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Urban Hygiene and Creative Destruction Higiene Urbana y Destrucción creativa

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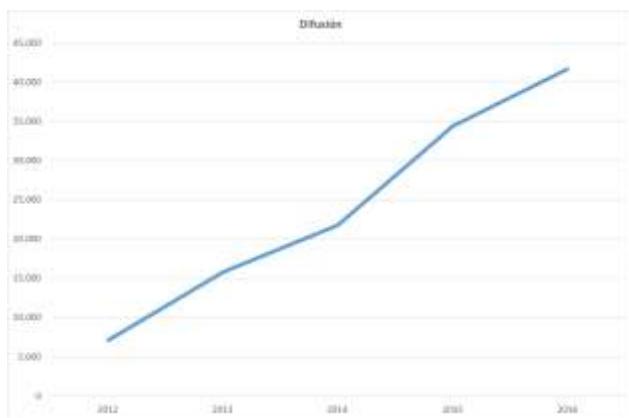
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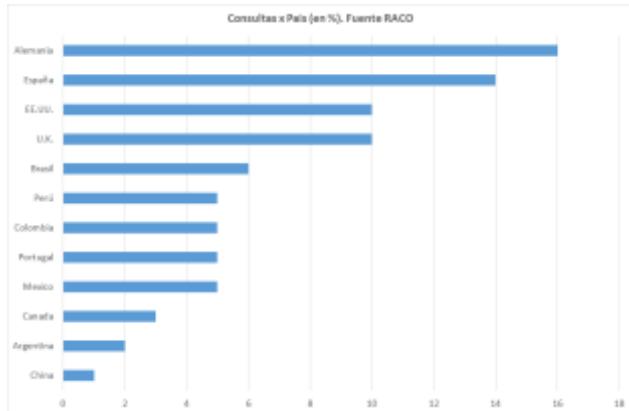
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SUMMARY

Urban Hygiene Awareness in a suffocated Barcelona

Concienciación de Higiene Urbana en una Barcelona asfixiada

Marie el Haddad7 -24

The *Eventrement* of Paris and the configuration of the Alphand-Davioud- Hittorff Paradigm on urban design

El Eventrement de París y la configuración del paradigma Alphand-Davioud-Hittorff en diseño urbano

Marie el Haddad25-49



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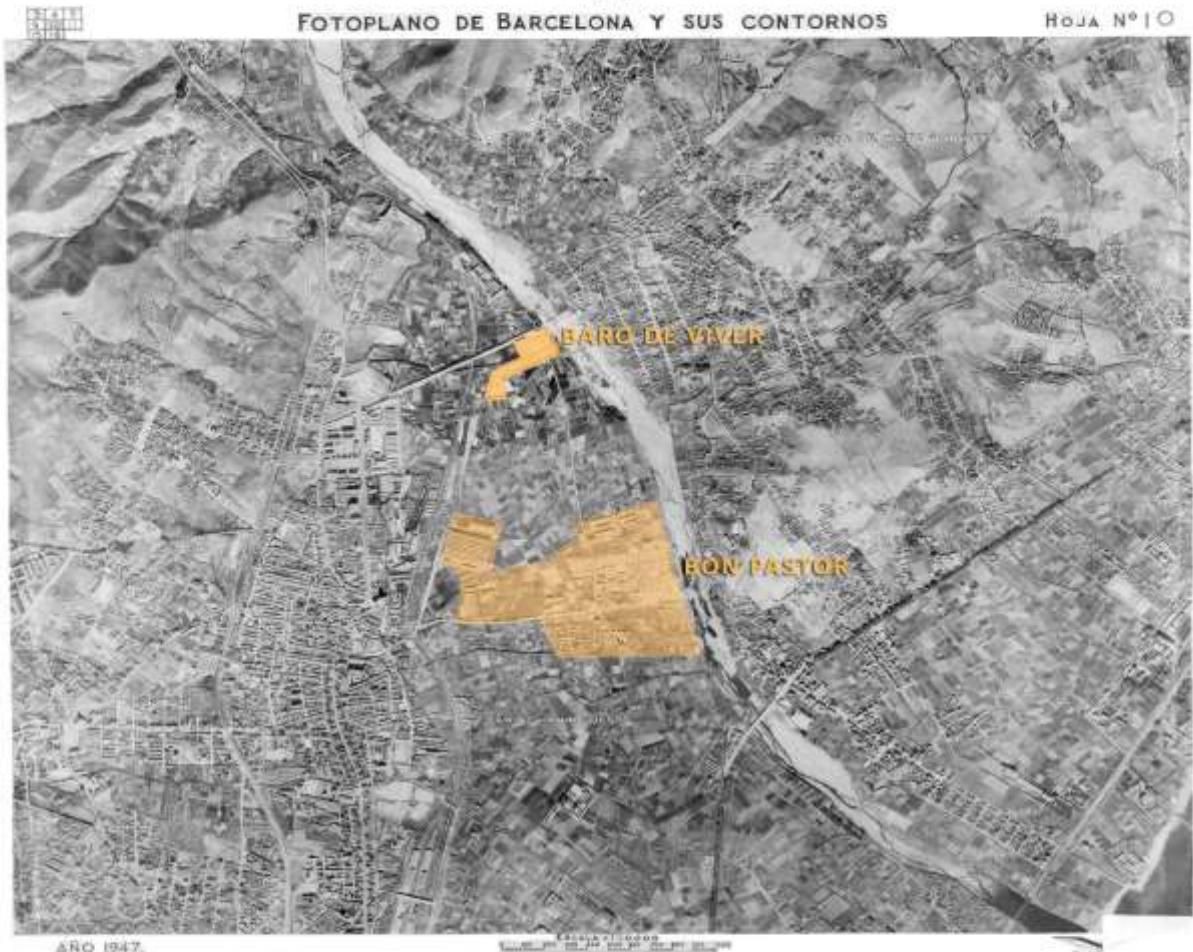


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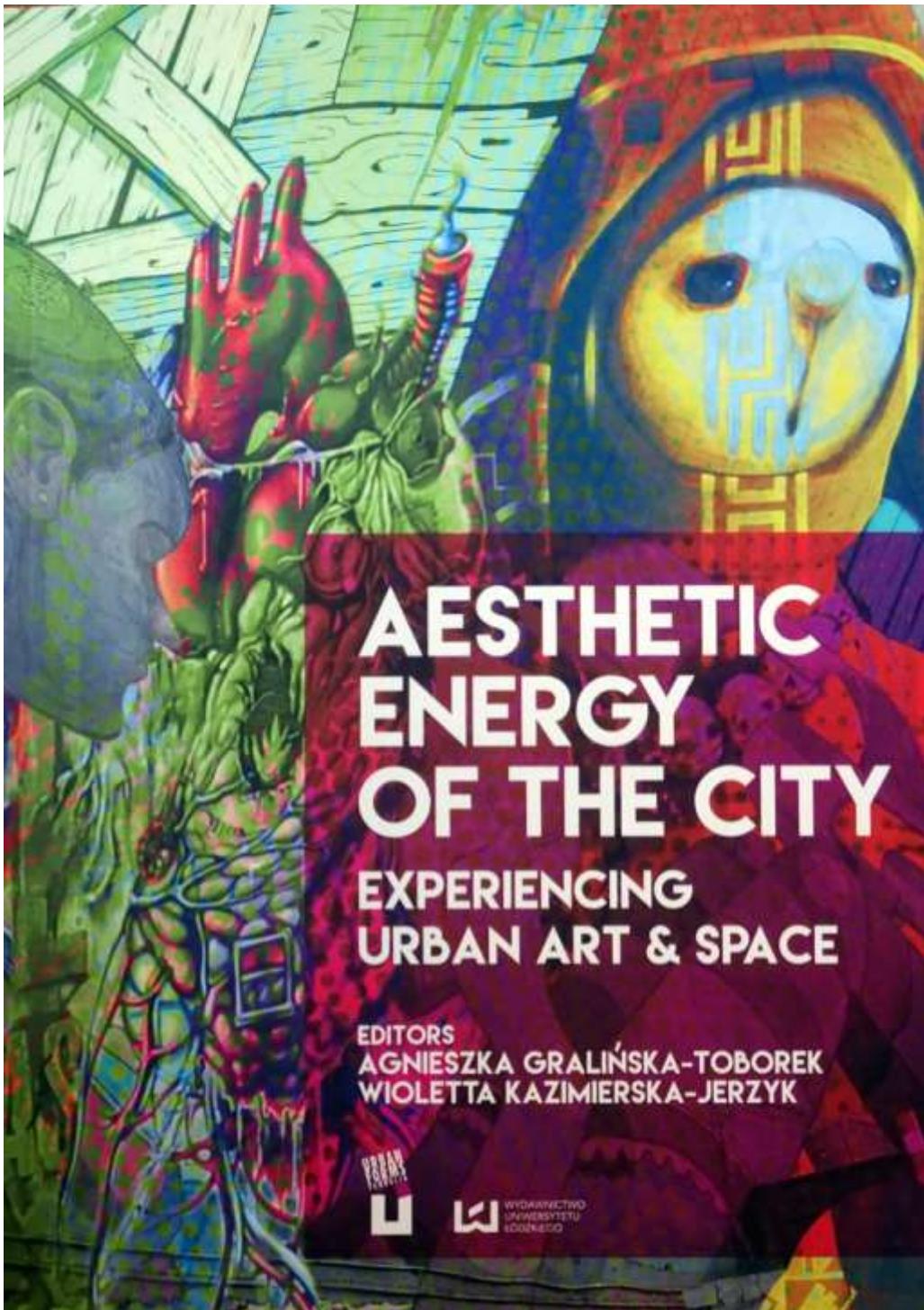


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Public Space and Memory (eBook)

Núria Ricart (ed.)

Pages: 145 ISBN: 978-84-475-3774-7

Edition: 2016

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.



The Art of Urban Design in Urban Regeneration. Interdisciplinarity, Policies, Governance, Public Space

A. Remesar (Ed)

Pàges: 156. ISBN: 978-84-475-3781-5

Edition: 2016

This volume comprises transcripts of the presentations made at the International seminar “CITIES. Interdisciplinary Issues in Urban Regeneration, Urban Design, Public Art and Public Space”, organized by the POLIS Research Centre and the PAUDO (Public Art and Urban Design Observatory) network in December 2013. The book traces the paths of economic and political theory concerning the role of urban regeneration processes, from an overview of the policies implemented in Europe to their actual impact on job creation and local innovation initiatives. It addresses physical aspects of urban design processes, analysing an interdisciplinary project for urban regeneration of the Lisbon riverfront, and proposes some ideas on how to deal with climate change in the construction of public space in cities. Finally, the book concludes with a reflection on new modes of urban governance that can make an urban environment more liveable, evaluating the involvement of neighbours reconvertint their role from consultive partners to active participants in the physical (urban design) and symbolic (public art) transformation of their communities. Thus, the book encompasses a broad reflection on urban regeneration, with contributions from disciplinary fields as diverse as Economics, Public Policy, Urban Design and Architecture, Landscaping and Public Art, and draws attention to the need for further interdisciplinary work.

Urban Hygiene Awareness in a suffocated Barcelona

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Abstract

Barcelona's old town had been suffering from overpopulation, congestion and several epidemic outbreaks that raised awareness concerning urban hygiene. One of the first intents of urban hygiene began when Carlos III and Carlos IV issued Royal Decrees concerning the exhumation of cemeteries. The first prohibited burial grounds next to churches and hospitals and imposed the conversion of existing ones into public squares, and the second enabled the construction of extramural cemeteries away from populated areas. This gave way to many of Barcelona's open spaces and small scale squares. The second intent of creating public spaces was taking advantage of the confiscation of ecclesiastic assets, like the Álvarez Mendizábal's Act (1834-1837) in particular, and the burning of convents in 1835 where the Catholic Church lost a large number of its convents, churches, and colleges to new buildings, streets and squares.

In the 19th century, Spain also witnessed a hygienist movement and several doctors and scientists were prominent including Pere Felip Monlau who thoroughly discussed hygiene in all its aspects. Spain, and Barcelona in particular, experienced large waves of immigration coming from rural areas in search of work, and a massive industrial growth. By the 1850's the old town became overpopulated, increasingly dense, unhealthy and degraded, and was left in an unstable political and social tension. Basically, the old town was suffocating within its own walls. Monlau, as did Cerdà after him, described in his writings the drastic living conditions, the occupied spaces and exceedingly high buildings, the lack of sanitary infrastructure, clean water, sunlight and ventilation. He stressed on the importance of creating open spaces, squares and gardens and their impact on improving urban hygiene. He called for



the demolition of old town's Roman Walls and the expansion towards the urban land reserve of 'Pla de Barcelona' or Barcelona Plain. After many debates the destruction of the walls began in 1854 and lasted until 1868.

Keywords: Barcelona, urban hygiene, Walls, Monlau, Cerdà

Resum

El Casc Antic de Barcelona va patir de sobre població, congestió i diversos brots epidèmics fets que van augmentar la vigilància i preocupació per la higiene urbana. Un dels primers intents va començar quan Carles III i Carles IV van emetre reials decrets relativs a l'exhumació dels cementiris. El primer va prohibir de l'enterrament al costat de esglésies i hospitals i va imposar la conversió dels existents en places públiques, i el segon va permetre la construcció de cementiris extramurs lluny de les zones poblades. Això va donar pas a molts dels espais oberts de Barcelona i places de petita escala. La segona ocasió de crear espais públics deriva dels processos de desamortització de béns eclesiàstics, com la Llei d'Álvarez Mendizábal (1834-1837), i la crema de convents de 1835, quan l'Església catòlica va perdre gran part de seus convents, esglésies i col·legis reconvertits en nous edificis, carrers i places.

Al segle XIX, Espanya també va ser testimoni d'un moviment higienista i diversos metges i científics van ser prominents incloent Pere Felip Monlau que va discutir a fons la higiene en tots els seus aspectes. Espanya, i Barcelona en particular, van experimentar grans onades d'immigració procedents de les zones rurals a la recerca de treball, i un creixement industrial massiu. A la dècada de 1850 es va convertir en un nucli antic superpoblat, cada vegada més dens, poc saludable i degradat, cau d'una tensió política i social inestable. Básicamente, el casco antiguo era sofocante dentro de sus propias murallas. Monlau, igual que Cerdá después de él, nos describe en sus escritos las drásticas condiciones de vida, los espacios ocupados y edificios muy altos, la falta de infraestructura sanitaria, agua potable, luz solar y ventilación. Pone el énfasis en la importancia de crear espacios abiertos, plazas y jardines y su impacto en la mejora de la higiene urbana. Llamó a la demolición de la muralla del casco antiguo y la expansión hacia la reserva de suelo urbano del Plan de Barcelona. Después de muchos debates la destrucción de las murallas comenzó en 1854 y duró hasta 1868.

