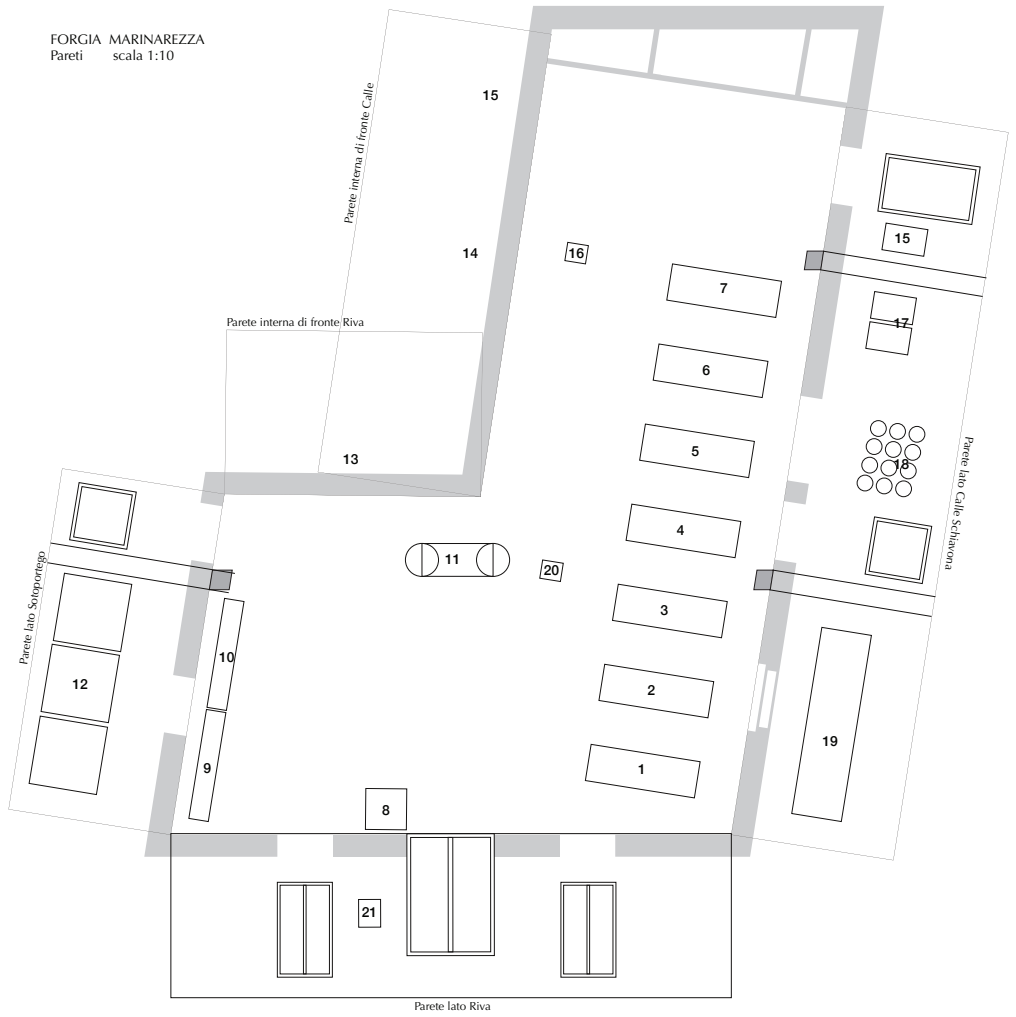


FORGIA MARINAREZZA
Pareti scala 1:10



ARCHITECTURE OF THE BARRICADE

-x-

BASTIAAN D. VAN DER VELDEN *and* WOLFGANG SCHEPPE
with SARA CODUTTI
Venezia, May 1, 2025, 7th Edition

1 THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BARRICADE

The barricade is a central myth in French history, long associated with popular uprisings and resistance. The emergence of the term barricade can be traced back to the 16th century religious conflicts of the catholic *Sainte Ligue*. The structure appeared again in the 17th century amid the civil unrest of the *Fronde*. In both periods, tensions between segments of the nobility and the expanding authority of the monarchy drew ordinary citizens into the streets, culminating in dramatic episodes like the *Journées des Barricades*—days of protest that would become etched in national memory.

Yet the barricade did not become a fully realized symbol of popular defiance—a recurring image in art, literature, and political thought—until the revolutionary upheavals of 1830 and 1848. During these 19th-century revolts, the barricade evolved into a kind of iconographic topos: the stage for urban insurrection, embodying the spirit of resistance against oppressive regimes. The collage-like barricade constructed of random objects found on the street and misappropriated against the social context from which they derive, originates in the 19th-century engraving; before this date, few images are known, especially one woodcut, which still depicts the barricade as a purely military means without any connotation of civil unrest. This picture embodies the earliest depiction of a barricade that also uses this term. It was published in 1598, and the first German language edition followed only 3 years later. (JOSEPH BOILLLOT, *Artifices de feu et divers instruments de guerre*, Chaumont-en-Bassigny, 1598).

By the time of the Paris Commune in 1871, however, the role of the barricade had shifted. While still a potent emblem of rebellion, it had lost much of its tactical utility. The increasing sophistication of state military forces—better weaponry, lighter and highly mobile artillery, more coordinated responses, and centralized power without inhibitions to sacrifice insurgent civilians on a large scale—rendered traditional street barricades largely ineffective in practice, even as they endured in the collective imagination as a symbol of the people's struggle.

1.1 H.L. DU VOËSIN DE LA POPELINIERE, *La vraie et entière histoire des troubles et choses mémorables avenues tant en France qu'en Flandres, et pays circonvoisins, depuis l'an 1562*. Comprinse en dixhuite livres; dont les cinque derniers sont nouveaux: & les autres revues, enrichis, & augmenté de plusieurs choses notables. Premier volume. A Basle: Pour Barthelemy Germain 1578

La Popelinierie is the author of an important work on the history of the Wars of Religion, *La Vraye et toute Histoire* (which had three revised and expanded editions from 1571 to 1578-1579). He uses the word *barricade* in several unstandardized forms, including '*barricades*' and '*barriquadés*'.

1.2 *Barricade at the Porte Saint-Antoine in 1648*, in: '*Le Magasin Pittoresque*', №. 38, Paris 1842.

The most common illustration of the 1648 barricade at the Porte Saint-Antoine contains an error: it depicts the wrong gate. In 1648, there was a gate with a single passage, not three, which was constructed after 1678.

1.3 *Barricade at the Porte Saint-Antoine in 1648*, postcard, 20th century.

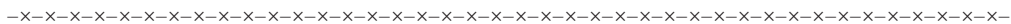
1.4 BLAISE DE MONTLUC, *Commentaires de messier Blaise de Montluc maréchal de France*, Lyon: Loys Clesinet 1593 (first edition, second printing).

