolf Florensa has been identified in Italian theories on the restoration of monuments, namely of Camillo Boito and the later work of Gustavo Giovanoni.¹⁷

Florensa was happy to position himself halfway between the excessive restorations of the French school of Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus and the strictly conservationist proposals originally derived from the ideas of John Ruskin. The criteria defended by Boito in 1883 and by Giovanoni and the *Carta del Restauro* in 1931 helped Florensa to establish this intermediate point.

In 1958, Florensa, who tended to describe his interventions rather than offer theoretical reflections, explained the three basic criteria that governed his work in the *Barri Gòtic*.¹⁸ The first was the restoration and appropriate gentrification of the main buildings that gave value to the quarter. The second was, to use his own words, “*to harmonize the insipid*”; or in other words, to touch up existing buildings in order to give them an image in character with the ensemble. The third was to transfer any buildings or elements of Gothic architecture with historic or artistic value to the *Barri Gòtic* that had to be inevitably moved from their original locations within the city.

The mobility of properties that should otherwise, almost by definition, have been immobile, already enjoyed a long established tradition in Barcelona. In the nineteenth century, it had been quite common practice to conserve convents (or parts of them, such as cloisters or churches) that were going to be demolished in order to reuse the space they occupied. The practice was not exclusive to Barcelona: at the same time at which Florensa was proposing such action in Barcelona, similar criteria were being employed elsewhere, including the relocation of buildings, in the *Vieux Port* of Marseille, with the objective of creating a *ville-musée*.¹⁹

These criteria were the principles that guided the intense conservation and restoration work in the *Barri Gòtic*, although other interventions were involved in the process. Florensa transferred a number of houses that had been removed during the reform work, including the Clariana-Padellàs building. Later, in the 1940s, he also supervised the relocation of the guild halls of the boilermakers and cobblers. Florensa modified several squares and created other new ones, including the Plaça del Rei and those of Garriga i Bachs, Sant Felip Neri, and San Iu. The buildings that he restored included the Ajuntament (City Hall), the Cases dels Canonges, and the Palacio del Rey. A multitude of fragments salvaged from demolition work or gathered from other parts of the city were subsequently used to give buildings in this area a more Gothic appearance. Finally, from 1939 onwards, the bombings of the Spanish Civil War helped to make way for a large square in front of the Cathedral and also contributed to the recovery of the city’s Roman walls, a task to which Florensa dedicated much of his time in the following years.

The end of the Spanish Civil War brought the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco. After the brief experience of

the Republic, the new regime imposed a fascist ideology of Spanish nationalism and severe anti-Catalanism. The slightest hint or sign of Catalan nationalism was persecuted; in the ensuing witch hunt, prominent Catalanian nationalists were imprisoned, forced into exile, or killed.

Even so, the project for the *Barri Gòtic* received the support of the new Barcelonian government imposed by the dictatorship. The project would no longer represent the splendor of Catalonia, but rather the grandeur of medieval Spain, a radical change in the *Barri Gòtic*'s symbology. Nevertheless, the *Barri Gòtic* continued to develop during the 1940s and 1950s with few significant changes to the criteria for intervention established before the Franco era. A new history had been imposed without changing the built environment of the *Barri Gòtic*.

The *Barri Gòtic*: a Summation

As early as 1903, Aloïs Riegl had explained the change occurring in the social perception of monuments.²⁰ Riegl considered the nineteenth century dominated by *historic-value* and predicted that the twentieth century would witness the definitive emergence of *age-value*. The former criterion was based on objective historical data and a scientific degree of knowledge. Such precision was not necessary to appreciate *age-value*, whose origin was sensory and subjective. *Age-value* until then had been the patrimony of the cultured elite, but, because of its emotional content, could progressively spread to the whole of society.

To a large extent, the long route taken for the *Barri Gòtic*, from its initial conception to its present state, has been a product of the transition between Riegl's two criteria for monuments. The first projects, involving the construction of a large square in the Cathedral quarter, were clearly based on *historic-value*. For the likes of Lluís Domènech and José A. Baixeras, the only artifacts that mattered were the Cathedral and the monuments of historical relevance, not any lesser construction.

From 1908 onward, however, plans for the *Barri Gòtic* embraced both types of value. On one hand, there was a museum project that, on the basis of its archaeological value, sought to conserve the remains of historic Barcelona. But at the same time, *age-value* was clearly present in the proposal to give character to the quarter by *gothicizing* it. The predictions of Riegl were clearly fulfilled and, as time went by, a more subjective yet more democratic and accessible value gradually imposed itself.