Paraules clau: Barcelona, Higienisme, Muralles, Monlau, Cerdà

Resumen

El casco antiguo de Barcelona ha estado sufriendo de sobre población, congestión y varios brotes epidémicos que aumentaron la vigilancia y preocupación por la higiene urbana. Uno de los primeros intentos comenzó cuando Carlos III y Carlos IV emitieron Reales Decretos relativos a la exhumación de los cementerios. El primero prohibió el entierro junto a iglesias y hospitalares e impuso la conversión de los existentes en plazas públicas, y el segundo permitió la construcción de cementerios extramuros lejos de las zonas pobladas. Esto dio paso a muchos de los espacios abiertos de Barcelona y plazas de pequeña escala. La segunda intención de crear espacios públicos se aprovechó de la desamortización de bienes eclesiásticos, como la Ley de Álvarez Mendizábal (1834-1837) en particular, y la quema de conventos en 1835, cuando la Iglesia Católica perdió gran parte de sus conventos, iglesias y colegios reconvertidos en nuevos edificios, calles y plazas.

En el siglo XIX, España también fue testigo de un movimiento higienista y varios médicos y científicos fueron prominentes incluyendo Pere Felip Monlau que discutió a fondo la higiene en todos sus aspectos. España, y Barcelona en particular, experimentaron grandes olas de inmigración procedentes de las zonas rurales en busca de trabajo, y un crecimiento industrial masivo. En la década de 1850 se convirtió en un núcleo antiguo superpoblado, cada vez más denso, poco saludable y degradado, cae de una tensión política y social inestable. Básicamente, el casco antiguo era sofocante dentro de sus propias murallas. Monlau, al igual que Cerdá después de él, nos describe en sus escritos las drásticas condiciones de vida, los espacios ocupados y edificios muy altos, la falta de infraestructura sanitaria, agua potable, luz solar y ventilación. Pone el énfasis en la importancia de crear espacios abiertos, plazas y jardines y su impacto en la mejora de la higiene urbana. Llamó a la demolición de la muralla del casco antiguo y la expansión hacia la reserva de suelo urbano del Plan de Barcelona. Después de muchos debates la destrucción de las murallas comenzó en 1854 y duró hasta 1868.

Palabras clave: Barcelona, Higienismo, Murallas, Monlau, Cerdà



The old town had been subject to repeated urban interventions, demolitions, transformations, plans, projects, reform etc. throughout its history that helped in evolving, shaping or changing its morphology and public spaces.

The population growth that Barcelona experienced during the first decades of the 19th century led to a sharp increase in population density that aggravated the city's health situation resulting in epidemic outbreaks of yellow fever and cholera. These problems raised concerns and urban hygiene awareness. Monlau's (1841, 1847) and Cerdà's (1855, 1859) descriptions of the old town pushed for solutions and made the interior reform indispensable.

As a matter of fact, in Barcelona, –and Spain in general– one of the first intents of urban 'higienización' that gave way to the creation of public spaces was the exhumation of cemeteries. In the 18th century, the costume of burials inside the church or in cemeteries next to it led to intense debates involving hygiene problems. Similar debates were held in Spain and around 1773 Carlos III issued a Royal Decree imposing the construction of cemeteries. For the sake of health, he prohibited burial grounds next to churches and hospitals –with the opposition of the church– for the purpose of converting them into public squares.

"La oposición de la iglesia a esta norma hizo difícil la aplicación de la medida, aunque desde comienzos del siglo XIX, y luego tras la guerra de la independencia, se impuso de forma general. La situación en casos de epidemias, cuando había que enterrar centenares de cadáveres improvisando lugares cercados con espinos en las afueras de las ciudades, hizo indispensable su creación" (Capel, 2006: 381).

After 1785 many more official regulations concerning cemetery laws and policies were issued.

"Desde el comienzo del presente siglo, las disposiciones oficiales han sido muchas, porque muchas son también, y muy delicadas, las conexiones de este ramo. Los cementerios, en efecto, tienen, a los ojos de la Administración, el doble carácter de sitios sagrados, o bendecidos por la Iglesia, y sitios insalubres, o mefitizados por las emanaciones cadavéricas; y mientras la potestad eclesiástica y la civil no se pongan de cabal acuerdo, no podrá haber legislación acertada, y observada, sobre cementerios" (Monlau, 1862c: 1432, 1433)

Later in 1804, Carlos IV adopted further measures to enable the construction of cemeteries outside the urban precincts and away from populated areas. This issue was important because it facilitated and gave way to many of the public spaces that exist nowadays. However, due to several circumstances it wasn't until the early and mid 19th century that the regulation of exhuming all cemeteries was carried out. The final push to suppress parish cemeteries and turn them into squares was ordered by the military authority without exceptions on March 12, 1816: "*se empiedren instantáneamente todos los cementerios que existen dentro esta ciudad rebajando en un momento todos los que hay elevados*" (Fabre, Huertas, 1988: 64).

Between 1816-1820 and 1850-1870 almost all Spanish cities launched the construction of extra-mural cemeteries and the removal of existing ones that gave way to open spaces and squares. In some cases and after laborious negotiations parts of the cemeteries were granted back to parishes to extend their dependencies (Fabre, Huertas, 1988). This gave Barcelona a large part of its small scale squares, for



example, in 1817 the cemetery of Santa Maria del Pi gave way to Plaça de Sant Josep Oriol near the already existing Plaça del Pi and the parish was built in the plot inbetween.

The parish of Santa Maria del Mar agreed with the City Council to suppress the cemeteries around it and created on its one side Plaça de Santa Maria del Mar in 1806, and on its other side the Fossar de les Moreres in 1816 that served as a memorial to the victims of 1714 buried there. It passed through several stages before getting regenerated in 1989.

As for Plaça Sant Felip Neri (1790), it was created after removing the Montjuïc del Bisbe cemetery where one part was used for the square and the other to build the church of Sant Felip Neri. The square changed after being partially destroyed during the Civil War and in 1938 was regenerated by Adolf Florensa.

In 1821 the disappearance of Sant Llátzer hospital cemetery allowed the expansion of Plaça del Pedró that had served until then as a crossroad between Carrer de l'Hospital and Carrer del Carme. Several other squares replaced cemeteries like Plaça Sant Just (1816), Plaça Sant Miquel (1870), Plaça Sant Pere de les Puel·les (1816), among others (Fabre, Huertas, 1988; Capel, 2006; García Sanchez, 2003). “*Casi todas las pequeñas plazas que introducen un poco de luz y de aire en la parte antigua se deben a la ley que suprimió los cementerios parroquiales*” (Florensa, 1957: 12).



Fig. 1 View of Plaça del Pedró with Santa Eulàlia memorial and fountain dating back to 1673 making it one of the oldest public art (Pérez de Rozas, 1957-1967. AFB)

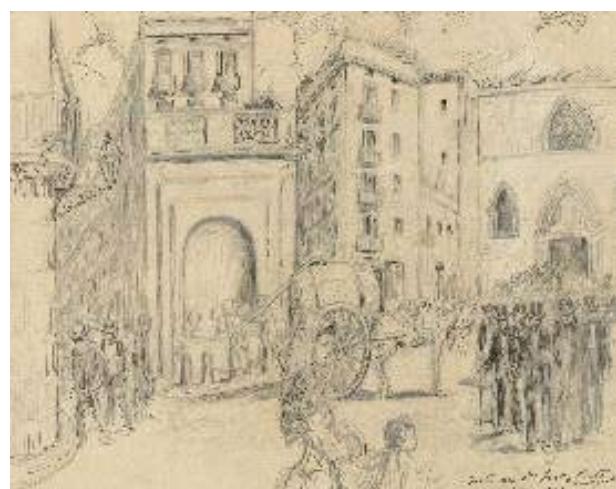


Fig. 2 Drawing of Plaça de Sant Just with the fountain and part of the church (Febrés Yll, 1893. AHCB)



Fig. 3 Perspective drawing from Plaça del Born showing the old bridge (before being destroyed) of Fossar de les Moreres connected to Santa Maria del Mar (Buyé Muntané, 1930. AHCB)



The second intent of creating public spaces was taking advantage of the confiscation of ecclesiastic assets and the burning of convents (at least in Barcelona). In many Catholic countries the ecclesiastic confiscation happened in the 19th century following the implantation of the liberal regime. In Spain several confiscations took place throughout the century –that had effects on political, social, and urban aspects – from the French occupation (1808-1814) and the Trienio Liberal (1820-1823) to Álvarez Mendizábal's Act (1834-1837) and the burning of convents in 1835. Capel included several other historical reasons like "*la de las temporalidades de los jesuitas en 1767[...]; la de Godoy en 1805; [...] y Espartero (1841)*" (Capel, 2006: 283), and Fabre and Huertas (1988) added to them the September revolution in 1868 and the Semana Trágica or tragic week in 1909 where 18 churches and 49 convents and religious centers or colleges were burned down.

The confiscation of 1834 made possible the expropriation and sale of the monastic's assets though it was a complicated procedure due to the civil war.

In that time the church had accumulated vast landholdings and urban properties through donations of various kinds that almost reached half or more of the buildings in the city. The confiscation and selling of those caused a great impact on the assets themselves as well as on the urban space and the city. Due to that many plots and spaces became available and the old town was remodeled with new buildings, streets and squares:

"Las propiedades en manos del clero regular y secular podían llegar a la mitad o más de los edificios de la ciudad. La desamortización permitió un amplio cambio en la propiedad urbana, ya que las tres cuartas partes de los compradores adquirió una sola casa, y proporcionó espacios para remodelar el centro de las ciudades abriendo calles y plazas y construyendo nuevos edificios de viviendas en el casco urbano, de mayor altura y densidad" (Capel, 2006: 283, 284)

In Barcelona's old town the majority of properties belonged to the Catholic Church which formed 20% of the urban area (Fabre, Huertas, 1988). The confiscation, destruction and disappearance of convents, churches, cementaries, and religious colleges gave way to many streets, squares, markets, and public and private buildings.

Confiscation of ecclesiastic assets took place in all cities and in Barcelona it had an important impact on its old town especially in the Raval. In 1835, The monastic orders were accused of helping the Carlists during the Carlist War which lead to populous riots and the burning down of many convents. Therefore, the Royal Decree of January 25, 1836 and of July 29, 1837 authorized the public utility of the confiscated assets and destroyed convents.

Between 1835 and 1844 eight convents were demolished in the city and thirteen others followed by the end of the century leaving vast vacant plots and spaces. It was during this time that Alvarez Mendizábal's Act (1835-1837) changed the use of monastic and ecclesiastic land and the first 'Ley de Expropiación Forzosa' (Law of Eminent Domain) was sanctioned, in 1836, authorizing their expropriation and designation for public places (Busquets, 2005; Capel, 2006). After returning from exile and becoming the Minister of Finance Mendizábal continued what the the French and the Trienio Liberal had "timidly" started (Fabre, Huertas, 1988).



"En Madrid, la de José Bonaparte permitió expropiar ya cinco conventos e iglesias para abrir plazas; y la de Mendizábal hizo posible que el casco urbano fuera ampliamente remodelado. En Barcelona su impacto fue también muy importante, ya que permitió obtener amplios espacios centrales que se dedicaron a diversos usos. Entre 1835 y 1844 se demolieron en Barcelona ocho conventos, a los que se unieron otros 13 antes de fin de siglo. Entre otros, se desamortizó el convento de San Francisco y en una parte del mismo, que había sido cedida por el duque de Medinaceli, se construyó la plaza de su nombre; la plaza de Antonio López de Barcelona surgió sobre el solar del convento y plaza de San Sebastián, derribado en 1919. La desamortización afectó profundamente el Raval de Barcelona. La destrucción del convento del Carmen permitió construir las calles Fortuny, Notariado y Doctor Dou; el derribo de otros hizo posible construir mercados, y disponer de cuarteles (y en algún caso de edificios para la industria)" (Capel, 2006: 284)

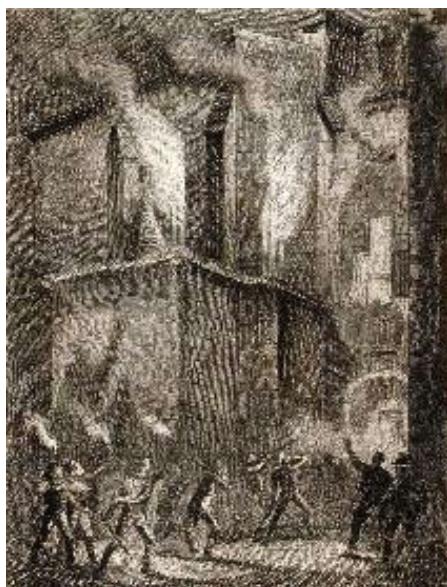


Fig. 4 Burning of convents and churches on the night of July 23, 1835 (Furnó, 1835. AHCB) (Tusquets, 1932)

And as such Plaça de Sant Jaume (1820-1823) replaced Sant Jaume Church, a small cemetery, as well as the General Mayor's Office. Plaça Reial replaced the Capuchin convent of Santa Madrona that was first confiscated and demolished in 1822 during the Triennio Liberal. Later the Capuchin retook the plot and rebuilt a new one between 1824 and 1829 until finally it was burned down in 1835 and dismantled in 1848 to start the long process of the square's construction.

Plaça de Duque de Medinaceli replaced Sant Francesc d'Assís convent burned in 1835 and confiscated in 1838. In 1857, Plaça Sant Agustí was created in the orchard of convent Sant Agustí Vell burned in 1835 and confiscated in 1836.

Plaça d'Antoni López replaced Sant Sebastià church that was demolished in 1868. Santa Caterina market replaced the Dominican convent that was partially demolished in 1823 and totally destroyed along with its church in 1837. The Boqueria market replaced Sant Josep monastery in 1835 and, in 1885, the land allocated to the market was extended to the site of the demolished Santa Maria de Jerusalem convent giving way to the current Plaça de la Gardunya.

Many squares that originated from confiscated monastic property were not created or urbanized until many years later. Among them, the Paül convents where the first, located in Carrer dels Tallers in



1704, was converted by the French and the Triennio Liberal into a military hospital. It was destroyed in the 40s—with the opening of Vall d'Hebron hospital—and replaced by Plaça de Castella in 1946. A second Paül convent was built in 1833 next to the walls of Sant Pau, and in 1839, after the burnings and confiscations, it was converted into a prison. In 1936, during the Civil War, the prison was totally destroyed and the plot remained empty until the time of Mayor Porcioles where it was converted into Plaça de J. M. Folch i Torres in 1957.

The convent of Bonsuccés burned down in 1835 was dismantled during the Civil War and remained empty until it was replaced, in 1957, by a porched building and a square known as Plaça Vicenç Martorell Otxet. As for the convent de la Mercè, it was abolished by the Trienni Liberal in 1823 before being totally confiscated and converted in 1846 into the 'capitania general'. The convent's orchard was built and recuperated as Plaça de la Mercè in 1983 after more than one century.

These new spaces, whether squares or streets, changed the urban and morphological image of the city, and played an important role in the city's political and social issues: they were the main scenario in all the popular political riots and demonstrations.