During the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598) between Catholics and Protestants in France, Blaise de Montluc served as a military commander on the Catholic side. In his writings, Montluc described a "*barrage fait de barriques*," or a barrier made from barrels. As Montluc's forces advanced during the 1569 assault on the town of Mont-de-Marsan, Protestant Huguenot troops took up positions behind a makeshift structure built from wine barrels. According to Montluc, "*The enemies fired directly at the bridge along a wide street, where they had constructed a barricade, which not everyone was able to reach.*"

1.5 *Les barricades de Paris en 1648*, in: *Le musée des familles - lecture du soir*, Paris: Bureau de l'administration 1849.

1.6 *Les Charmans effects des barricades, ou L'amitié d'orable de la Compagnie des freres bachiques de pique-nique: En vers borlesque*, Paris 1649.

Among the many satirical broadsheets that circulated in Paris during the Fronde, few were as pointed—or as playful—as those targeting a fictional group known as the "*Brothers of the Pique-Nique Binge*." Depicted as a band of buffoons, they abandoned swords and muskets in favor of cutlery and wine glasses. Their battlefield was not the barricades of Paris, but taverns, where they waged war on roasted meats, stews, and cabirotdes. This caricature was typical of the *mazarinades*—a wave of satirical and often burlesque pamphlets aimed at undermining Cardinal Mazarin's



authority. Over 5,000 such pamphlets were published during the Fronde, offering a vivid glimpse into the era's popular dissent and political humor.

1.7 *Journée des Barricades 1588*, Chocolat - Louit, ca. 1900, tradecard.

The events leading to the *Journées des Barricades* in May 1588 are marked by a web of political tensions, but a significant factor was the revolt of Parisian citizens against royal authority. Tensions escalated when King Henry III positioned troops at the city's gates. The king's attempt to detain multiple residents was widely viewed as exceeding the limits of the powers granted to him, fueling a swift and coordinated public backlash.

1.8 *Historie de France: Journée des Barricades 1648*, ca. 1930, tradecard.

In 1648, amid growing tensions between the monarchy and the Parlement of Paris, residents of the French capital erected barricades in defense of their political rights and their representatives in the Parliament of Paris. The confrontation was fueled by opposition to the centralizing policies of Queen Anne of Austria and her chief minister, Cardinal Mazarin. Over the night of August 26 to 27, resistance unfolded: numerous barricades—some adorned with flags—appeared throughout the city in a matter of hours. These improvised structures were intended not just as physical obstacles but also served as symbols of protest against a monarchy moving toward absolutist rule.

1.9 *Historie de France: La Fronde, Journée des Barricades 1648*, ca. 1930, tradecard.

1.10 *Barricade at the Porte Saint-Antoine, 1648*, engraving, 19th century.

1.11 C.C. DE L'AUBESPINE, *Agréable récit de ce qui s'est passé aux dernières barricades de Paris*, M. Mettayer, Paris 1649.

1.12 *Le fils du maréchal de Cossé-Brissac présidait a la confection des barricades*, Paris 1588, in: H. GOURDON DE GENOUILLAC, *Paris à travers les siècles*, F. Roy, Paris 1879.

On May 12, 1588, Paris was the stage for one of the earliest uses of barricades in Paris' history. Charles II de Cossé, Count of Brissac—a seasoned military leader who had aligned himself with the mighty Duc de Guise in opposition to King Henri III—issued a call for the people of Paris to rise up. His orders were clear: build

barricades and trap the royal troops occupying the city.

Parisians responded swiftly. Using whatever materials were available, residents and students from the Faubourg Saint-Germain erected barricades. According to one account “the people erected barricades at intervals of fifty paces. So, the garrisons suddenly found themselves trapped between massive barricades, which were being guarded by armed inhabitants. Additionally, the windows of the houses were filled with musketeers and infantrymen.” (*Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France depuis Louis XI*, 1836, p. 336)

Though the uprising posed a serious challenge to royal authority, the confrontation did not escalate into a full-scale battle. After successfully cornering the King's forces, Cossé-Brissac helped restore order and personally escorted the Swiss troops back to the safety of the Louvre.

1.13 CARDINAL DE RETZ, *Mémoires du cardinal De Retz*, J.F. Bernard: Amsterdam 1731. [barricades: Paris 1648-1652]

On February 28, 1649, cries echoed through the streets of Paris: “God bless the Coadjutor de Gondi!” answered by the resounding chant, “No Mazarin!” The scene, described by Jean-François Paul de Gondi himself, captured a moment of high drama amid the Fronde, a series of uprisings that challenged the authority of the French crown during the minority of Louis XIV.

De Gondi, who would later become known as Cardinal de Retz, was then serving as coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris. Though he held a position within the Church, his influence extended far beyond the pulpit. In the revolt of 1648, he emerged as a key figure, driven by a mix of political ambition, a taste for intrigue, and a genuine opposition to the centralized power of Cardinal Mazarin, the chief minister who had come to symbolize royal absolutism.

“I gave my orders in two words, and they were carried out in two moments,” de Retz later recalled in his memoirs, with characteristic flair. His role in the uprising earned him both admiration and suspicion. He seemed less motivated by personal gain—though the cardinal's hat was certainly in his sights—than by a desire to stage grand historical moments and insert himself into the center of them.

Voltaire offered in *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* a sharp and nuanced portrait of de Retz. He described him as “the first bishop in France to have launched a civil war without religion as his pretext.” In his *Mémoires*, de Retz depicted himself with theatrical grandeur, marked

by a restless intelligence and a tendency toward contradiction—qualities Voltaire saw as both the source of his influence and his instability.

On the so-called *Journée des Barricades*, de Retz claimed to have personally armed and mobilized the citizens of Paris, transforming the city into a maze of barricades. While his account may exaggerate his role, the day nonetheless became emblematic of his unique place in French history—a clergyman who wielded rebellion as deftly as rhetoric, and whose life blurred the line between political theater and genuine resistance.

1.14 P.G. JEANNIOT, *La barricade*, Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie 1887, postcard.

The lithograph from the perspective of a military unit attacking a barricade in street fighting by one of the most prolific French illustrators of the turn of the century around 1900 bears on the reverse an almost conceptual definition of the barricade category: “*In street fighting, the enemy is often stopped with the help of entrenchments called barricades. For the barricades to have any useful effect, they must be supported on either side by troops shooting from the windows. Then they are hard to remove. (...) It is very dangerous for an attacker to get caught in this crossfire. A barricade is built from whatever materials you can find, e.g., cobblestones, pieces of wood, furniture, cars, barrels, etc. (...) Also, this type of defense is only temporary. If her role were limited to passive defense, their utility would be of little use.*”

1.15 *Scène de la Fronde, le peuple demandant la liberté de Broussel*, 1648, in H. Gourdon de Genouillac, *Paris à travers les siècles*, F. Roy, Paris 1879.