Throughout the construction the *Barri Gòtic*, particularly from the 1920s onwards, a fine balance was maintained between *historic-value* and *age-value*. By and large, this was

due to the criteria employed by Adolf Florensa and Agustí Duran, who always did as much as they could to prevent falsification and invention of history. The fact that they almost always worked with original Gothic elements helped endow their work with authenticity of material. Also, their professional training for sensitivity toward history helped ensure the precise scientific and archaeological input that was fundamental for the decisions taken on to the *Barri Gòtic*. In the words of Bohigas, Florensa was the man who brought to Barcelona “scientific standards, historical precision, and respect for exact monuments.”²¹

Somewhat inevitably, the final result could not be considered entirely respectful of history because the very existence of the intervention implied the elimination of part of the architectural and urban evolution of the city. The construction of the *Barri Gòtic* chose a specific moment of the city’s history, eliminating much of what had been subsequently built.

Even so, Florensa always defended this modification of Barcelona’s history as long as it could be justified on the basis of two fundamental criteria. The first stated, “The main quality of the restorer must be that of possessing the modesty and good taste to remain in the background, ceding pride of place to the authentic monument of the original architect and therefore keeping his own restoration simple.” The second was to make his own intervention as small as possible; the restorer should always use “the simplest of forms and shy away from rich and ornamental details, satisfying any needs with the simplest of means.” Along these lines, any deteriorated or lost parts had to be restored “with materials and forms that were in harmony with the original ones, but that did not seek to compete with them”; in other words, it was necessary to use the simplest forms possible, with little or no sculptural decoration and to always try to ensure that what had to be re-done served as a simple accompaniment or base for what was authentic.²²

Around 1950, Spain started to become an important tourist destination. *Barcelona Atracció*n, which was the most important publication for promoting the city to visitors, reveals that the *Barri Gòtic* was never listed as one of Barcelona’s tourist attractions until the 1950s. But as restoration work gradually advanced, the *Barri Gòtic* won recognition, first by the citizens of Barcelona and later by the growing number of tourists who visited the city.²³

It was also in the 1950s that the term *Barri Gòtic* gained popularity. Florensa and Duran were themselves actively involved in publishing information about the quarter.²⁴ Florensa’s preference for minimalist interventions contrasted with subsequent pressure for more spectacular sites. Even so, by that time the majority of the work on the *Barri Gòtic* was

already finished. As a result, opportunities for modifications were relatively limited and did little to alter the district as an ensemble.

In short, the *Barri Gòtic* constitutes the greatest density of history in Barcelona, the history of twenty centuries of continuous human settlement telescoped by a century of intervention to recover, assemble, and re-create a medieval past for the city.

Author biography

Joan Ganau is professor of Geography at the University of Lleida (Spain). He has investigated such aspects of the city's history as its urban morphology and the emergence of conservationist policies. Ganau is currently interested in analyzing the relationships between culture, the promotion of city image, and urban policies. He is editor of *Revista de Geografia* and he has published a number of books and articles. This research has received support from the Spanish Ministry for Science and Technology.

Endnotes

¹ The term *Barri Gòtic* is currently used for administrative purposes by Barcelona City Council. In this administrative context, it applies to a larger area of the city's historic center, covering an area of over 25 acres. This article focuses on the historical and artistic use of the term—although this is not an officially recognized concept. Along similar lines, there is currently no legislation for the protection of the *Barri Gòtic* as a whole set of buildings. There is only individual legal protection for a few of the most significant buildings. The majority of these are Gothic constructions: the Cathedral, the Royal Chapel of Santa Agata, the Pía Almoína, the Gothic-Renaissance style Royal Palace or Palau de la Generalitat, and a series of Roman structures, including the walls and columns of the Roman temple.

² Pau Pífferrer, *Recuerdos y bellezas de España* (Barcelona: Imp. de Joaquín Verdagué, 1848). For reference to this controversy, see Ramon Grau and Marina López, "La gènesi del positivisme historiogràfic: Barcelona revisitada (1844–1848)," *L'Avenç*, no. 96 (1986): 71–74.

³ In relation to the construction of the façade, see Joan Bassegoda, "La fachada de la catedral de Barcelona," *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*, no. 809 (1981): 263–307. For more information about investment in Catalan monuments, see Joan Ganau, *La protección de los monumentos arquitectónicos en España y Cataluña 1844–1936: legislación, organización, inventario* (Lleida, Publicacions Universitat de Lleida, 1999).

⁴ Lluís Domènech, "Reforma de Barcelona," *La Renaixensa*, no. 3 (1879): 125–148. In the end, the Roman columns were not moved and remained inside the headquarters of the Centre Excursionista de Barcelona where they can still be seen today.

⁵ The well-known project for the expansion of Barcelona drawn up by Ildefons Cerdà was, in reality, a project for "Reforma y Ensanche" (Reforming and Enlarging): Idelfons Cerdà, *Teoría de la construcción de las ciudades: Cerdà y Barcelona. Teoría de la viabilidad urbana: Cerdà y Madrid* (Madrid: Ministerio Administraciones Públicas, Ajuntament de Barcelona and Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1993). But while the "ensanche" (enlargement) was constructed following some of the guidelines contained in the Cerdà plan, inner-city reform was delayed for several decades, principally on account of the difficulties encountered in financing it.