Whether through the exhumation of cemetaries, confiscation, or burning of convents, the vacant plots or free spaces were urbanized, built or converted into public spaces that notably improved the life in the historic center: "*En alguns casos els solars van ser urbanitzats i edificats. D'altres es van convertir en espais públics, cosa que va millorar notablement les condicions de la vida als nuclis vells de les ciutats*" (Fabre, Huertas, 1988: 55).



Fig. 5 Plaça Reial (Esplugas Puig, 1880-1889. AFB).



Fig. 6 Plaça del Duc de Medinaceli (Martí Centelles, 1874. AFB).



Fig. 7 Plaça de la Mercè in 1867 overtaken by a building (Rigalt, 1867. RACBA)



Current space	Original space	Date of construction	Date of destruction	Date of current space
1. Plaça Reial	Caputxins Convent	19 th century replacing older 18 th century	1822 old convent demolished / 1835 new one burned	1848
2. Plaça de Sant Jaume	Church-Cemetery of Sant Jaume	Romanic origin 14 th century	1823 demolished	1823
3. Plaça de Sant Agustí	Sant Agustí Vell Convent / orchard	18 th century	1835 burned / 1836 demolished	1857 orchard of convent converted into square
4. Plaça del Duc de Medinaceli	Sant Francesc d'Assís Convent	13 th -14 th centuries	1835 burned / 1838 demolished	1838
5. Plaça d'Antoni Lopez	Sant Sebastià Church	16 th century	1868 demolished	1883
6. Plaça de Sant Miquel	Church- Cemetery of Sant Miquel	Romanic origin 16 th century	1869 demolished	1870
7. Plaça de la Gardunya (Extension of Boqueria market)	Santa Maria Jerusalem Convent	14 th century	1885 demolished	1885 (renovated 2014-2015)
8. Plaça Castella	Paüls Convent	18 th century 1704	1808 military hospital	1946
9. Plaça J.M. Folch i Torres	Paüls Convent	19 th century 1833	1835 burned / 1839 prison / 1936 destroyed	1957
10. Plaça Vicenç Martorell	Bonsuccés Convent	17 th century	1835 military property / 1936 demolished	1957
11. Plaça de la Mercè	La Mercè Convent / orchard	17 th century	1823 suppressed / 1835 burned / 1846 Capitania General	1983 orchard of convent converted into square
12. Plaça de Sant Felip Neri	Cemetery of Montjuïc del Bisbe		1790	1938 regenerated by Florensa after its destruction during the Civil War
13. Plaça de Santa Maria del Mar	Cemetery		1806	1806
14. Fossar de les Moreres	Cemetery		1816	1816 / 1989 regenerated into its current form
15. Plaça de Sant Just	Cemetery		1816	1816
16. Plaça de Sant Pere de les Puel·les	Cemetery		1816	1816
17. Plaça de Sant Josep Oriol	Cemetery del Pi		1817	1817
18. Plaça del Pedró	Cemetery of Sant Llàtzer hospital		1821	1821 (renovated 2011-2012)





List of the squares created by replacing religious buildings and/or cemeteries in Ciutat Vella. (Author's elaboration from different sources. Fabre, Huertas, 1988; Florensa , 1957, 1958, 1959; bcn.cat/artpublic)

Spain also witnessed a hygienist movement and several doctors and scientists were prominent like Ignacio María Ruiz de Luzuriaga (1763-1822) and Mateo Seoane Sobral (1791-1870) who had great influence on Francisco Méndez Álvaro (1806-1883) and Pere Felip Monlau (1808-1871) where the latter played an important role in public hygiene and legislation (Alcaide González, 1999). Dr. Monlau wrote his memoir on public hygiene in 1847 –with improved later editions in 1862 and 1871– where he stated that public hygiene is important for the happiness and well-being of the population and it shows nothing but wise management and good governance.

"La higiene pública viene à ejercer en la sociedad la misma influencia que el poder legislativo y que la Administración. Un curso de higiene pública no es, en rigor, más que un vasto y minucioso programa de sàbia administración y buen gobierno; y si la higiene privada es la virtud, constituyendo con sus preceptos la felicidad individual y domestica, la higiene pública es la salud y la moral universal, tendiendo à crear la felicidad de los pueblos. [...] La higiene pública, más bien que una parte de la Medicina, es la Medicina entera aplicada al doble objeto de la institución de las leyes y de la administración de los pueblos" (Monlau, 1862a: 4, 5).

Monlau discussed hygiene thoroughly in all its aspects, from air to cemeteries, from water to exercising, and from clean hospitals to sanitary norms and legislation. Moreover, he stressed on the importance of clean streets and the creation of squares, gardens, and parks planted with trees and street furniture. He added that every neighborhood, especially the subordinate ones, should possess at least one square that serves as a place of rest, of sunlight, and ventilation; facilitate circulation; and decrease density.

"Además de las calles, deben las poblaciones tener plazas, por lo mucho que estas contribuyen a la renovación del aire. Sirven además para las ferias y mercados, para las fiestas públicas, para reunirse y pasear los habitantes, etc. [...] Cada barrio, al menos, debiera tener su plaza espaciosa [...] Con razón, he dicho, pues las plazas vienen a ser vastos almacenes o depósitos de aire, favorecen la circulación de este, y disminuyen la densidad de la población aumentando la extensión relativa del espacio ocupado por cierto número de casas (Monlau, 1862a: 96). Así como las calles y plazas para la circulación interior han de estar bien empedradas y limpias (68), así también el piso de los paseos ordinarios ha de ser llano, y estar siempre limpio. –Ha de haber en los paseos arboles, estatuas, poyos o bancos, cenadores, fuentes, surtidores, etc. (Monlau, 1862b: 596, 597).

He gives examples of other European cities, like Paris, London, Vienna, and Florence, referring to them as 'models'. Unfortunately, the subordinate areas in all cities either lack open green spaces or possess a small number –usually in a state of degradation and abandonment– which proves the neglect of policies. *Pero en cambio, las mas de las poblaciones subalternas carece de verdaderos paseos, o los tienen mezquinos, o en corto numero, o se hallan en su estado de degradación y abandono que revela el mas craso descuido de todas las reglas de policía" (Monlau, 1862b: 598).*

In the mid 19th century, cities in Spain were still suffering from the same epidemics and bad conditions as the rest of the European cities. Catalonia was called 'Catalan Manchester' and it was known to be "the factory of Spain" (Busquets, 2005). Barcelona, since the 1830s, found itself in the same population and industrial growth. New factories and industries were springing all over the city, among them; Bonaplata Mill, Espanya Industrial, La Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima, Ricart i Cia, Batlló Textile, etc. Citizens moved from rural areas into the city in search of work which resulted in a demographic change and urban growth to be able to accomodate all the migrant waves and necessary manpower needed for the large manufacturing plants and constructions. This fact left the city oversaturated, unhealthy and in an unstable political and social tension.

As a matter of fact, Barcelona was a contradictory city that on one hand had a growing economy and majestic plazas like Plaça Reial, and on the other hand, had problems with the working class that suffered the most from unhealthy conditions, and poverty (Busquets, 2005).

"Las duras condiciones laborales, la insalubridad de las viviendas, la insuficiencia de los equipamientos e infraestructuras asistencial y sanitaria repercutían en la vida y en la muerte de la población de la ciudad, en especial las clases obreras, dando lugar a una elevada mortalidad" (Capel, Tatjer, 1991: 240).





Fig. 8 View of Espanya Industrial textile industries in Sants built in 1847 (Mariezcurrera , 1870. AFB.)

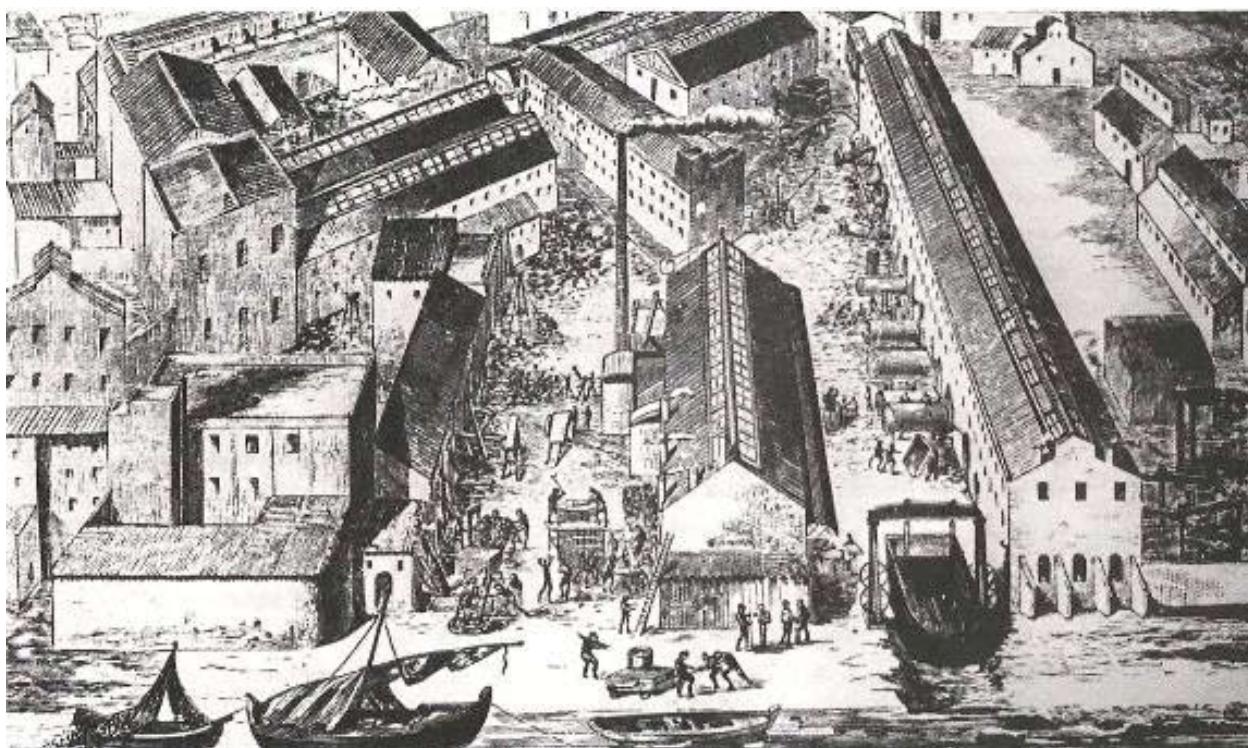


Fig. 9 Engraving of La Maquinista Terrestre y Maritima founded in 1855 (Arxiu MÀS. In Busquets, 2005)

Barcelona of the mid 19th century maintained, more or less, its medieval topography, enclosed by Roman walls. By the 1850's the old town became overpopulated (150,000 inhabitant in an enclosed perimeter of 64,000), increasingly dense and degraded where spaces for new urban, economic and industrial functions were lacking (Busquets, 2005). It was occupied with hospitals, barracks, slaughterhouses, and cemetaries. In addition, there was no sanitary infrastructure, buildings exceeded their height limits and the blocks' interior spaces were completely occupied. This caused further lack of ventilation, clean water, insalubri-

ty, and caused another cholera outbreak in 1855. The city was suffocating within its own walls. The only urban land reserve was in ‘Pla de Barcelona’ or the Barcelona Plain threatened with uncontrolled growth (Fuster, Nicolau, Venteo, 2001). Therefore, discussions had started about the necessity of an expansion – ‘ensanche’ in Spanish or ‘eixample’ in Catalan– beyond the old historic town.

“To speak of sanitation or of ensanche is then, to speak of the essential nature of 19th century urbanism, of the expansive, clarifying undertaking that took the form of broad streets, larger plots, well-aired homes, urbanized spaces. It is therefore natural that ‘Ensanche’ and ‘Sanitation’ should have come together so frequently in projects and proposals, in conjunction with the concept of ‘Remodelling’” (Solà-Morales M., 2010: 44).

Monlau was in favor of the new ensanche and above all of demolishing the walls based on hygiene criteria. According to Busquets, he “*was one of the staunchest champions of demolition: the need to improve hygiene conditions in order to reduce illness was vital*” (2005: 117).

In parallel, there was a political instability associated with tensions and debates between moderate and progressive liberal parties concerning the demolition of the walls.

However, the tangible consequences of industrialization, in general, and the opening of the railway from Barcelona to Mataró (1848), in particular, verified the inevitability of a new stage of progress in which it was necessary to adapt to the social and political needs and framework (Magrinyà, 2008).

Monlau –involved in the progressive movements himself– described in his 1841 report ‘*Abajo las Murallas!!!*’ the crowdedness, bad living conditons, insufficient public health, and high mortality in this walled enclosure. Nonetheless, some moderate or even conservative figures like the priest and philosopher Jaume Balmes were welcoming the idea of demolition and, through the magazine ‘La Sociedad’, proposed the “*notion of an unlimited city against a walled city*” (Magrinyà, 2008; Torres, Llobet, Puig, 1985).

Monlau depicted the wall as a sign of fortification, inhumanity and control. Its presence in modern times is redundant especially that, with the increase in population, many cities are tearing down their walls and expanding beyond their old town’s border.

“Nuestras calles son jeneralmente angostas, la circulacion de las personas por ellas espuesta, a causa del continuo carretero y trasporte que exigen el comercio y la industria; las casas altas, ahogadas, con cuatro pisos jeneralmente y cuarenta o cincuenta moradores en cada una de ellas (1); cada dia van desapareciendo los huertos, los jardines y las casas antiguas de alguna comodidad, para construir en su lugar casitas mezquinas, con nichos en vez de salones y cuartos; en una palabra nos vamos ahogando” (Monlau, 1841: 13)

If a city wants to improve its situation then:

“Entonces se quisiera que la población no estuviese tan condensada y encastillada; que tuviese anchas calles y espaciosas plazas’ que los edificios no fuesen tan altos, y estuviesen mejor ventilados; que en el centro de la población no hubiese hospitales, cárceles, no otros establecimientos insalubres, etc.” (Monlau, 1862a: 304).





Fig. 10 The enclosed old town with the Barcelona Plain and the neighboring towns (Cerdà, c1854. ICC)

In his opinion, the total or partial demolition of the Roman walls, for the sake of public health, provided: better ventilation, streets and squares; a comfortable life for citizens; an easiness in displacing unhealthy establishments; a growth in economy and production such as an increase in industries, business, and land price; and a decrease in intramural rents due to the ensanche.

He added that this idea of urban progress could face resistance from landowners, authorities responsible for the gateways to the city, and military oppositions interested in preserving the fortification. As a matter of fact, the first expansion projects were drafted from a military perspective of extending the walled sector and accommodating a new urbanized sector like Juan Cortés de Rivera's fortified expansion project around Passeig de Gracia in 1846, and Francesc Daniel i Molina's project in 1853 (Magrinyà, 2008). But with time the military authority on regulations and urban matters was gradually assigned to municipalities.

In the aftermaths of the bad conditions, the epidemics and the working class strike in July 1855, the City Council and government had to find adequate solutions that eventually led to political changes. The arrival of the Bienio Progresista to the local government was a starting point to the modernization of the city and its urban structural transformation that would shape the city and urban planning as we know it (Magrinyà, 2008; Nicolau, Fuster, Venteo, 2001).