1.16–18 *Bruxelles – Place des Barricades*, postcard.

1.19 *Rue de Flandre a Bruxelles, Jeudi 23 Septembre 1830*, postcard.

1.20 F. BONNEVILLE, *Masaniello... l'auteur de l'insurrection de Naples en 1646*, Paris ca 1800.

1.21 FRANCIS MIDON, *The History of the Rise and Fall of Masaniello, the Fisherman of Naples, Containing an Exact and Impartial Relation of the Tumults and Popular Insurrections, that Happened in that Kingdom, (in the Year 1647) on Account of the Tax Upon Fruits*. Collected from Authentick Memoirs and Manuscripts by F. Midon Jun, London 1747.

The Neapolitan uprising led by Tommaso Aniello d'Amalfi—better known as Masaniello—lasted from

July 7, 1647, to April 6, 1648. What began as a protest against a new tax on fruit imposed by the Spanish viceroy quickly grew into a broader rebellion, driven by long-standing economic grievances and deep-seated resentment toward Spanish rule in southern Italy.

While Masaniello, a fisherman by trade, became the face of the revolt, the deeper currents of the uprising were shaped by many of the same forces that were simultaneously fueling unrest in other parts of Europe, such as the Fronde in France. In Naples, the call to resist took visible form in the streets. According to one contemporary account, “*barricades were everywhere erected—of barrels filled with earth, sacks of wool, and faggots, and when these failed, the branches of the magnificent fruit trees of the royal park were used.*” The uprising briefly led to the declaration of the first *Repubblica Napoletana*, or Neapolitan Republic.

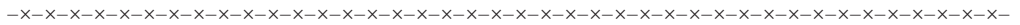
Masaniello's leadership, however, was short-lived. Within ten days of the revolt, he was assassinated—his rapid fall from power a reflection of the chaos and competing interests that marked the rebellion. Though the republic itself would survive for nearly a year, the uprising was eventually suppressed by Spanish forces.

Despite its limited duration and ultimate failure, the Neapolitan revolt resonated far beyond southern Italy. It inspired a wave of artistic and literary responses across Europe, most notably Auber's 1828 opera *La Muette de Portici*, which later influenced revolutionary sentiment in 19th-century Belgium. Still, in the broader narrative of European history, the uprising has often been overlooked, overshadowed by more enduring political changes elsewhere. Yet for a brief moment, Naples joined the chorus of early modern cities challenging the prevailing order through the language of barricades and popular resistance.

1.22 D. AUBER, *La Muette de Portici*, Opéra, Fantaisie par E. Tavan, Paris, Margueritat 1828, libretto.

La Muette de Portici (1828) stages political insurrection through operatic form, set in Portici—a liminal zone outside Naples under Spanish control. The plot revolves around Princess Elvire's marriage to Alphonse, son of the viceroy, interrupted by Fenella, a mute woman who reveals, through gesture, her violation by Alphonse. Her silence, paradoxically, becomes a structural dissonance in this art form predicated on voice. This muteness catalyzes Masaniello, a fisherman, to lead a revolt.

1.23 *La représentation de la Muette de Portici*, Chocolat Antoine, Bruxelles ca. 1900, postcard.



1.24-27 *La Muette de Portici*, Extrait de Viande Liebig, Paris ca. 1900, collector cards.

On the evening of August 25, 1830, King William I's birthday, during a performance of Auber's *La Muette de Portici* at the Théâtre royal de la Monnaie in Brussels, the opera exceeded its aesthetic fame. When French tenor Jean-François Lafeuillade called out "*Aux armes!*" in the third act, the audience reportedly shouted "*Vive la liberté,*" "*A bas le roi,*" and "*Mort aux Hollandais*"—transforming theatrical space into a site of political contagion. By August 31, unrest spilled into the streets; citizens began erecting barricades, reconfiguring urban space into a terrain of resistance. Within weeks, the fragile post-Napoleonic construct of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands—imposed by the Congress of Vienna—collapsed. The opera, staged as a cultural production, became an accelerant of historical rupture: myth gave way to insurrection.

1.28 Portrait of Daniel Auber (1782-1871), ca. 1900, photo.

After its incendiary role in 1830, *La Muette de Portici* reappeared at the Théâtre de la Monnaie only sparingly. It was played in 1930 for Belgium's centenary and again in 1944, with 14 performances marking the liberation of Brussels from German occupation—its last public staging. In 1980, tied to the 150th anniversary of independence, the opera was abruptly canceled following threats from Flemish nationalist groups. In 2011, another attempt to restage the opera was stopped amid fears it might be read as an endorsement of Belgian Unitarism. The work, once a catalyst of rupture, had become politically unperformable—its symbolic charge too volatile, its historical function too embedded in the unresolved tensions of the entity it once helped bring into being.

2 ILLUSTRATION OF THE BARRICADE

The earliest barricades in Paris were improvised from already available chains and barrels filled ad hoc with stones and sand. In later years, urban materiality was mobilized: carts, tables, pianos, and even stretched canvas were conscripted into the makeshift architecture of resistance. Although their tactical relevance diminished by the mid-19th century, barricades continue to serve as a recurring form of dissent. In the context of street conflict, the barricade functions less as a military instrument and more as a spatial declaration—a

demarcation line that defines insurgent territory, articulates identity, and performs autonomy. From Khartoum to Hong Kong to Odessa, as recently as 2023, they remain a visible residue of popular struggle: ephemeral structures that obstruct, delay, and symbolically contest the reach of dominant power.

While the concept of barricades in the struggle of citizens against the government can be traced back to the years preceding 1588, the iconic image of the makeshift, collage-like, collectively built barricade is more recent. Before 1830, there was no consistent or recognizable form in which barricades were depicted. Only in retrospect did the era of the bourgeois revolution interpret the construction of earlier barricades as a pictorial representation of national prehistory.

2.1 *Presa di Roma, L'assalto alla barricata di Porta Pia*, 20 Sept. 1870, XIX century engraving. [Roma 1870]

On September 20, 1870, the artillery of the Royal Italian Army breached the Aurelian Walls of Rome, near Porta Pia, after a four-hour bombardment. The capture of Rome marked the end of the Papal State.

2.2 *Corso Venezia, Barricate di Milano 1848*, postcard.

2.3 *Barricata San Barnaba, Brescia 1849*. 1899, postcard.

The Ten Days of Brescia (*Dieci giornate di Brescia*) were a revolt of the citizens of Brescia against Austrian rule, which took place from 23 March to 1 April 1849.

2.4 F. DONCHI, *Barricate erette nella attuale via G. Verdi*, ca. 1948, postcard.

2.5 *Le Barricate agli Archi di Porta Nuova*, ca. 1898, postcard.