⁶ Antoni Nicolau and Daniel Venteo, "La monumentalització del centre històric: la invenció del Barri Gòtic," in *La construcció de la gran Barcelona: l'obertura de la Via Laietana, 1908–1958* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2001), 100–127.

⁷ Joan Ganau, *Els inicis del pensament conservacionista en l'urbanisme català, 1844–1931* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), 438–40.

⁸ The different articles were published in an issue of the magazine *La Catalunya* and accompanied by drawings explaining how the *Barri Gòtic* should be. The article that provided the most detailed description of the project was by the writer Ramon Rucabado and was titled "Un barrio gótico en Barcelona," *La Catalunya*, no. 189 (1911): 308–311.

⁹ The reconstruction of *Vieux Paris* has been discussed by Jean-Christophe Mabire, ed., *L'exposition universelle de 1900* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2000). Albert Robida's preparatory sketches also provide a good insight into this exhibition: *Le Vieux Paris; études et dessins originaux* (Paris: Imprimeries Lemerier, 1901).

¹⁰ Bonaventura Bassegoda, "Error lamentable," *La Vanguardia*, 25 March 1927.

- ¹¹ A good review of the activity of A. Florensa as the architect of new works can be found in: Jordi Oliveras, "L'arquitectura d'Adolf Florensa," in *Adolf Florensa i Ferrer (1889–1968)*, ed. Manuel Ribas (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2002), 89–145.
- ¹² Ignasi de Solà-Morales, *Eclecticism and Vanguardism. The case of the Architecture Moderna in Catalunya* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1980), 33.
- ¹³ Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Morel et Cie., 1854–68).
- ¹⁴ Adolf Florensa, "Puig i Cadafalch. Arquitecto, historiador del arte y arqueólogo," *Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo* (1967): 76.
- ¹⁵ Charles Buls, *Esthétique des Villes* (Brussels: Imprimerie Bruylant-Christophe & Cie, 1893) and Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (Vienna: Graeme, 1889).
- ¹⁶ While the book by C. Buls had an immediate influence upon Barcelona, the work of Sitte mainly became known in Spain through its French translation of 1903. As has been mentioned, this translation exaggerated (to the point of falsifying) the value attributed to the Gothic style in the work of Sitte, George R. Collins and Christiane C. Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning* (London: Phaidon, 1965). The Spanish translation of the work was not published until 1926. See also: Guido Zucconi, ed. *Camillo Sitte e i suoi interpreti* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1992).
- ¹⁷ Xavier Peiró, "Adolf Florensa i el patrimoni arquitectònic de la ciutat de Barcelona," in *Adolf Florensa i Ferrer (1889–1968)*, ed. Manuel Ribas (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2002), 33–88.
- ¹⁸ Adolf Florensa, *Nombre, extensión y política del "Barrio Gótico"* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1958).
- ¹⁹ Sheila Crane, "Mutable Fragments: Destructive Preservation and the Postwar Rebuilding of Marseille," *Future Anterior* 2, no. 1 (summer 2005): 1–12.
- ²⁰ Alois Riegl, *Der modernen Denkmalkultur. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Vienna: Verlag der K. K. Zentralkommission, 1903). See also: Thordis Arrhenius, "The Cult of Age in Mass-Society: Alois Riegl's Theory of Conservation," *Future Anterior* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 74–80.
- ²¹ Oriol Bohigas, "En la muerte de Adolf Florensa," *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, no. 71 (1969): 39–40.
- ²² Adolf Florensa, "La restauración de edificios antiguos," *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, no. 25 (1965): 129–35.
- ²³ In 1948, an article by Ramon Aliberch about Calle de Montcada referred to the *Barri Gòtic* as "una maravilla que puede dar un carácter a Barcelona"—"a marvel that could give character to the city"—(*Barcelona Atracción*: 319, 40–45). In 1950, in a survey organised by the *Instituto de Historia de Barcelona* and involving 1,002 participants, the *Barri Gòtic* already appeared as the city's second "artistic jewel," only surpassed by the Sagrada Família. P. Verrié, "Las seis joyas artísticas de Barcelona," *Barcelona Atracción* 327 (1950): 94–97. For more information about the magazine *Barcelona Atracción*, see the doctoral thesis of Dolors Vidal, *L'imaginari monumental i artístic del turisme cultural. El cas de la revista Barcelona Atracción* (Girona: Universitat de Girona, 2006), www.tdx.cesca.es/TDX-0206106-094605.
- ²⁴ In 1950, Agustí Duran published the first guide, *El Barrio Gótico y su historia*, coinciding with a medical congress that was financed, like the publication, by the company Shering. Shortly later, *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona* was published (Barcelona: Aymá, 1952). This text was later reprinted on several occasions. Meanwhile, Florensa observed that the tourism phenomenon was mainly responsible for diffusion of the name: "Why has the name become so widely known? It is just the result of tourism; there is no foreign tourist advertising for Barcelona that fails to mention the city's 'Gothic quarter.'" Adolf Florensa, *Nombre, extensión y política del "Barrio Gótico"* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1958).