However, the debates concerning the demolition of the walls remained until finally the definite decision of tearing it down was made possible with the publication of the Royal Order of 12 August 1854, a process that lasted until 1868.

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Figures Index:

Fig. 1 PÉREZ DE ROZAS, Carlos. Plaça del Pedrò. Font de Santa Eulàlia. 1957-1967. AFB 4-212 no.CC37/152

Fig. 2 FEBRÉS YLL, Pau. Festa de Sant Just i Pastor. 6 d'Agost. 1893. AHCB C03.03 no.02165

Fig. 3 BUYÉ MUNTANÉ, Francesc. Plaça del Born i Absis de Sta. Maria del Mar. 1930. AHCB C03.03 no.763

Fig. 4 FURNÓ ABAD, Joaquim. PADRÓ PEDRET, Tomàs. Incendio de los Conventos [Barcelona 1835]. AHCB C04.03 no.04449

TUSQUETS, Juan. Orígenes de la Revolución Española. Barcelona: Editorial Vilamala, 1932, p. 17

Fig. 5 ESPLUGAS PUIG, Antoni. Plaça Reial nevada. 1880-1888. AFB 3-132 no.2750

Fig. 6 MARTÍ CENTELLES, Joan. Bellezas de Barcelona. Plaça del Duc de Medinaceli. 1874. AFB 4-210

Fig. 7 RIGALT, Lluís. Plaça de la Mercè. 1867. no.616 D. RACBA, <http://racba.org/mostrarobra2.php?id=1108>

Fig. 8 MARIEZCURRENA Corrons, Heribert. Fàbrica de l'Espanya Industrial. 1870. AFB 3-117 no.4826

Fig. 9 La Maquinista y Terrestre. Arxiu Màs. In BUSQUETS, Joan. Barcelona: the urban evolution of a compact city. Rovereto: Nicolodi, 2005, p. 103.

Fig. 10 CERDÀ, Ildefons. Planol de Barcelona i els seus voltants. c1860. AHCB C02.02 no.3023. In Arxiu Cerdà. Any Cerdà, <http://www.anycerda.org/web/arxiu-cerda> and ICC





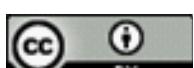
The *Eventrement* of Paris and the configuration of the *Alphand-Davioud-Hittorff* Paradigm on urban design

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Abstract

In the first half of the 19th century and the Industrial Revolution, cities like Paris were faced with health problems brought upon them by the rapid growth of industries and the waves of immigration from rural areas. As a consequence the cities, especially their historic center, suffered from congestion, overpopulation and hygiene that lead to various epidemics. To improve hygiene conditions, measures were taken through major urban developments such as the transformation of Paris under the hands of Baron Haussmann the Prefect of the Seine Department between 1853 and 1870. In accordance with Napoleon III, Haussmann traced Paris's new plan and started with the 'eventrement' of the city's unhealthy neighborhoods by opening large rectilinear and longitudinal streets. In fact, he was continuing the work already proposed by Napoleon I and initiated later by Comte de Rambuteau in 1839 under the same concerns of hygiene. Haussmann's objectives were to embellish and modernize the city, and



foremost, to improve living conditions and public health, and provide all citizens with light, air, water, public parks and gardens.

On one hand, he was able to assemble a distinguished team the likes of Alphand, Bariellet-Deschamps, Davioud, and Hittorff who created and built the promenades and squares of Paris. Their designs and urban elements were standardized and systematized becoming an urban model and influencing the cities' urban design. The fact that led Remesar to develop the 'Alphand-Davioud-Hittorff paradigm' where replicas of their style still predominates in shaping the landscape, spaces, and elements of our historic center.

On the other hand, Haussmann received harsh criticism from political opponents that resulted in his dismissal. Due to the 'eventrement', he was criticized for destroying the old parts of the city causing a loss in historic and monumental buildings and neighborhoods. The new wide open streets and spaces made means of communication hard especially for pedestrians. In addition, he was blamed for social disruption, inequality, and displacement caused by the amounts of demolitions and expropriations. Moreover, he was accused of squandering money over this long and costly procedure and over passing the budget.

However, one cannot deny the fact that many defended him for all the promenades, parks, squares, gardens, and sewage system created without forgetting that these kinds of plans and procedures had already started before Haussmann dating back to the time of Napoleon I.

Keywords: Paris, Haussmann, Alphand, Davioud, Hittorff, Eventrement, Promenades, Urban Design

Resum

A la primera meitat del segle XIX i en la Revolució Industrial, ciutats com París es van enfocar a problemes de salut que els va causar el ràpid creixement de les indústries i les onades d'immigració de les zones rurals. Com a conseqüència, les ciutats, especialment el seu centre històric, van patir de congestió, superpoblació i higiene que van portar a diverses epidèmies. Per millorar les condicions higièniques, es van prendre mesures a través d'importants desenvolupaments urbans com la transformació de París sota les ordres del Baró Haussmann, el Prefecte del Departament del Sena, entre 1853 i 1870. Segons Napoleó III, Haussmann va traçar el nou pla de París i va començar amb el 'Eventrement' dels barris insalubres de la ciutat obrint grans carrers rectilinis i longitudinals. De fet, continuava la feina ja proposat per Napoleó I i iniciat més tard pel comte de Rambuteau en 1839 sota les mateixes preocupacions d'higiene. Els objectius d'Haussmann eren embellir i modernitzar la ciutat i, sobretot, millorar les condicions de vida i la salut pública i proporcionar a tots els ciutadans llum, aire, aigua, parcs públics i jardins.

D'una banda, va ser capaç de reunir un equip distingit com Alphand, Bariellet-Deschamps, Davioud i Hittorff que van crear i van construir les passejades i places de París. Els seus dissenys i elements urbans van ser estandarditzats i sistematitzats convertint-se en un model urbà i influenciant el disseny urbà de les ciutats. El fet que va portar a Remesar a desenvolupar el "paradigma Alphand-Davioud-Hittorff", on les rèpliques del seu estil encara predomina en la configuració del paisatge, els espais i elements del nostre centre històric.

D'altra banda, Haussmann va rebre dures crítiques dels opositors polítics que van resultar en el seu acomiadament. Per raó del 'eventrement', va ser criticat per destruir les parts antigues de la ciutat causant una pèrdua en edificis històrics i monumentals i barris. Els nous carrers i espais oberts van fer els mitjans de comunicació difícils especialment per als vianants. A més, se li va atribuir la desorganització social, la desigualtat i el desplaçament causats per les quantitats de demolicions i expropiacions. A més, se l'accusa de gastar diners en aquest llarg i costós procediment i en passar el pressupost.

No obstant això, no es pot negar el fet que molts ho van defensar per tots els passejos, parcs, places, jardins i sistema de clavegueram creat sense oblidar que aquest tipus de plans i procediments ja havien començat abans de Haussmann que es remunta a l'època de Napoleó I.

Paraules clau: Paris, Haussmann, Alphand, Davioud, Hittorff, Eventrement, Promenades, Urban Design

Resumen

En la primera mitad del siglo XIX y en la Revolución Industrial, ciudades como París se enfrentaron a problemas de salud que les causó el rápido crecimiento de las industrias y las olas de inmigración de las zonas rurales. Como consecuencia, las ciudades, especialmente su centro histórico, sufrieron de congestión, superpoblación e higiene que llevaron a diversas epidemias. Para mejorar las condiciones higiénicas, se tomaron medidas a través de importantes desarrollos urbanos como la transformación de París bajo las órdenes del Barón Haussmann, el Prefecto del Departamento del Sena, entre 1853 y 1870. Según Napoleón III, Haussmann trazó el nuevo plan de París y empezó



con el ‘Eventrement’ de los barrios insalubres de la ciudad abriendo grandes calles rectilíneas y longitudinales. De hecho, continuaba el trabajo ya propuesto por Napoleón I e iniciado más tarde por el conde de Rambuteau en 1839 bajo las mismas preocupaciones de higiene. Los objetivos de Haussmann eran embellecer y modernizar la ciudad y, sobre todo, mejorar las condiciones de vida y la salud pública y proporcionar a todos los ciudadanos luz, aire, agua, parques públicos y jardines.

Por un lado, fue capaz de reunir un equipo distinguido como Alphand, Barillet-Deschamps, Davioud y Hittorff que crearon y construyeron los paseos y plazas de París. Sus diseños y elementos urbanos fueron estandarizados y sistematizados convirtiéndose en un modelo urbano e influenciando el diseño urbano de las ciudades. El hecho que llevó a Remesar a desarrollar el “paradigma Alphand-Davioud-Hittorff”, donde las réplicas de su estilo todavía predomina en la configuración del paisaje, los espacios y elementos de nuestro centro histórico.

Por otra parte, Haussmann recibió duras críticas de los opositores políticos que resultaron en su despido. Debido al ‘eventrement’, fue criticado por destruir las partes antiguas de la ciudad causando una pérdida en edificios históricos y monumentales y barrios. Las nuevas calles y espacios abiertos hicieron los medios de comunicación difíciles especialmente para los peatones. Además, se le atribuyó la desorganización social, la desigualdad y el desplazamiento causados por las cantidades de demoliciones y expropiaciones. Además, se le acusa de gastar dinero en este largo y costoso procedimiento y en pasar el presupuesto.

Sin embargo, no se puede negar el hecho de que muchos lo defendieron por todos los paseos, parques, plazas, jardines y sistema de alcantarillado creado sin olvidar que este tipo de planes y procedimientos ya habían comenzado antes de Haussmann que se remonta a la época de Napoleón I.

Palabras clave: Paris, Haussmann, Alphand, Davioud, Hittorff, Eventrement, Promenades, Urban Design

The main urban reformations and hygiene, in major cities in Europe, were performed during and after the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. Cities and their urban centers were faced with health problems brought upon them by large waves of immigration in search of work, and rapid growth of industries, factories, heavy transports and mines. This resulted in overcrowded and dense urban centers, poor housing and living conditions, and lack of space. Heavy industries settled in inappropriate spaces for maximum benefits disregarding the city’s urban fabric and natural surroundings. Immigrants flooding from rural areas for a better life resided in neighborhoods that lacked infrastructures, equipments, sunlight, fresh water and sanitation. They lived in cheap, congested, unventilated, and unhealthy housings, many of which shared by several families and this caused excessive labor force, hunger, poverty and high mortality rates. As a repercussion they became cities of breeding grounds for the massive spread of disease, and hence the disastrous arrival of the 19th century epidemics.

“Partly, the nineteenth century interest in hygiene and sanitation was an automatic reaction: compensation against the miserably insanitary conditions, the devitalized diet, the constant state of ill-health and enfeeblement, in which the denizens of the nineteenth century towns lived. Advances in the biological sciences, in turn, threw into relief the misdemeanors of the new environment: its lack of sunlight and ultra-violet rays, its frequently infected public water supply, its wholesale materialization of conditions favorable to organic dissipation, physiological maladjustment, and disease.

Modern hygiene has established the fact that most of our cities, not least those big ones built mainly during the last fifty years, are biologically speaking life-inimical or life-destructive environments” (Mumford, 1970: 422)

The drastic situation was depicted in many literature works such as Honoré de Balzac’s *Scènes de la vie parisienne* in La Comédie Humaine (1829-1855), Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables* (1862), Charles Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* (1838), and later Jack London’s description of London’s East End in *The People of the Abyss*



(1903) influenced by Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1892), and Friedrich Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845). This brings us to another outcome, the situation induced the rise of a new class, the middle class, and thus class struggles and clashes started between the fast-growing working class and the new bourgeoisie that took political and economic power and affected all the sectors including the urban development of cities. The situation was in crisis and threatened by riots and revolutions like in the case of Paris:

"Consider, first, the case of Second Empire Paris. The year 1848 brought one of the first clear, and European-wide, crises of both unemployed surplus capital and surplus labour. It struck Paris particularly hard, and issued in an abortive revolution by unemployed workers and those bourgeois utopians who saw a social republic as the antidote to the greed and inequality that had characterized the July Monarchy. The republican bourgeoisie violently repressed the revolutionaries but failed to resolve the crisis. The result was the ascent to power of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, who engineered a coup in 1851 and proclaimed himself Emperor the following year. To survive politically, he resorted to widespread repression of alternative political movements. The economic situation [capital surplus] he dealt with by means of a vast programme of infrastructural investment both at home and abroad" (Harvey, 2008: 25).

In France, particularly Paris, hygiene problems were similarly drastic in terms of insalubrity, overpopulation, and poverty. Victor Considérant one of the influential Saint-Simoniens wrote in *Destinée Sociale* Vol.I that "Paris is an immense workshop of rot": "*Paris c'est un immense atelier de putréfaction, où la misère, la peste et les maladies travaillent de concert, où ne pénètrent guère l'air ni le soleil. Paris, c'est un mauvais lieu où les plantes s'étiolent et périssent, où, sur sept petits enfants, il en meurt quatre dans l'année*" (Considérant, 1837: 462).

And Frégier while describing the neighborhoods of La Cité, des Arcis and Saint-Honoré wrote:

"Ces rues étroites, sales, flanquées de maisons hautes de quatre étages et dont les allées sont presque toutes dépourvues de portiers, ont été abandonnées à la population la plus infime et la plus corrompue de la capital. Le quartier de la Cité, notamment, a un aspect sinistre et qui contraste singulièrement avec les quais et les monuments qui l'entourent et qui l'avoisinent. Il est sillonné de rues larges au plus de 8 pieds et bordées de maisons noircies par le temps. Ces maisons très élevées, comme nous l'avons dit, rendent les rues tristes et humides, et elles son elles-mêmes fort peu éclairées, surtout dans le rez-de-chaussée" (Frégier, 1840: 135, 136)

For this reason, many cities took measures of hygiene through urban changes and developments such as the case of Paris the century's most significant and consequential urban regeneration. The city and its metropolitan area were radically transformed between 1853 and 1869 under the direction of Baron George-Eugène Haussmann the Prefect of the Seine Department (1853-1870). In fact, Haussmann was continuing a project already started with Claude-Philibert Barthelot, Comte de Rambuteau, prefect of the Seine between 1833 and 1848. Rambuteau established the basis of the Paris's fundamental transformation that Haussmann carried out during the Second Empire. The operations' main purpose was to clean, connect, modernize, 'embellish' and turn Paris into "*la plue belle ville du monde*" (Persigny, 1896)



or as Rambuteau called it "*la métamorphose de Paris*". He was concerned with hygiene and his motto was "water, air, shade". In 1839 he started his first 'percée' in Paris by opening-up a 13m wide road later named after him and supported the prolongation and completion of Rue de Rivoli –a project proposed by Napoleon Bonaparte and carried out during his reign– until l'Hôtel de Ville and Rue Saint-Antoine (Persigny, 1868; Lequin, 1905).