2.6 *Un episodio alle barricate nelle Cinque Giornate di Milano*, 1848, in: JESSIE W. MARIO, *Della Vita di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Milano, Edoardo Sonzogno 1886.

The Five Days of Milan (*Cinque Giornate di Milano*), unfolding between March 18 and 22, 1848, marked a concentrated insurrection in the capital of the Habsburg-administered Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia. Over five days, sustained urban resistance forced a temporary Austrian withdrawal, momentarily rupturing imperial control. The event became emblematic of a broader revolutionary wave sweeping across Europe.

2.7 M. DEROY, *Construction des barricades de la rue Castiglione*, Paris, in: *Le Monde Illustré*, 6 Mai 1871, N° 734, engraving.

Contemporary accounts cast doubt on the military efficacy of many barricades erected during the 1871 *Commune de Paris*. A journal of the time notes that the structures on rue Castiglione and Place de la Concorde lacked clear strategic intent, functioning more as theatrical gestures than defensible positions. Paul-Olivier Lissagaray, in *Les huit journées de Mai derrière les barricades* (1871), offers a more scathing critique: while Gaillard constructed what he called “secondary fortresses” along rue de Rivoli and rue Castiglione—spectacles that drew crowds—crucial military sites such as the Trocadéro, the Arc de Triomphe, and Montmartre were effectively abandoned. The imbalance reveals a tension between insurgent spectacle and strategic oversight—where symbolic occupation of urban space eclipsed the calculus of actual defense.

2.8 DESCHAMPS, *Combat a la barricade de a rue St.-Antoine*, 1830, engraving.

During July 27, 28, and 29, 1830, the so-called *Les Trois Glorieuses*, 4,000 barricades were constructed in the working-class districts of Paris.

2.9 DANIEL VIERGE, *Nos malheurs, Barricades de la rue de Paris, à Belleville, dans la journée du 19 mars*, *Le Monde illustré*, 25 mars 1871.

The barricades in Belleville were erected by the afternoon of March 18, 1871, with posed photographs taken the following day, March 19. On that day, the artist Daniel Vierge visited the district. Situated on the *rue de Paris*—the old name for rue de Belleville—he sketched the street scenes. The barricades were erected in front of 37 rue de Belleville. The artist stood between two barricades—there may have been more. He captured the signs: the Metivet pharmacy at 37, Hauduy-Cuvier (a shoe merchant), and Bourdin (wines and liqueurs) at 35. Ordinary spaces became charged with revolutionary significance.

2.10 M. PADRO, *Espagne, les insurgés construisent une barricade dans la villa du Marquis de Cruilles, à Gracia* (d’après M. Padro), in: *Le Monde illustré*, 25 April, 1870, Paris, N° 680.

The *Revolta de les Quintes*, which took place in 1870, was instigated by citizens of various towns in Catalonia who expressed their refusal to conscript their children into the army. The duration of the insurrection spanned six days, from April 4th to April 9th, and

yielded a total of 27 deaths and the looting of a large number of houses.

2.11 *Soulèvement espagnol (la Bisbal), Les troupes attaquent une barricade défendue par les rebelles commandées par le député Caimo y Bascos*, in: *Le Monde illustré*, 30 October, 1869.

The government that assumed power in Spain following the abdication of the Spanish queen in 1868 was characterized by a lack of clear direction. Pedro Caymó y Bascós (1819–1878) played a significant role in the 1869 uprising, assuming command of the insurgent army in La Bisbal. Under his leadership, a force of three thousand men was concentrated, and on the 4th, he declared the establishment of a federalist Republic. He was later incarcerated and received capital punishment.

2.12 *Paris pendant la Commune, Construction d’une barricade dans la journée du 18 mars 1871*, in: A. BATAILLE, E. DE BARINS, *Histoire illustrée de six ans de guerre et de révolution*, Paris, Librairie illustrée 1876.

2.13 *Troubles A Paris - Tentative de Barricades à Belleville*, in: *Le Monde illustré*, 12 Feb. 1870, N° 670.

Henri Rochefort, who had been living in exile in Belgium for several years, returned to France to be elected deputy representing Belleville in 1869. He subsequently established a newspaper known as *La Marseillaise*. Henri Rochefort was sentenced to imprisonment in February 1870 for his act of insulting the Emperor during the Victor Noir trial. The event resulted in a significant disturbance and the erection of barricades in the streets of Paris. Rochefort’s fate took a turn for the better during the Revolution of 4 September 1870, as he was spared and subsequently entrusted with the role of President of the Barricades Commission.

2.14 M. SLOM, *Barricade de la rue Saint-Florentin, entre l’hôtel de la Marine et la terrasse des Tuileries*, in: *Le Monde illustré*, 29 April, 1871.

2.15 ARTHUR BOYD HOUGHTON (1836–1875), *Eine Pariser Barrikade*, in: *Allgemeine Familien Zeitung*, N° 31, 1871, Stuttgart, Hermann Schönlein (first publication: London: *The Graphic, An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, Vol. III, 1871).

Dramatic depiction of the battle on a barricade of the *Paris Commune*. Based on the historical model of a barricade made of musical instruments, a heavy forte-piano is being dragged onto the pile of cobblestones in the foreground.

2.16 *Mob attempting to construct a barricade on the Boulevard Montmartre, opposite Café des Variétés*, in: *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 54, 19 June 1869.

The 1869 French parliamentary elections were conducted in two stages in May and June of that year. The elections gave rise to street fights, which had not been witnessed in the city for over 15 years, and were a direct consequence of the elections. The resurgence of political activity is evident through the establishment of a free press and the organization of public gatherings, primarily in major urban centers, notably Paris.

2.17 *Nouvel engin employé par les fédérés aux barricades de la place Vendôme*, in: *L'illustration, journal universel*, № 1472, 13 May 1871.

The new machine employed by the federated troops at the barricades of Place Vendôme, it lacks an explanation of its operational mechanism.

2.18 F. NADAR, *portrait of Mikhail Bakunin* (1814-1876), ca. 1863, photo.

2.19 CARL KRAUSE, *Der Aufruhr in Dresden am 3., 4., 5., 6., 7., 8. und 9. Mai 1849. Nach amtlichen Quellen geschildert*, Dresden, Adler und Dietze 1849.

On Wednesday, May 2, Bakunin remarked in the Dresden newspaper, "*The barricade weather and the revolutionary sky are doing wonders. Today, the German Association, through its executive committee, has joined the Fatherland Association in all measures for an immediate review of the Imperial Constitution!*".