In his memoires, Duc de Persigny stated that the Paris's improvement no longer consisted of reconstructing housings and aligning facades but of opening straight streets and axes crossing through unhealthy quarters and neighborhoods, a procedure that began with Rambuteau under the reign of Louis-Philippe:

"L'idée d'améliorer la viabilité de Paris, non plus par la voie lente du reculement des façades, à mesure de la reconstruction des maisons, mais en ouvrant directement un passage au travers des massifs, parle procédé de l'expropriation publique, cette idée féconde, qui devait si heureusement transformer Paris et nos grandes cités, appartient au règne de Louis-Philippe. M. de Rambuteau, préfet de la Seine, l'avait inaugurée par le percement de la rue qui porte son nom. La population de Paris avait été vivement impressionnée, à la vue de cette voie nouvelle traversant un quartier misérable, malsain, pour y porter l'activité, l'air, la lumière et la santé; et la popularité qui accueillit cette œuvre était de nature à encourager l'imitation. C'est en effet ce qui arriva : à peine le prince Louis-Napoléon parvenait-il à la présidence de la République qu'on lui soumettait le plan d'un percement bien autrement considérable, celui du prolongement de la rue de Rivoli, depuis le Louvre jusqu'à l'Hôtel de ville, au travers de quartiers épouvantables. M. Berger, le nouveau préfet de la Seine, jaloux des lauriers de M. de Rambuteau, avait mis un grand zèle à faire étudier le projet et à en déterminer l'adoption par le gouvernement. Ce grand travail, commencé vers le milieu de l'année 1851, était déjà en pleine exécution à l'époque du coup d'État" (Persigny, 1868: 237, 238).



Fig. 1 and 2 Perspective views of Rue de Rivoli, one of the first 'percement', showing its straight and rectilinear crossing through the city (Plaut, 1865) (Paris et ses environs, 1890).

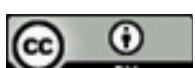
Taking advantage of the perks of Industrial Revolution's technical advances Rambuteau modernized Paris's sewers, developed and generalized the gas lighting jets and placed public urinals along the roads. He embellished the city by placing benches and planting trees in its avenues and public spaces, and installing monumental fountains, and constructing sidewalks.

"Je fis construire tous les ans sept à huit mille mètres d'égouts cimentés qui assainirent doublement le sol, en permettant de remplacer par des chaussées bombées les antiques chaussées en cuvette, fendues d'un ruisseau au milieu. J'essayai tous les genres de pavage, et je pourrais en parler doc-tement, depuis le bon pavé smillé jusqu'au macadam boueux, poussiéreux, dispendieux, mais qui offre l'avantage de rouler sans bruit et que je réservai aux abords des hôpitaux, des tribunaux et des théâtres. En 1833, il existait à peine 16.000 mètres de trottoirs ; en 1848, il y en avait 195.000, rien que pour les rues, car si je compte les places quais, boulevards entièrement aménagés d'égouts, ruisseaux latéraux, trottoirs, tuyaux de descente, 1.400 voies ont été métamorphosées sur une longueur de 260 kilomètres. Encore, malgré tous mes efforts, n'ai-je pu obtenir une mesure législative qui rendît la construction des trottoirs obligatoire aux propriétaires" (Lequin, 1905: 376).

Rambuteau was succeeded by Berger but the latter was dismissed by Napoleon III himself and assigned Haussmann whom Duque Persigny interviewed himself and selected from several other candidates:

"Je fis venir successivement plusieurs des principaux préfets : MM. Le Roy, préfet à Rouen, Bes-son, à Lille, de Crèvecœur, à Marseille, Tourangin, anciennement à Lyon, Haussmann, à Bordeaux, etc. Outre ce que je savais d'eux et par moi-même et par les traditions de l'administration, je m'attachai à les étudier avec soin pendant leur séjour à Paris, et en dinant presque en tête à tête avec eux [...] Comme me l'avait prédit M. Frémy, alors secrétaire général de mon ministère, c'est M. Haussmann qui me frappa le plus [...] J'avais devant moi un des types les plus extraordinaires de notre temps. Grand, fort, vigoureux, énergique, en même temps que fin, rusé, d'un esprit fertile en ressources, cet homme audacieux ne craignait pas de se montrer ouvertement ce qu'il était [...] Pour lutter, me disais-je, contre les idées, les préjugés de toute une école économique, contre des gens rusés, sceptiques, sortis la plupart des coulisses de la Bourse ou de la Basoche, peu scrupuleux sur les moyens, voici l'homme tout trouvé" (Persigny, 1868: 251-254).

Haussmann's extensive work in Paris started with the 'perçement' or 'piercing' of large rectilinear streets and boulevards with the same objectives of "aérer, unifier, et embellir" (de Moncan, Heurteux, 2002) Paris especially the dense neighborhoods in the center and along the railroad (Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Marais). Haussmann wrote that the Emperor was haunted by two "generous ideas"; first, the completion of Paris's Transformation not only to create a great Capital and a "Cité Reine du Monde" (Haussmann, 1890) but foremost to provide for its citizens the essential elements of public health: air, light and water, to facilitate communication, create monumental perspectives and open up avenues planted with large-scale promenades, parks and public gardens; and second, to gradually attenuate taxes especially the 'Impôts et Taxes de Consommation' (income and consumption taxes) that weighed heavily on the working class and laborers. Another indirect objective –an issue that was a debate among Haussmann's critics– was for the military security of the state and troops movement in order to avoid and help suppress popular uprisings



and barricades (Maderuelo, 2010; Harvey, 2003, 2008; Mumford, 1961, 1970; Scott, 1998).

"The redesigned city was, above all, to be made safe against popular insurrections. As Haussmann wrote, "The order of this Queen-city is one of the main pre-conditions of general [public] security" [...] Louis Napoleon and Haussmann had seen the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; more recently, the June Days and resistance to Louis Napoleon's coup represented the largest insurrection of the century. [...] A series of new avenues between the inner boulevards and the customs wall was designed to facilitate movement between the barracks on the outskirts of the city and the subversive districts. As Haussmann saw it, his new roads would ensure multiple, direct rail and road links between each district of the city and the military units responsible for order there. [...] The reconstruction of Paris was also a necessary public-health measure. And here the steps that the hygienists said would make Paris more healthful would at the same time make it more efficient economically and more secure militarily" (Scott, 1998: 61, 62).

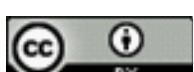
Mumford, when writing about Paris's medieval narrow streets and culs-de-sac, stated that "it was the best possible protection against assault from within" (Mumford, 1968: 70), and that 'razing' the neighborhoods with wide avenues aesthetically enhanced military power.

"In view of the importance of the army to the ruling classes, it is no wonder that military traffic was the determining factor in the new city plan, from the first mutation in Alberti to the final survival in the laying down of Haussmann's boulevards in Paris. The esthetic effect of the regular ranks and the straight line of soldiers is increased by the regularity of the avenue: the unswerving line of march greatly contributes to the display of power, and a regiment moving thus gives the impression that it would break through a solid wall without losing a beat" (Mumford 1970: 96).

In his memoir Haussmann did not directly deny this fact and wrote that

"C'était l'éventrement du Vieux Paris, du quartier des émeutes, des barricades, par une large voie centrale, perçant, de part en part, ce dédale presque impraticable, accostée de communications transversales, dont la continuation devait compléter l'œuvre ainsi commencée. [...] Assurément, l'Empereur, en traçant le Boulevard de Strasbourg et son prolongement jusqu'à la Seine et au delà, n'avait pas plus en vue l'utilité stratégique de ce prolongement, que de tant d'autres grandes voies, comme la Rue de Rivoli, par exemple, dont l'alignement droit ne se prêtait pas à la tactique habituelle des insurrections locales. Mais, s'il n'a pas cherché, par-dessus tout, ce résultat, comme l'Opposition de lui reprochait, on ne peut nier que ce fut la très heureuse conséquence de tous les grands percements conçus par Sa Majesté pour améliorer et pour assainir l'ancienne ville. Ce résultat servit, concurremment avec nombre d'autres bonnes raisons, à justifier, vis-à-vis de la France, que la tranquillité de Paris intéresse au premier chef, la participation de l'Etat dans les frais de ces onéreuses entreprises. Quant à moi, qui suis le promoteur des additions faites au projet initial, je déclare n'avoir pas songé le moins du monde, en les combinant, à leur plus ou moins d'importance stratégique" (Haussmann, 1893: 54, 55)

Paris's plan consisted of three phases each corresponding to a network, 'réseau', of precise routes. Fo-



llowing the Emperor's direction and approval, Haussmann started with the first phase known as the 'Grande Croisée' of Paris (1852-1859), the pivot of Paris's urban transformation, continuing a project initiated in 1801 under Napoleon I and projected by architects Charles Percier and Pierre-Francois-Leonard Fontaine. It consisted of the prolongation of Rue de Rivoli and Rue Saint-Antoine (East-West axis) (1853-1855) intersecting with Boulevards of Strasbourg and Sébastopol (North-South axis) (1855-1859) creating in the process several squares like Place du Carrousel and Place de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois among others. The plan consisted of two other phases –'deuxième réseau' (1859-1867) and 'troisième réseau' (1869-1925) – where many other new networks of streets and boulevards were created, widened or prolonged on both sides of the Seine. Between 1852 and 1870, around more than 200 km of roads were carried out totally rearranging the circulation and displacement within the city. Moreover, a complex drainage and sewage system was created underneath the streets and boulevards; gas street lamps, trees, street furniture, and fountains with potable water were placed in the city's public spaces; new monuments were restored and built as well as parks and squares (de Moncan, Heurteux, 2002). As a matter of fact, Paris was one of the advanced cities in incorporating urban services that passed through several stages of extension. The first was in 1805 where a thorough inventory of the existing network was developed. In the second stage, a sanitation project was executed in the capital's northeastern neighborhoods. And in later stages the network evolved in length passing from 37 kilometers in 1824 to 80 kilometers in 1850. Actual work on the sewage network started in 1865 under the direction of Belgrand and by 1871 it reached 560 kilometers (Dupuy, Knaebel, 1982).

Haussmann assembled a distinguished municipal body, and technical offices consisting of a great team of administrators, technicians and professionals, the likes of architect Eugène Deschamps the manager or 'conservateur' of Paris's plan; engineer Jean-Charles Adolph Alphand head of the new Service of Promenades and Plantations responsible for designing Bois de Boulogne, Bois de Vincennes, Parc des Buttes Chaumont, Parc Montsouris; Jean-Pierre Barillet-Deschamps chief gardener in charge of planting the great parks and gardens; Eugene Belgrand water, drainage and sewers engineer responsible for building over 300km of aqueducts carried out between 1864 and 1893; architect Gabriel Davioud known for designing street furniture, grillwork, fountains like Fontaine Saint-Michel, and several monuments like Théâtre du Châtelet and Théâtre de la Ville; architect Jacques Ignace Hittorff responsible for redesigning the Place de la Concorde and the Champs-Élysées and other monumental projects; Victor Baltard known for reconstructing Les Halles.

Following the Emperor's instructions, the parks were designed inspired by his memories of London's parks (Haussmann, 1893), especially Hyde Park, but on a much larger scale such as Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes. Capel stated that during the Napoleon and Restoration Period the classical formal garden was momentarily brought back before the English park style took over France again. And throughout the 19th century these parks and gardens were designed in a more diverse eclectic style that not only affected urban spaces but also architecture.

"Desde los años 1840 –tras la época napoleónica y la nueva expansión del jardín clásico francés durante la Restauración– se consolida y difunde de nuevo en Francia la moda del parque inglés, que desde ese país se extenderá a toda Europa. [...] De todas maneras, a lo largo del XIX el hecho más destacado es el carácter ecléctico del diseño de estos espacios. Un eclecticismo difundido



sobre todo por revistas y tratados y que supone una aceptación de diversos estilos tanto en arquitectura como en jardinería” (Capel, 2002: 300, 309).

Promenades and Squares

The opening up of avenues and boulevards resulted in a network of new squares in their proximity or between buildings. It was important for Haussmann and the Emperor to create squares in all of Paris's arrondissements, just like in London, designated to be used by rich and poor alike. They are spaces that had positive effect on public health and hygiene by providing light and air, such as, Square Saint-Jacques, Square Bergson, Square du Temple, Square Louvois, Square des Innocents, Square de Montholon, Square Jean XXIII, Squares des Invalides, and Square Emile-Chautemps formerly known as Square des Arts-et-Métiers, among others.

“Aussi, [l'empereur] me prescrivit-i de ne manquer aucune occasion de ménager, dans tous les arrondissements de Paris, l'emplacement du plus grand nombre possible de squares, afin de pouvoir offrir avec largesse chez nous, comme on le faisait à Londres, des lieux de délassement et recréation à toutes les familles, à tous les enfants, riches ou pauvres. [...] Suivant les indications de l'Empereur, mon administration a doté Paris de squares libéralement répartis entre tous ses arrondissements anciens et nouveaux. Il en fut créé 24, de 1853 à 1869 ; savoir : 17, dans la Vieille Ville ; 7, dans la Zone Suburbaine annexée” (Haussmann, 1893 : 240).

Concerning the squares Haussmann added that :

“Le nom de square signifie, en anglais : carré. Nous désignons ainsi, à l'instar de nos voisins d'outre-mer, les jardins presque toujours clos de grilles, entourant ou côtoyant certains de nos édifices, occupant le milieu de la plupart de nos Places, ou bien utilisant des espaces laissés libres par le tracé de nos voies publiques nouvelles et par le plan de lotissement des parcelles de terrain demeurées en dehors des alignements de ces voies et livrées à la reconstruction. La forme de ces enclos verdoyants et fleuris dans la belle saison, pleins d'air et de lumière, en tout temps, ne justifie point cette qualification, je le confesse, en bien des cas” (Haussmann, 1893 : 239).