2.20 CHAM, *Salon de 1848*, in: *L'illustration journal universel*, Paris 1848.

2.21 RAFFAELLO, *Madonna Sistina* (1513-1514), Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, photo.

"*Bakounin suggested placing Rafael's Madonna and Murillo's paintings in front of the last barricades and using them as protection against the Prussians, who would certainly spare Rafael and Murillo. But it was too late. The troops had the upper hand. The insurgents saw that their cause was lost.*" H.P.G. QUACK, *De socialisten: Personen en stelsels*, Vol. 6: part II, Amsterdam, P.N. van Kampen & Zoon 1912.

2.22 MURILLO, *Madonna con bambino* (ca. 1670), Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, Photo.

2.23 HANS BLUM: *Die deutsche Revolution 1848-*

Mikhail Bakunin sits in the foreground in the circle of the provisional revolutionary government.

3 TOPOGRAPHY OF THE BARRICADE

Both the insurgents' need for planning, organization, and strategic oversight, as well as the ruling power's aspiration for absolute surveillance and control, bring about the desire for topological representation. The similarities of the mappings of barricades in May 1968 utilized by the Situationists and those employed by the Paris police are striking. In both instances, the city is portrayed as a contested political space in which the subject tries to fight for his place in order to express their claim to the whole of the form of rule.

3.1 *Plan de Paris, indiquant les barricades des 27, 28 et 29 juillet 1830*, in: GEORGES TOUCHARD-LAFOSSE, *Histoire de Paris*, Paris, Krabbe, Boiscard & Langlois 1833-1834, Vol. 5.

The cartography records the topology of Paris during the July Revolution of 1830, which was a response to the royal July ordinances. These ordinances imposed strict press censorship and excluded a significant part of the population from the electoral census. Over the course of three days, from July 27th to July 29th, nearly 4,000 barricades were constructed. The successful street fight of the early proletarian urban lower class resulted in the overthrow and flight of King Charles X.

3.2 *Gefechts-Plan von Dresden*, in: FRIEDRICH GRAF VON WALDERSEE, *Der Kampf in Dresden im Mai 1849. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Mitwirkung der Preussischen Truppen*, Berlin, E.S. Mittler und Sohn, Kgl. Hofbuchhandlung 1849.

The author, who later served as the Prussian Minister of War, acted as commander for the Prussian auxiliary troops in 1849. In collaboration with Saxon military forces, these troops played a pivotal role in the bloody suppression of the May Uprising. His mapping aims to document the strategic positions occupied by the military forces and most of the 108 barricades constructed by the insurgents in the Old City in May 1849. The majority of the 250 deceased civilians, along with the majority of the military combatants, were young people.

3.3 *Voorschrift № 39, Handleiding voor het betugelen van woelingen*, Breda, Royal Military Academy 1932.

The 1932 Dutch Manual for Controlling Turmoil № 39 instructed the military on combating urban insurrections: "A city with its occasionally narrow streets and alleys, extensive housing complexes, and ample opportunities for concealed positioning and movement, establishes a very confusing battlefield". Urban warfare is characterized by a range of elements, including skirmishes in streets and alleys, fights for control over residential blocks, buildings, and squares, fights against barricades and snipers and small units strategically positioned on rooftops, and man-to-man fights. The booklet was a guideline for the Dutch colonial troops in the Indonesian War of Independence in the year 1945-1949.

3.4 City map of Wien with the barricades of May 26, 1848.

3.5 Anonymous, *Paris au Combat*, Paris, ca. 1944, photo.

The liberation of Paris during World War II took place from August 19 to 25, 1944. On August 21, the first barricades were erected in Paris. The next day, an order is given to the Parisians to erect barricades to hinder the movement of German tanks.

3.6 INTERNATIONALE SITUATIONNISTE, *Mapping of the barricades in St-Germain*, in: RENÉ VIÉNET, *Enrages et situationnistes dans le mouvement des occupations*, Paris, Gallimard 1968.

3.7 *Mapping of the Paris barricades on May 10, 1968*. Préfecture de Police.

3.8 Anonymous Pro-Situ movement, *Merde!*, May 1968, photo.

Graffiti on a public transport network map, *Régie Autonome des Transports Parisiens*, Réseau Métropolitain.

3.9 A. NOUGARÈDE DE FAYET, *La vérité sur la révolution de février 1848, Avec un plan des barricades de Février*, Paris, Amyot 1850.

A series of riots broke out in Paris on February 22 and 23, 1848. In response to King Louis Philippe's failure to extend suffrage and eliminate political corruption, students and radical Republicans united with discontented workers to construct barricades in the popular quarters of Paris. Areas of high population density primarily inhabited by lower classes. The insurgents, many of whom were unemployed construction workers, constructed barricades using iron grillwork,

paving stones, overturned carriages, furniture, and the trees along the streets.

3.10 CHRISTOPHE-MICHEL COMTE ROGUET, *Insurrections et guerre des barricades dans les grandes villes par le général de brigade Roguet*, Paris, Librairie Militaire de J. Dumaine 1850.

This military manual focuses on strategies for combating insurrections and addressing the war against barricades in the context of the 1848 revolution. It delves into the causes and consequences of urban unrest, as well as explores potential solutions to remedy these issues. Count Roguet, aide-de-camp of Napoleon III, was the son of François Roguet, a participant in the military campaigns of the First Empire. François Roguet gained notoriety for his brutal suppression of the 1831 Canuts rebellion in Lyon.

3.11 *Bulletin des lois № 124 - May 25, 1834 - On holders of weapons or munitions of war*. Art. 9: "Shall be punished with detention individuals who, in an insurrectional movement, will made or helped to make barricades, entrenchments or any other work intended to hinder or stop the movements of public force; By this law, any holder of weapons and munitions of war will be punished with a fine and imprisonment; forced labor to those who will be found, one day of disorder, arms in hand, and death to those who have used them. The government of July, which demanded the abolition of capital punishment for the trial of ministers, finally lets slip the word death in political matters, which it had on its lips for three years. An article of this law concerns those who: will have made or helped to make barricades. Here then is the government of the barricades coming to demand a law against the barricades. The word barricades had never entered a law, the code ignored it; it is curious to note that those who will have registered it there first were born precisely from this thing." *Revue de quinzaine, Lanterne Magique (supplément au Le Voleur)*, 1 juin 1834, № 7.

3.12 *Bulletin des lois № 47 - 10 juin 1848*

3.13 JEAN-CLAUDE GARCIAS & PHILIPPE SIMON, *Paralleles des barricades anciennes et modernes*, in: *The Architectural Review*, August 1989, Volume CLXXXVI, № 1110.

To celebrate the anniversary of 1789, Treuttel Garcias Treuttel plot on a diachronic map the continuing struggles against authority of the people of Paris between 1789 and 1968.

3.14 LOUIS-AUGUSTE BLANQUI, *Instructions pour une prise d'armes*, in: *Critique Sociale*, October 1931.

Blanqui wrote this draft for standardized barricade constructions and street fighting with calculations and sketches in 1868–69, but it was not published until October 1931 in *Critique Sociale*, a journal directed by several former Surrealists. It was a guide to building barricades, a vade-mecum of insurrection. Cities became battlefields, the text gives practical guidelines for resisting government in urban areas, with the aim of blocking the administration and decision-making of those in power and giving the proletariat time to organize. First, a Commission d'armement and a Commission des vivres must be created. This program is purely strategic and military and ignores the political and social question. The argument gives the impression this text is Blanqui's reaction to the June 1848 experience. The published text contains a reference to the Chassepot rifle, which was not introduced into the French army until 1866. First published as: *Instructions pour une prise d'armes, Le Militant Rouge* (11 November, 12 December 1926; 1 January, 2 February 1927 – published across four issues). Second publication in: *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1930.

3.15 *Blanqui, assis de travers sur un parapet du donjon de Vincennes*, ca. 1848. Graveur: P. REBELW.

After the revolt of 1830, while still a student, Blanqui made the observation that a new society had to be founded on the collective will of the people, but this could only be achieved through the use of violence. As a consequence of his insurrectionary endeavors, he was incarcerated for a significant portion of his lifetime, which earned him the nickname *l'Enfermé* (the locked-up). Blanqui's arrest took place on May 26, 1848, subsequent to his confinement in Vincennes on May 15, alongside protesters who had infiltrated the Parlement in support of the Polish cause. The trial commences on March 7, 1849 in the Bourges Supreme Court. Blanqui was sentenced to a ten-year prison term.

4 PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE BARRICADE

The origin of photojournalism can be traced back to Thibault's 1848 photographs of a barricade in Paris, capturing its state before and after it was attacked. The barricades erected during the 1871 Commune, which were frequently photographed with insurgents proudly posing on them, were later utilized by the French state

to identify individuals who would subsequently be convicted and sentenced to banishment, imprisonment, and forced labor. With the emergence of this role of photography, increasingly three essentially distinct image acts have become closely associated with the object of the barricade. Firstly, there is the state's legal imperative to document the destruction of private and public property and identify perpetrators. Secondly, the insurgents' desire to record and present the achievements of their collective efforts. Lastly, the media's process of transforming these historical acts into a moral narrative of acting individuals.

4.1 M. THIBAULT, *La barricade de la rue Saint-Maur Popincourt le dimanche matin*, in: *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, 1–8 July, Paris 1848.

Wood engraving was made after the first known photographic image, by daguerréotype, of a barricade.

4.2 *Barricade sur la place de l'Hôtel de ville, insurrection de Paris 1871*, photo.

On May 24, 1871, street fighting in Paris escalated. Fearing encirclement, the last remaining officials of the Paris Commune evacuated Hôtel de Ville. Around 10 a.m., flames consumed the building, reducing it to ashes. The Palais de Justice and the Police Prefecture also were on fire. The Paris Commune, which had held out for nearly two months, came to a brutal end on May 28, 1871, during the final clashes at Père Lachaise. The Versailles repression was unrelenting, and many insurgents were either executed or captured. It seems that the iconic image of the Hôtel de Ville in ruins was not taken during the initial destruction but staged after May 28, reflecting the symbolic nature of the Commune's collapse.

4.3 *Barricade place de la Concorde*, Paris 1871, photo.

4.4 E. ROBERT, *Arbres et barricade*, Paris 1871, photo.

4.5 A. BLOCK, *Louvre/Tuileries, barricade, ruines de Paris*, 1871, photo.

4.6 *L'Inventaire à l'Eglise Saint Remi – 3 Mars 1906 - Barricade vue de l'intérieur*, postcard.

The querelle des Inventaires was sparked by the 1905 Law of Separation of Churches and State and a subsequent decree requiring the inventory of church property. Many Catholic churches, seeing the

inventory as the first step toward expropriation of their sacred objects, responded by barricading their doors. In rural regions, where Catholicism and royalism remained deeply entrenched, clergy and parishioners resisted the state's intervention. Bailiffs sent to conduct the inventories were met with hostility, often confronted by men armed with sticks, pitchforks, and iron bars.

4.7 *Paris pendant la Commune, Les barricades de la place de la Concorde*, in: A. BATAILLE, E. DE BARINS, *Histoire illustrée de six ans de guerre et de révolution*, Paris, Librairie illustrée 1876, p. 497.

In the initial days of April 1871, the Commune established the Barricades Commission, which was led by Rossel, an officer in the Corps of Engineers. The objective was to construct a sequence of barricades encircling the city centre of Paris, consisting of improvised barricade forts on the major thoroughfares and smaller structures in other streets. On April 30, 1871, Napoléon Gaillard, a master shoemaker, received a commission from Rossel to undertake this task. In reality, a limited number of the large barricades were constructed with the intention of preventing the army from Versailles from entering the city. Among these barricades, the largest of these – the *Château-Gaillard* – blocked the rues Saint-Florentin and Rivoli at the intersection of the Place de la Concorde. Additional constructions were built at various locations, including the Trocadéro, rue de Castiglione, and in the 14th arrondissement across the avenue de Maine at the Porte d'Orléans. However, it is important to note that these constructions constituted only a fraction of the originally intended second line of defense.

4.8 *Les barricades de la place de la Concorde*, 1871, photo.

4.9 *Grèves de Limoges, Barricade de la Vieille Route d'Aixe, Mort d'Estacade, jument du 21e chasseurs*, 15 April 1905, postcard.

The Limoges porcelain workers demand first the dismissal of foremen, exercising a *droit de seigneur*, in reality sexual harassment, followed by wage demands. The strikes and demonstrations had national impact.

4.10 *Grèves de Limoges, 15 avril 1905, barricade Ancienne Route d'Aixe*, postcard.

4.11 *Nantes, Manifestation du 14 juin 1903, Une barricade rue Royale*, postcard.

In 1903, in the days France discussed the separation

of state and church, the *Fête Dieu* was banned. Catholics protested, soon joined by republican counter-protesters. At the end of the day, the dragoons intervene to disperse the demonstrators.

4.12 *Na rotunda da Avenida, Un aspect da barricada*, Lissabon October 1910, postcard.

4.13 *Revolução de 5 de Outubro de 1910, Rotunda da Avenida, Barricada e a heroína Amélia Santos*, Lissabon, postcard.

Amélia Santos joined the republican revolutionaries during the Lisbon Republican Revolution of October 5, 1910. Taking up arms on the barricades of the Rotunda, she fought alongside the rebels and became a heroine of the cause, as illustrated in postcards from that era.

4.14 *Barricades a la rue Malaya Bronnaya*, Moscou, 1905, postcard.

The December Uprising of 1905 in Moscow occurred between December 7, 1905 (December 20 in the Gregorian calendar), and December 18, 1905 (December 31 in the Gregorian calendar), primarily in the Presnya district. This uprising was the culmination of the 1905 Revolution, during which thousands of workers participated in an armed revolt against the imperial government, advocating for social and democratic reforms.