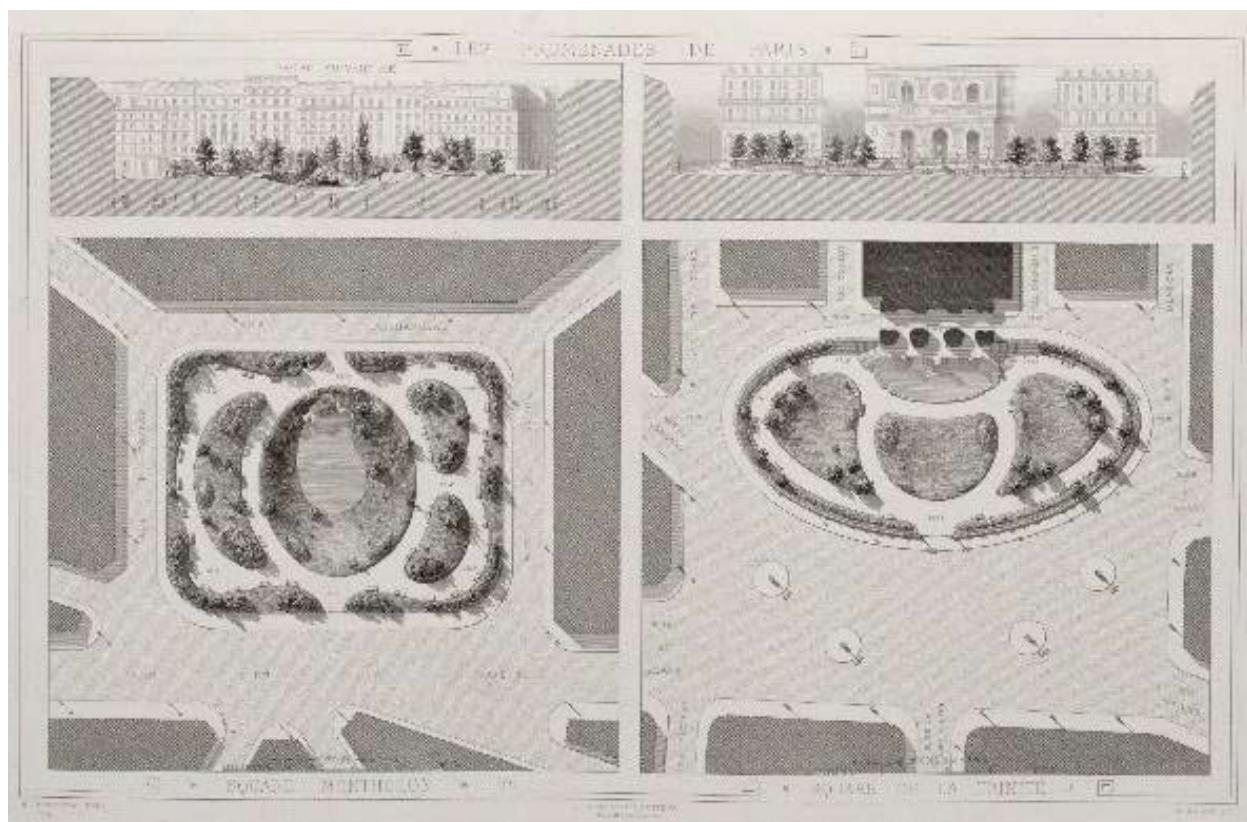
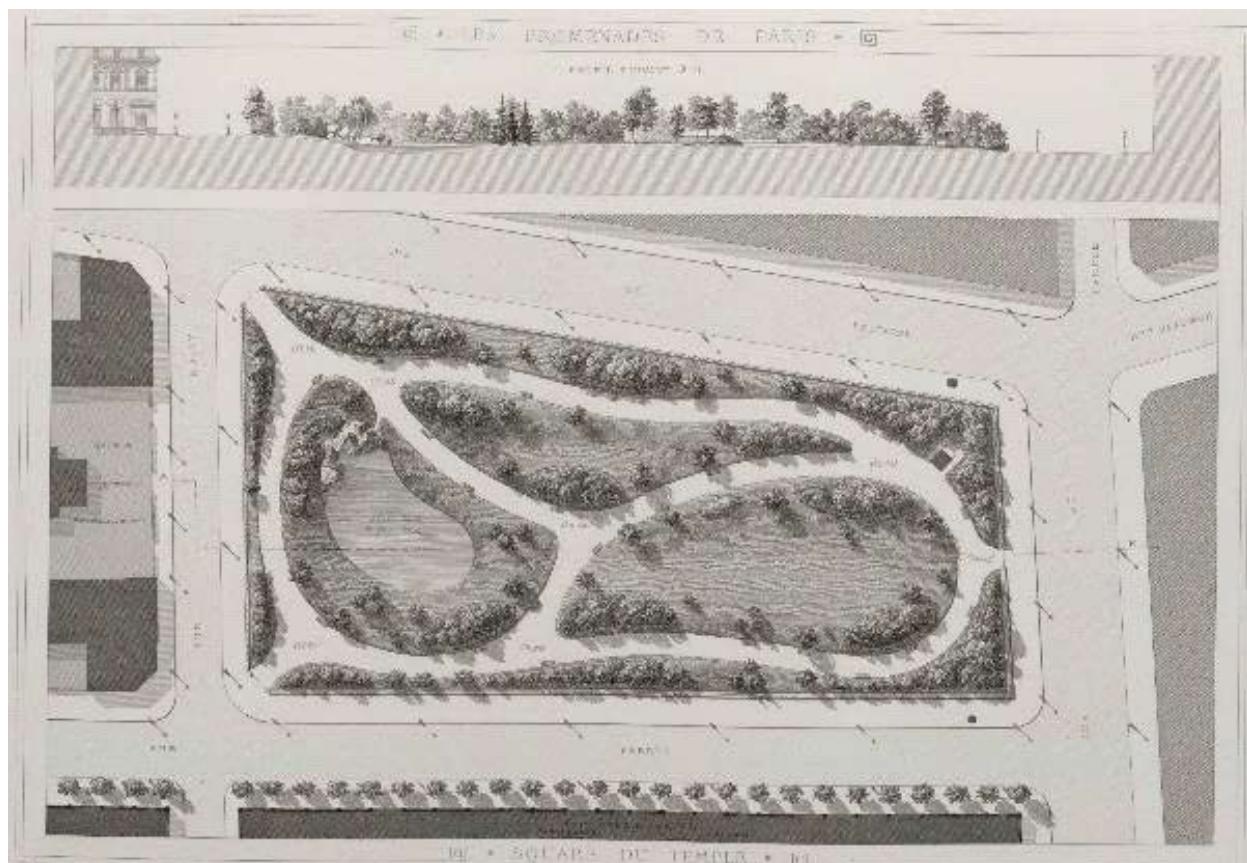


Fig. 3 Elevation and plan of Squares Montholon and De La Trinité (Alphand, 1867-1873)



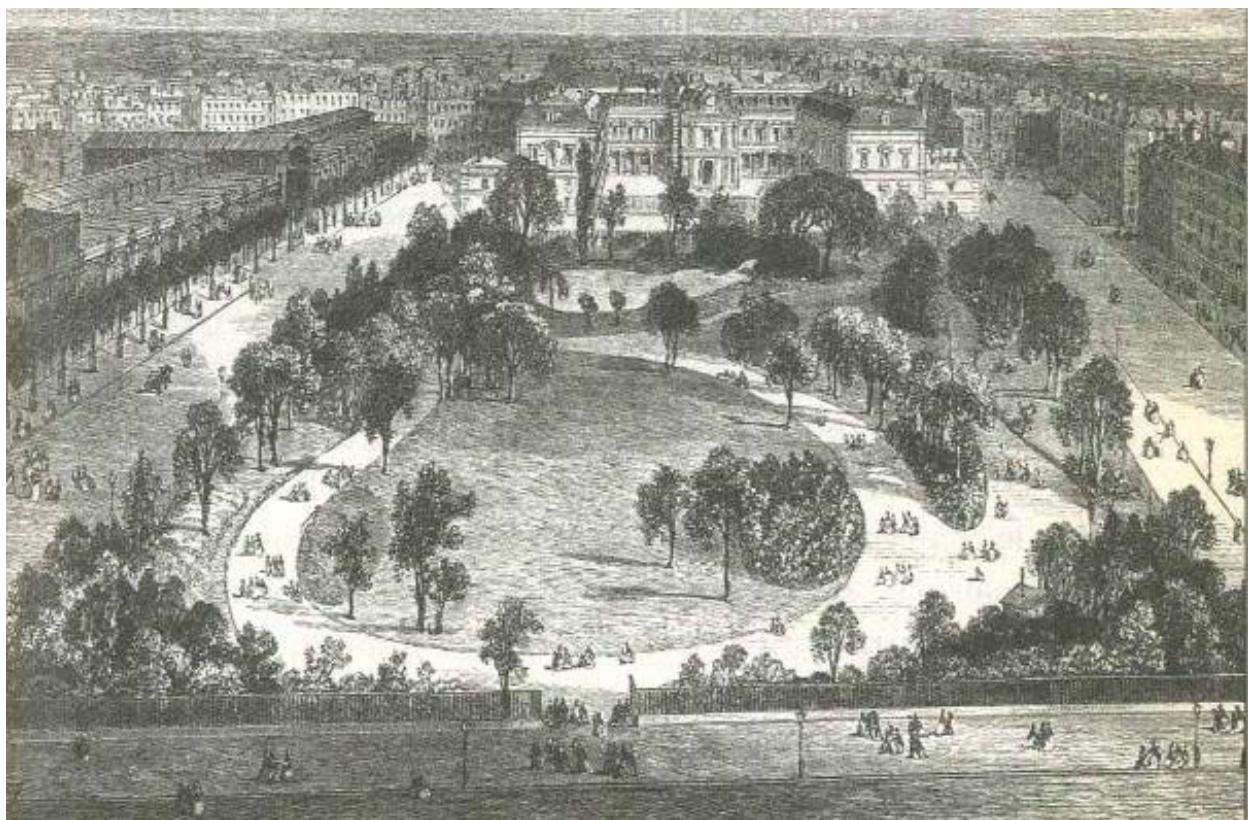


Fig. 4 Elevation, plan, and perspective of Square du Temple (Alphand, 1867-1873. De Moncan, Heurteux, 2002)

When Alphand, published the two volumes book *Les Promenades de Paris* (1867-1873), within the framework of Haussmann's plan, he showed the implementation and designs of the city's parks, squares, gardens, and landscape planning. The technical offices disseminated and conveyed their projects taking them a step further by organizing, normalizing and arranging streets, parks, promenades, gardens and squares. They showed great details and thorough designs and drawings emphasizing on elements of street furniture, vegetation, pavement, and infrastructure. This standardization and systematization had such importance and influence that it became an urban model throughout Europe (Remesar, 2005; 2007).

“O impacto da obra de Alphand, “Les Promenades de Paris”, foi enorme em toda Europa, mas não podemos entendê-lo sem ter em conta que por trás desta normalização, falamos de todo um sector industrial metalúrgico, particularmente em Inglaterra e França, que vai ter no novo modelo urbano a oportunidade do seu desenvolvimento e expansão nos mercados internacionais, sobretudo devido ao fenómeno das Exposições Universais” (Remesar, 2005: 33).

The influence on urban design even continued until our present days, the fact that led Remesar to develop the 'Alphand- Davioud- Hittorff paradigm of urban furniture in historic centers', where replicas of their style still predominates in shaping the landscape, spaces, and elements of our historic center.

“Se as grandes operações de Haussmann, na Paris do segundo império, tiveram como um dos seus resultados, a criação de uma nova indústria, a da “fonte d’art”, a existência desta indústria associada à publicidade está a produzir “réplicas” de centros históricos à escala planetária. Por outro

lado, os jardins dos nossos centros pretendem manter viva a imagem do "jardim-square" romântico que caracterizou o urbanismo higienista do século XIX" (Remesar, 2007: VIII).

Even though they cannot compete with the contemporary designs nor are they compatible with sustainability requisites, like in the case of street lights, this 'Alphand-Davioud-Hittorff style' of urban furniture is being modified and placed all over the historic centers –especially in parks and squares that characterized the 19th century urban hygiene– to create a specific authentic mood and atmosphere.

"As empresas produtoras de mobiliário urbano reproduzem até ao enjoo o que podemos chamar de 'estilo Alphand-Hittorf', um estilo de antiquário cuja única missão é recriar um ambiente que nunca existiu. A maior parte das luminárias que são instaladas nos centros históricos são inimigas do meio ambiente pela sua baixa eficiência energética. Contudo, mantêm-se, alteram-se e colocam-se em todo o centro urbano que se preze, inclusivamente voltando a utilizar o gás como energia. Criam ambiente, funcionam cenograficamente ainda que, quando os seus antepassados foram colocados pela primeira vez, implicassem uma inovação técnica e estética de grande magnitude. [...] É óbvio que as réplicas actuais dos elementos de mobiliário do século XIX não podem competir com os desenhos contemporâneos, nem em funcionalidade, nem em ecologia, nem em ergonomia. No entanto, o 'estilo Alphand-Hittorf' predomina na configuração da paisagem urbana dos nossos centros históricos"¹ (Remesar, 2007: VIII).



1.- For a detailed study of the impact of Parisian postulates on other cities, see Remesar, de Lecea, and Grandas, 2010; Aguas, 2009; Barradas, 2015; Esparza, 2014; Hernández Sánchez, 2009; Valente Pereira, 2013; Alves, 2010