4.15 *Bronnaya (La petite)*, Moscou 1905, postcard.

4.16 *Pont de Koursk, barricade des wagons*, Moscou 1905, postcard.

4.17 *Las Barricadas levantadas por el pueblo*, in: *La Vanguardia*, 25 July 25, Barcelona 1936.

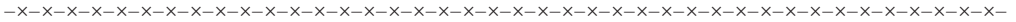
4.18 *Las Barricadas en las calles de Gijón y de Oviedo*, October 5, 1934.

On October 5, 1934, the Asturian Socialist Republic was proclaimed in Oviedo. Three days later, all of Asturias was ruled by the miners. Ten days later, 30,000 workers formed the Red Army.

4.19 Anonymous, *Barricade sur la route de Souain à Sommepy*, 1915, stereo photography.

As part of the so-called autumn battle in the Champagne, one of the most significant casualties of World War I, General Baratier's French cavalry units erected these barricades during their retreat.

4.20 *Barricade in Mexico*, May 1914, photo.



4.21 *La lutte pour Valence*, 6 August 1936, photo.

4.22 *Mexico, Senoritas Revolucionarias*, 1914, ph.

4.23 *Émeutes à Toulon*, 1935, photo.

The riots in Brest and Toulon of August 1935 were caused after legislative measures reduced the salary of civil servants by the newly elected right wing Laval government. The workers of the arsenal of Toulon reacted virulent, the first day there are thirteen wounded. During these days five people died due to government violence.

4.24 *Tramway immobilisé par des chaînes tendues en travers d'une des principales rues*, Bombay, in: *L'illustration, journal universel*, 14 Feb. 1931.

4.25 Women and children took active part in the erection of barricades, Odessa, 1941, postcard.

4.26 *Libération de Paris, Barricade Rue Saint-Jacques*, August 1944, photo.

4.27-28 *Barricades*, Paris 1944, photo.

4.29-32 *Spartakusaufstand, Strassenkämpfe in Berlin, Papier-Barrikaden bei Mosse*, January 1919, photo.

4.33 *L'insurrezione di Parma*, 1922, newspaper.

4.34 *Reconstruction of a barricade in Milano* (1848), 1948.

5 RESTORING ORDER

Building barricades for insurrection lacks efficacy in the absence of theoretical framework, justification, defined goals, or a vision of utopia on the horizon. The majority of individuals are sedated into a state of slumber through the means of pleasure, entertainment, and thoughtless adherence to societal norms (Jarry's *Decervelage* & Debord's *Société du Spectacle*). Those individuals who are unaware continue to submit to an oppressive system that is enforced by a tyrannical exercise of power. Blanqui, in one of his texts, put forth to destruct the old structures in order to establish a new society amidst the rubble, long before the Commune. He believed that following the settling of dust subsequent to the final strike of the pickaxe, a utopia would

emerge triumphantly. When the short-lived utopia of the Commune is on the verge of ending, Louise Michel passionately declares, "*Paris will be ours or will cease to exist*", (May 17, 1871)

5.1 *Het oproer te Amsterdam, in 'Het Leven'*, 10 July, Amsterdam 1934. Magazine.

In 1934, riots took place in the Amsterdam Jordaan neighborhood, following a reduction of about 10 percent in unemployment benefits. Five people were killed and dozens injured.

5.2 J.B. RIGAUD, *Un Démolisseur de Barricades*, lithograph, ca. 1830.

5.3 *La police démolit une barricade édifée rue saint Maur*, 9 Feb. 1934, postcard.

During the street battles that took place in Paris and its surrounding suburbs from February 6 to 12, 1934, barricades became a vital component. These barricades were erected by both right-wing demonstrators from the 6th and 7th arrondissements and their left-wing counterparts, primarily communists, from the 9th and 12th.

5.4 *Une barricade place de la Concorde*, 6 février 1934, postcard, photo.

5.5-10 *Entretien des voies publiques: Le pavage en bois; Le macadam; Le dallage; L'asphalte; Le pavage en grès; Le bitume*, Liebig's Extract of Meat Company, ca. 1900, collector cards.

The revolt usually ends with the indexing and recording of broken windows, damaged street furniture, burned vehicles, houses, and sweeping the neighborhoods, asphaltting the streets, and introducing a new sort of tax. "*ASPHALT - has eliminated revolutions; there is no longer material to construct barricades. However, these streets remain quite inconvenient.*" in: GUSTAVE FLAUBERT, *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*.

5.11 *La révolte des étudiants*, in: *Paris Match*, Paris, 18 May, 1968.

5.12 *Man pushes a wheelbarrow towards a blazing barricade*, Paris, June 12, 1968, Associated Press., tele wirephoto.

5.13 *Plus de pavés au quartier Latin. Des ouvriers recouvrent une rue du quartier Latin d'une épaisse couche de bitume*, Paris, August 6, 1968, photo.

During the summer of 1968, one hundred thousand square meters of cobblestones in the Latin Quarter were covered with a layer of asphalt. For technical and economic reasons, the use of cobblestones was definitively discontinued in 1976. That year, the Paris council decided to begin covering the Boulevards des Maréchaux with a bituminous layer. However, at the end of 1980, city officials repaved the Place de la Sorbonne, restoring it as a territory for tourists.

5.14 *Cleaning the Latin quarter in Paris*, 1968, photo.

5.15 *Helmeted policeman driving a bulldozer tries to clear the way in a Parisian street*, Paris, May 25, 1968, photo.

5.16 *Holes left in the pavement of Boulevard St. Michel after the barricades*, UPI F. Barthe, Paris, May 24, 1968, photo.

Holes left in the pavement of Boulevard St. Michel after rioting students took away the cobblestones to use them against policemen or to make barricades.

5.17 *Disparition des derniers vestiges du mois de mai, une équipe composée de deux condamnés de droit commun et d'un gardien de la Paix, a ravalé, à la peinture grise les murs de l'Ecole des langues Orientales*, AFP photo, Paris, August 7, 1968. photo.

In August 1968, the last vestiges of May disappeared. A team composed of two common law convicts and a police officer repainted the walls of the School of Oriental Languages with gray paint.

5.18 *Visitors inspecting the barricades*, Paris 1968, photo.

5.19 *Policeman bringing giant bulldozer to clear up barricades on the Boulevard Saint-Michel*, Paris, May 24, 1968, photo.

5.20 *Cleaning the Latin Quarter in Paris, Boulevard Saint-Michel*, Paris, May 25, 1968, photo.

5.21 *Three Parisians having a picnic on the remains of a barricade, rue Cujas*, Associated Press, 1968, tele wirephoto.

5.22 *Marghera / Venice, strike in the Châtillon factory*, 1968, photo.