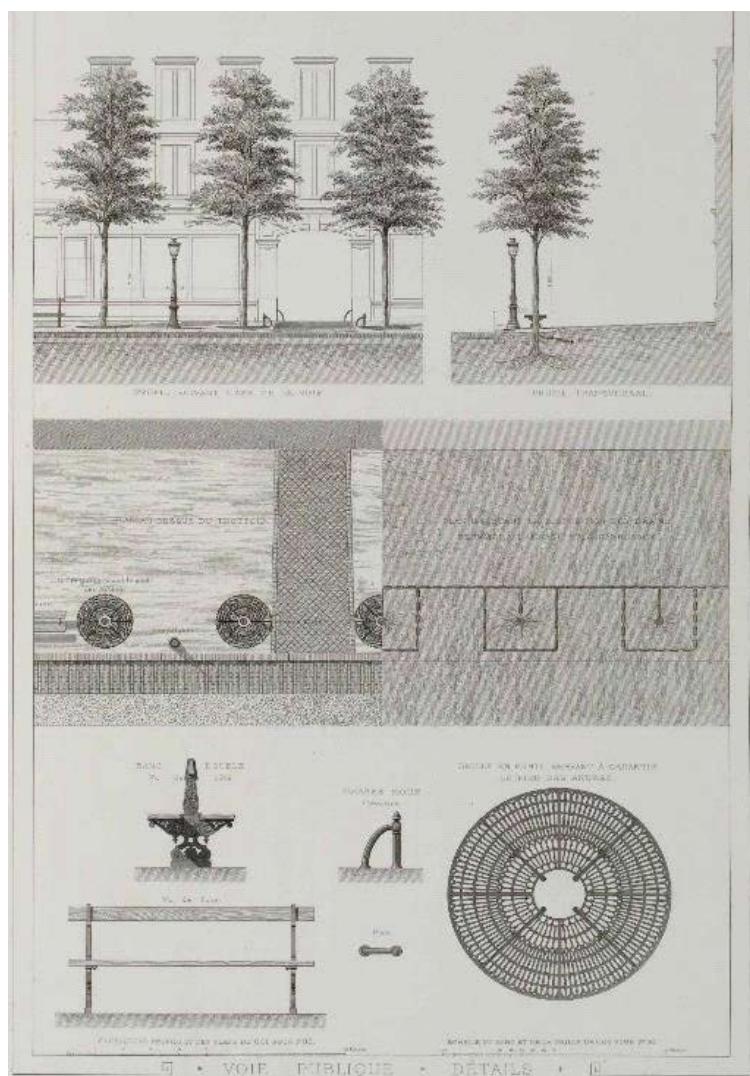
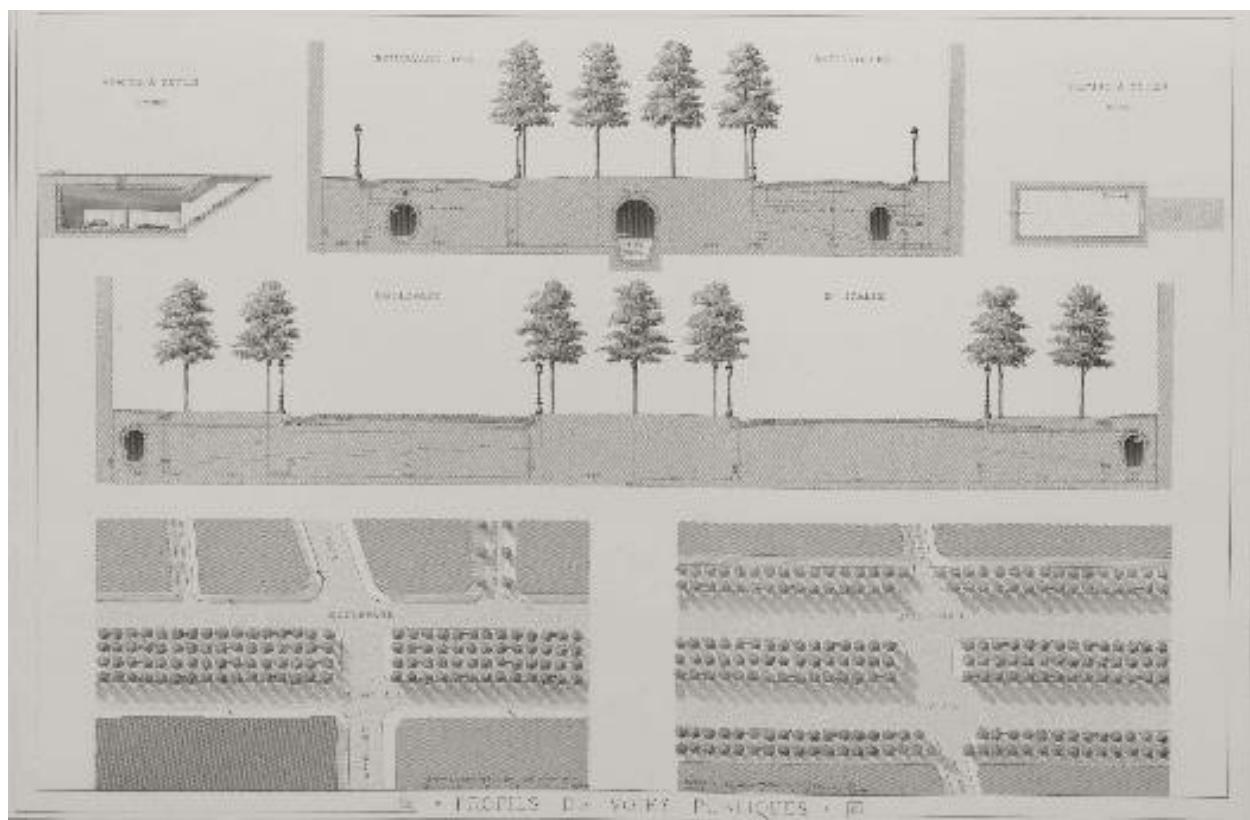
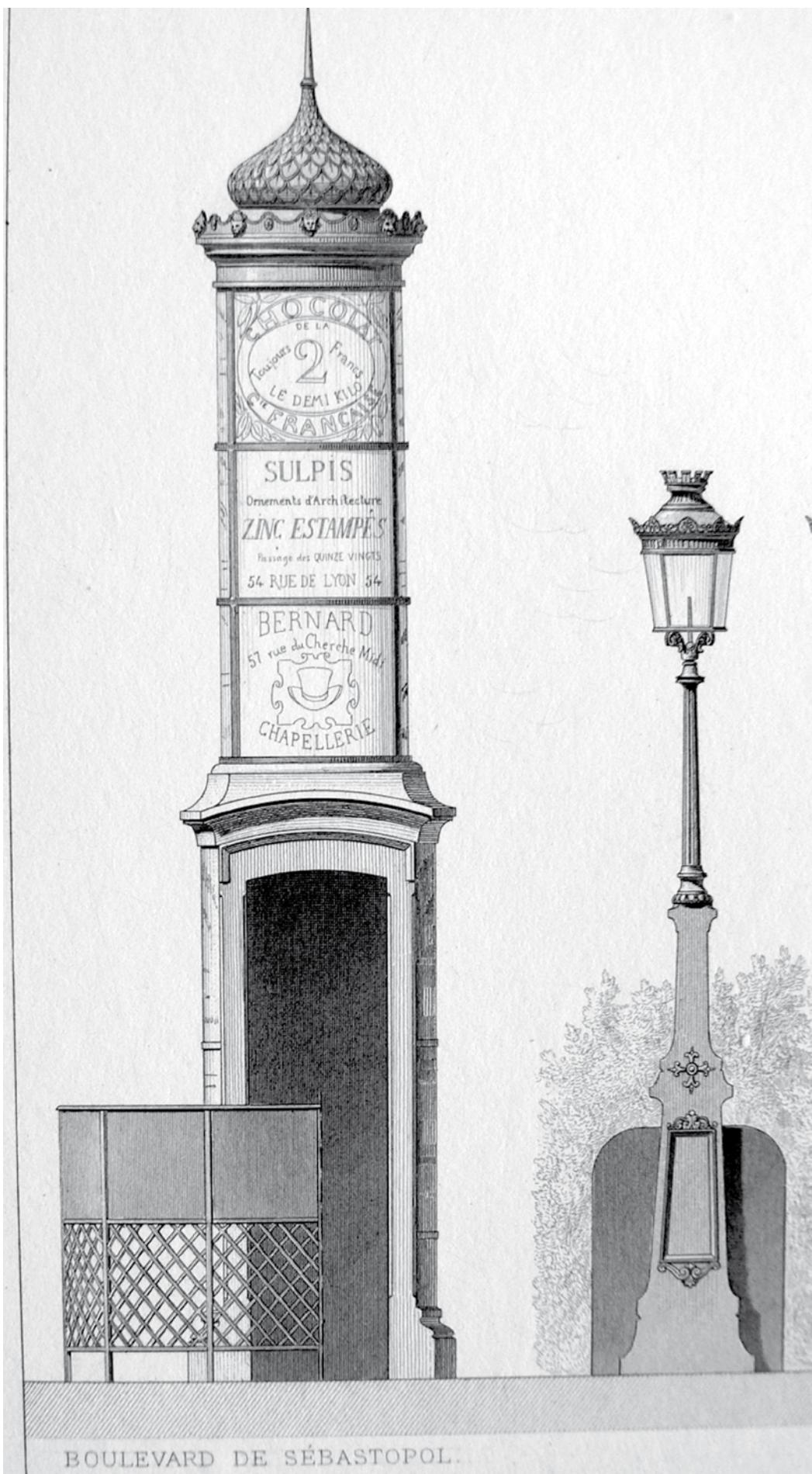


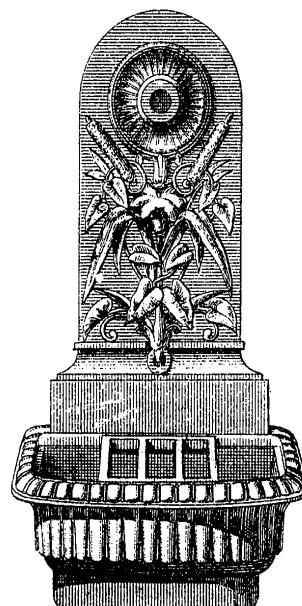
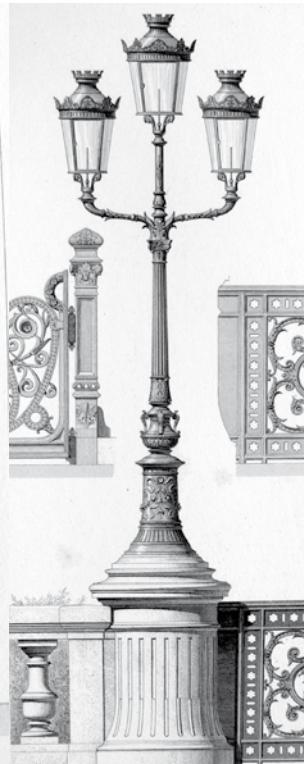
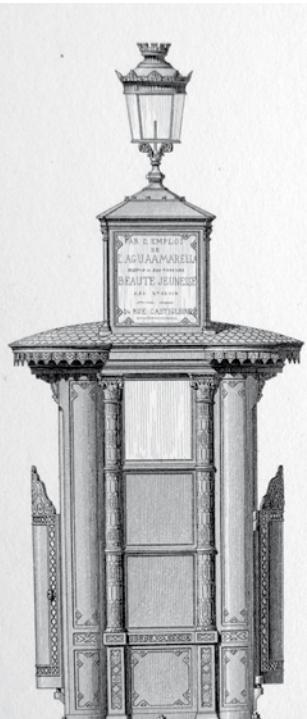
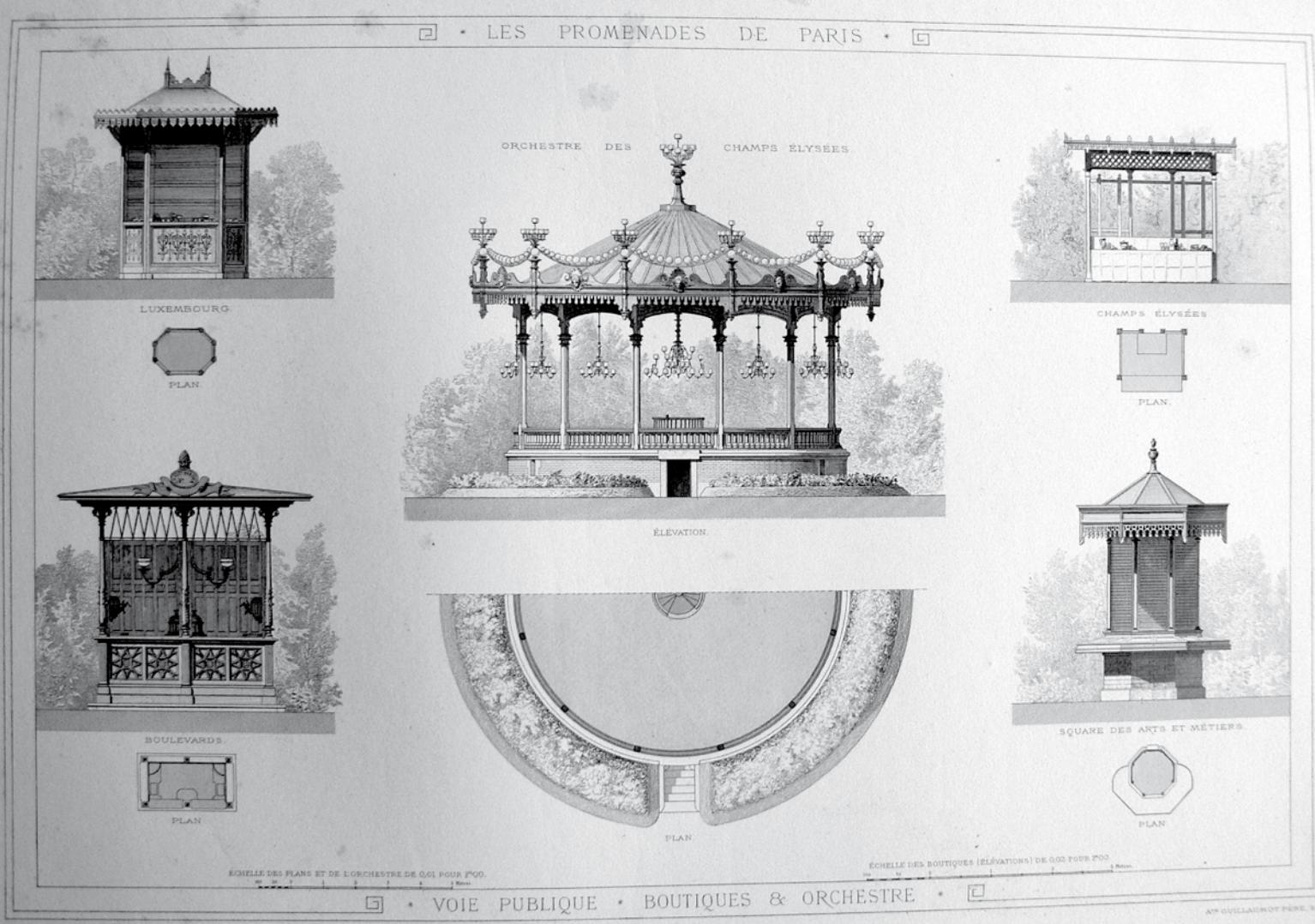
Fig. 5 Details of street lights, tree alignments, streets, sidewalks, underground section, sewers, and street furniture (Alphand, 1867-1873. Source: Habitat Urbà. Ajuntament de Barcelona))

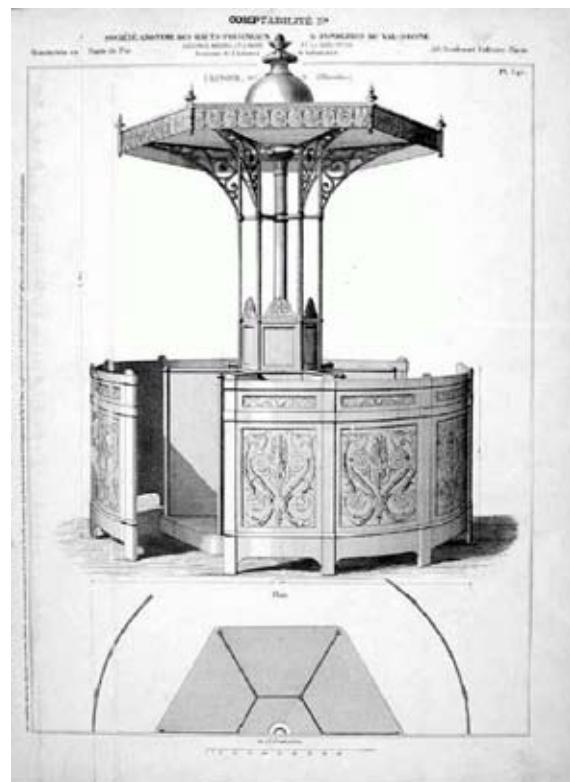
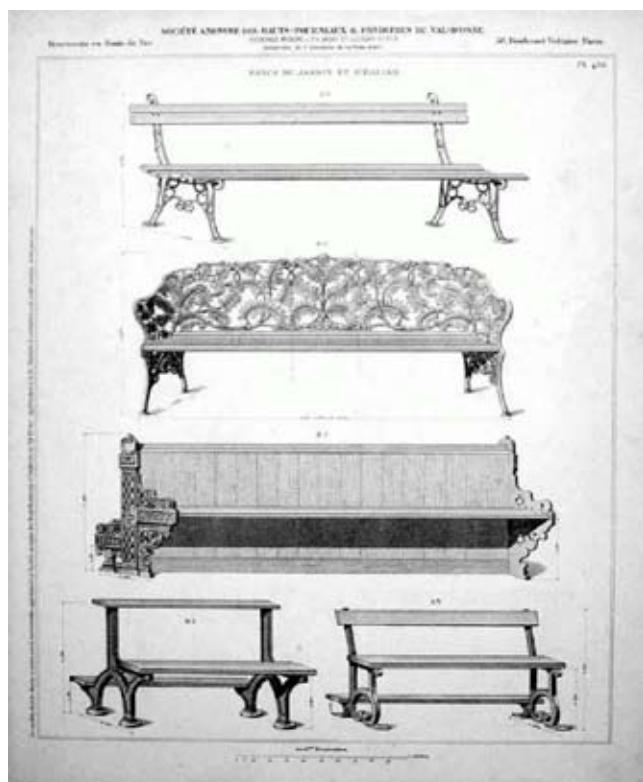


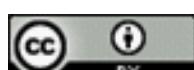
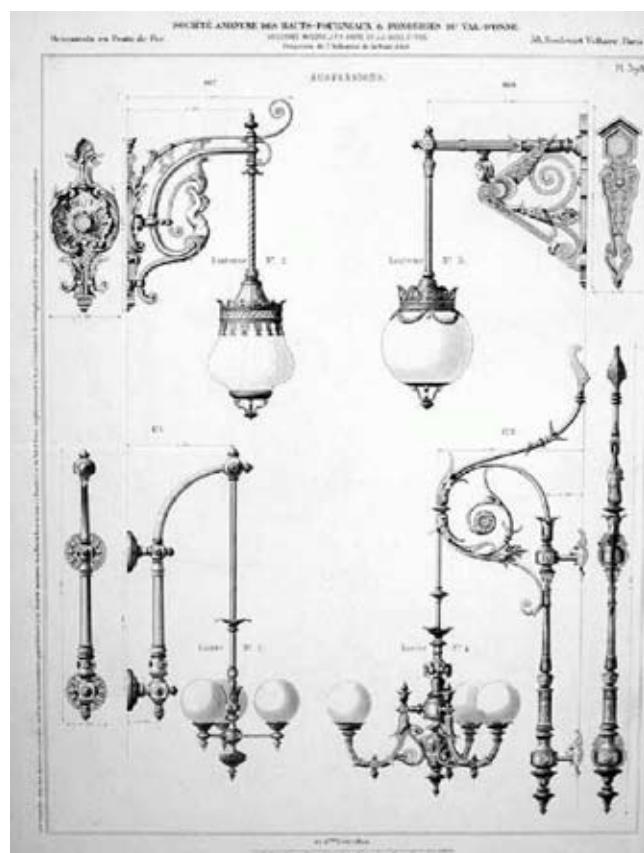
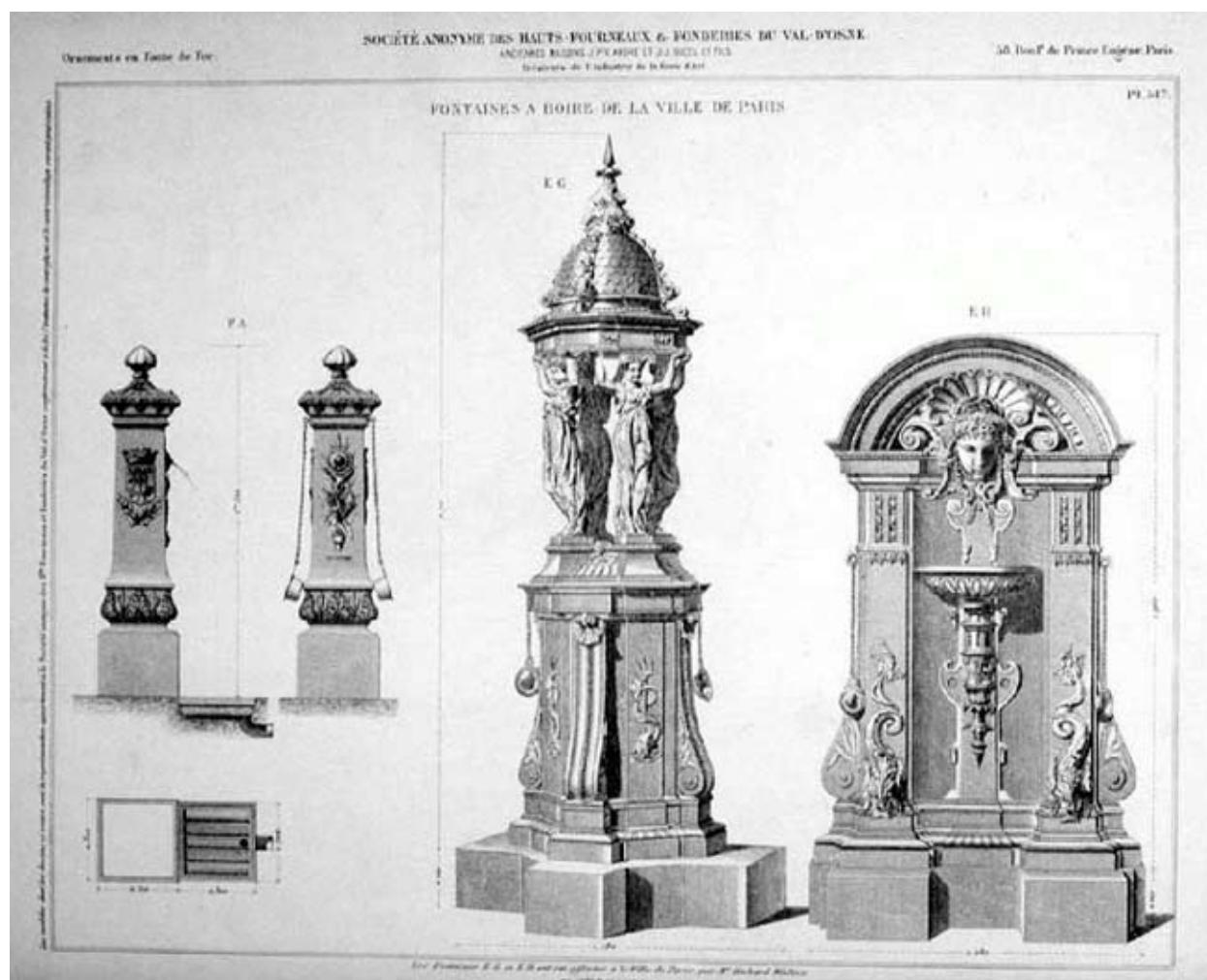
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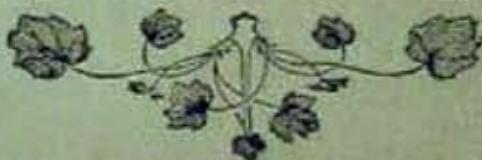
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Fig. 6. Book cover of Alphose Alphand "Les Promenades de Paris". Original edition in the archive of Habitat Urbà. Ajuntament de Barcelona

Criticism of Haussmann

Haussmann's plans for Paris coincided with a time of intense popular political agitation and starting 1868 it faced much criticism on several levels; on the urban, social, and financial level, the fact that led Napoleon III in 1870 –after standing by him for many years– to relieve him from his duties as prefect to the Seine leaving Alphand as a successor. He was especially criticized by the Emperor's political opponents like the newly assigned Prime Minister Emile Ollivier, statesmen Adolphe Thiers, Jules Ferry and Jules Simon, among others.

Many archeologists, historians, writers, and impressionist artists lamented the disappearance of medieval Paris, the Paris of Balzac and Voltaire, and was clearly reflected in their work like the historian Léon Halévy, Victor Hugo, Emile Zola's *La Curée*, Charles Baudelaire's *Le Cygne* and *Tableaux Parisiens* from *Les Fleurs du mal*, to name a few.

He was accused of destroying the old and historic parts of the city by all the 'percée' that he was executing. Many historic and monumental residences were destroyed due to his determination to keep the rectilinear streets and many areas were left with wide open spaces and large means of communication which made it difficult for pedestrians to go from one place to another.

This procedure of 'percement' was long and costly that took everything that stood in its way and was widely used during the mid 19th and early 20th century. In the name of hygiene, modernization, and circulation, it was believed that the old town should be opened up with large rectilinear and longitudinal streets in order to improve its poor conditions, and embellish it. This procedure was also officially known as '*eventrement*' in French and '*sventramiento*' in Italian which literally means '*disembowelling*' or '*gutting*' of the city (Florensa, 1957). Haussmann himself wrote that it was a conquest of old Paris, the '*eventrement*' and undertaking of the unhealthy neighborhoods:

"C'était l'éventrement du Vieux Paris, du quartier des émeutes, des barricades, par une large voie centrale, percant, de part en part, ce dédale presque impraticable, accostée de communications transversales, dont la continuation devait compléter l'œuvre ainsi commencée" (Haussmann, 1893: 54).

"Je me sentis, dès lors, fermement en selle, pour aller à la conquête du vieux Paris, avec une armée que se prenait de confiance pour son nouveau Chef, et dont le concours, de plus en plus assuré, me permettrait d'entreprendre l'éventrement des quartiers de ce centre de ville aux rues enchevêtrées, presque impraticables à la circulation des voitures : aux habitations resserrées, sordides, malsaines, que étaient, pour la plupart, autant de foyers de misère et de maladie, et de sujets de honte pour un grand pays comme la France" (Haussmann, 1890: 257).





Fig. 6 The 'eventrement' of Avenue de l'Opéra. Construction sites of Butte du Moulin and Rue d'Argenteuil above, and Rue Saint-Roch below showing the amount of destruction and expropriation (Marville, 1862)

Haussmann was blamed for an increase in rents and social disruption caused by the demolitions where many Parisians and low-income families had to be displaced to more affordable areas like the margins of the city. This enhanced the inequality between the working class and the bourgeoisie that controlled all political and economic power and affected every sector including the urban development of cities.

Moreover, he was charged with all kinds of improprieties and accused of recklessly squandering money and over passing the budget or as Harvey put it the “*official disavowal of Haussmann’s slippery financing in the face of fiscally conservative bourgeois critics*” (Harvey, 2003:297). This led statesman Jules Ferry to write the pamphlet ‘*Les Comptes fantastiques d’Haussmann*’ published in 1868 –which was a play-on-words from Jacques Offenbach’s opera fantastique ‘*Les Contes d’Hoffmann*’– which by ‘comptes’ he meant accounts.



Fig. 7 Daumier's *Nouveau Paris* 1862 capturing the intense traffic brought with Haussmannization. “Comme c'est heureux pour les gens pressés qu'on ait élargi les voies des communication!” (Daumier, 1862. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco).



Fig. 8 Haussmann's fall was accompanied by negative campaigns to discredit him. In Mailly's cartoon he is shown as a thief due to all the destructions (in Harvey, 2003).

On the other hand, one cannot deny that he had also supporters who defended him for all the promenades, parks, squares, gardens, and sewage system created. In addition, these kinds of plans had already started before Haussmann. Before him Paris was not in a “period of inaction” (Harvey, 2003: 80). As Harvey put it:

“[Haussmann] did not begin from scratch, and owed an immense debt to these pioneering ways of thought (he surely read Daly’s Revue). The problem for him was that these ideas arose out of political presuppositions and utopian dreams that were in many respects anathema to Bonapartism.”

Hence the myth that Haussmann propagated of a radical break. That much of what he did was already present in embryo in the 1830s and 1840s does not, however, detract from the fact that modernity, as argued in the introduction, entered a new and distinctive phase after 1848 and that Haussmann contributed immensely to how this new form of modernity was articulated" (Harvey, 2003: 82, 83)

Pesigny justified that the Emperor had already planned these projects with Berger, and during Haussmann's time he was aware of all these matters, and yet issues of budget and costs did not matter to him; all that mattered was the transformation of Paris.

"J'avais plusieurs fois expliqué à l'Empereur le système financier proposé par moi pour les travaux de la capitale, je ne crois pas, toutefois, qu'il y eût fait grande attention ; car, en général, et comme si son esprit répugnait à s'y appliquer, il prenait peu d'intérêt aux questions de finances. Ce qu'il voyait de plus clair dans tout ceci, c'est qu'il s'agissait de faire de grands travaux dans Paris, d'améliorer les conditions des classes populaires, de détruire les quartiers malsains, de faire de la capitale la plus belle ville du monde, toutes choses qu'il désirait ardemment et qu'il ne cessait de nous recommander. Toujours passionné pour les améliorations, pour les grandes choses, il avait étudié depuis longtemps, sur les lieux mêmes, les divers projets à exécuter dans Paris" (Pesigny, 1896: 256)

Despite the fact that the projects had already started before Haussmann, and every step was approved by the Emperor it was him who faced all the criticism.

"M. Haussmann a donc admirablement justifié le choix qui avait été fait de lui. Pour être juste, il faut dire cependant que ce n'est pas lui qui a donné l'impulsion aux grands travaux de Paris, car cette impulsion avait été donnée par l'Empereur lui-même, sous M. Berger.

[...] Dans le cours de cette guerre à outrance, guerre d'embûches, d'embuscades, où il a été vingt fois sur le point de succomber, où il est presque étonnant qu'il ait survécu, il a dû m'adresser men-talement bien des actions de grâces pour le conseil que je lui avais donné et qu'il a scrupuleuse-ment suivi, à savoir de ne rien entreprendre, de ne rien commencer sans avoir fait tracer le projet sur la carte de Paris, par la main de l'Empereur, sans avoir rattaché la personne même du souverain par le lien le plus intime à chacun des actes de son administration" (Pesigny, 1896 : 259, 260).

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Figures Index :

Fig. 1 PLAUT, H. Vues de Paris et de ses environs. 1865. no.19. Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84470114>

Fig. 2 Paris et ses environs. 1890. no.11. Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84470040>

Fig. 3 ALPHAND, J.C. A. Square Montholon and Square de La Trinité. Les Promenades de Paris. 1867-1873. Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k310316c>

Fig. 4 ALPHAND, J.C. A. Square du Temple. Les Promenades de Paris. 1867-1873. Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k310316c>

DE MONCAN, Patrice. HEURTEUX, Claude. Le Paris d’Haussmann. Paris : Les Editions du Mécène, 2002, p.207

Fig. 5 ALPHAND, J.C.A. Voie Publique Details. Les Promenades de Paris. 1867-1873 Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k310316c>. Archive Habitat Urbà. Ajuntament deBarcelona.

Fig. 6 MARVILLE, Charles. Percement de l’avenue de l’Opéra et boulevard Henri IV. 1862. no. PH396P. Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b1200033h>

Fig. 7 DAUMIER, Honoré. Le Nouveau Paris. 1862. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, <http://art.famsf.org/honor%C3%A9-daumier>

Fig. 8 MAILLY, H. Haussmann Recéleur de Paris vendu à la Destruction. c1870. In HARVEY, David. Paris, Capital of Modernity. New York, London : Routledge, 2003, p. 297