5.23 *Policemen on the Barricades, Paris, 10 Avenue Frochot*, Reporters Associés, Paris, May 1968, photo.

6 THE SITUATIONISTS IN MAY 1968

With the publication of a pamphlet at the University of Strasbourg in 1966 the Situationists played a crucial role in the Paris student revolt of 1968: *De la misère en milieu étudiant: considérée sous ses aspects économique, politique, psychologique, sexuel et notamment intellectuel et de quelques moyens pour y remédier (On the Poverty of Student Life: considered in its economic, political, psychological, sexual, and particularly intellectual aspects, and a modest proposal for its remedy)*. The brochure was published in numerous international editions and languages, probably reaching a total print run of half a million copies. The unrest at French universities in 1967 was steadily radicalized by the dissemination of the pamphlet and was driven in particular by the Situationists in Nanterre. On the campus of the new university satellite on the outskirts of Paris, there were constant police operations as early as the winter of 1968. At the beginning of May, the clashes spread to the center of Paris, and on May 13, the Sorbonne was occupied. The next day, the first factory occupation took place at the Sud-Aviation aircraft factory near Nantes, followed by the suburbs of Paris. Within a few days, France was in the grip of a wildcat general strike. On the *first night of the barricades* on May 10, Situationists and their sympathizers were involved in setting up the barricades on the front line in Rue Guy Lussac.

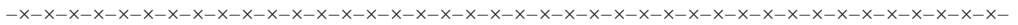
6.1 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, *Quartier Latin*, Paris, probably on the night 10th of May 1968, photo.

6.2 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, *burning barricades in the night, 10th of May 1968*, Paris, photo.
Members of the *Internationale Situationniste* participated in the building of barricades.

6.3 *Qu'il y-t-il? Nous avons envisagé toutes les barrières! Serait-ce un mur inconnu?*, Paris, May 1968, leaflet.

6.4 *Internationale Situationniste, Bulletin central des sections de l'internationale Situationniste*, N° 6, Paris, I.S., Conseil Central de l'I.S., August 1961), p. 4-5, revue.

The editorial of the magazine, which appeared seven years before the revolt in May 1968, begins with a



programmatic text entitled *Instructions pour une prise d'armes* (Instructions for taking up arms). It contains as its first illustration the misappropriated, i.e. détourned drawing from a sci-fi comic strip. The speech bubble evokes the appearance of the barricade in the face of state powers: 'Qu'il y-t-il? Nous avons envisagé toutes les barrières! Seraït-ce un mur inconnu?' (What's Up? We have foreseen all the barriers! Could this be an unknown wall?). The Situationists used this détournement of the 'Mur inconnu' repeatedly, for instance in the subscription leaflet to the first Scandinavian edition of their revue 'Situationistisk Revolution' in 1962.

6.5 DAVID & STUART WISE, in: *King Mob Echo*, № 1, London, Pygmalion Press, 1968.

Reproduction of a press photo of the Watts Riots in the first issue of *King Mob Echo*, a British anarchist magazine published by brothers David and Stuart Wise, who were later joined by former members of the British section of the *Situationist International* after they were expelled: Christopher Gray, Donald Nicholson-Smith, and TJ Clark. The cover features Fantômas, a personification of the threat to bourgeois society from Louis Feuillade's 1913 film. A famous quote from Karl Marx's early writing, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, serves as the caption below: "I am nothing, but I must be everything." The article, *Black Anarchy: Looting as a Natural Response to an Affluent Society*, follows the reprinting of the same Watts Riots press photo that I.S. used two years earlier with the same tenor, and referencing Debord's text.

6.6 *Watts Riots*, Los Angeles 1965, press photo.

6.7 *Bourgeois vous n'avez rien compris*, Atelier populaire, May 1968, poster.

In May 1968, the *Atelier populaire* was set up in the occupied art academy in Paris, the École des Beaux-Arts, where the rebellious students reproduced posters and flyers using the silkscreen process. In three of these posters in particular, the influence of the Situationists can be seen and demonstrated: One listed the chronology of events and barricade building with the closing line *a suivre* (to be continued). Two carried an iconic motif appropriating the famous cover image of the young bleeding demonstrator of *l'Observateur* magazine. This variant carries the message *Bourgeois vous n'avez rien compris* (Bourgeois, you've understood nothing).

6.8 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo.

The screen printed poster *Bourgeois vous n'avez*

rien compris from the *Atelier populaire* is shown on a wall in Saint-Germain-des-Prés in May 1968.

6.9 *La France face aux jeunes*, in: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, № 183, Paris, May 15, 1968.

The mediatised image exhibiting the suffering individual in the bourgeois press sympathizing with the students.

6.10 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, graffiti *L'alienation*, May 1968, photo.

6.11 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo. Quartier Latin, probably after 10th of May. On the wrecked car it says: *2 places encore libres pour Colombey* (2 places still available for Colombey). Colombey-les-Deux-Églises was the commune where the family villa of De Gaulle was located. So the graffiti wants to send him home with his wife.

6.12 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo.

6.13 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo. Six typographic posters with slogans issued by the Internationale Situationniste and their May 1968 offshoot C.M.D.O. (*Conseil pour le maintien des occupations*) are shown on a wall near the Sorbonne. The posters have been distributed since May 22.

6.14 THE STOICKS, *Lika a shot / Device*, Like A Shot Records – LAS EP 001, Mr Clean – MC 003, Vinyl, 33 RPM, EP, 1998, disk record.

6.15 *Safari-Photos*, C.D.R. – Comité de Défense de la Revolution, May 1968, leaflet.

The provocative tract, presumably inspired by the Situationists method of détournement, ironically offers awards for photographing undercover and plainclothes police officers and other state organs of repression, like the state, which regularly used cameras to identify the leaders of the riot.

6.16 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, photo of an I.S. poster and leaflets, May 1968, photo.

A poster and leaflets with détourned comic strips issued by the Internationale Situationniste and their offshoot C.M.D.O. (*Conseil pour le maintien des occupations*), founded on the 17th of May, are shown on a wall near the Sorbonne.

6.17 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo.

A barricade at the corner of Bd Saint-Michel and Rue de Vaugirard, after May 24, 1968.

6.18 Préfecture de Police, May 1968, photo.

Photo of a young injured student protester during his arrest, also used to document his identity. It is the very same person as on the cover of the *L'Observateur* and on the posters of the *Atelier populaire*.

6.19 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo.

Presumably, in rue Gay Lussac, overturned and burnt-out wrecked cars can be observed following the events of the first barricade night on May 10th.

6.20 MALTE J. RAUCH, SAMUEL SCHIRMBECK, *Die Barrikaden von Paris, Der Aufstand der französischen Arbeiter und Studenten*, Frankfurt a.M., Europäische Verlagsanstalt 1968, book.

Chronological overview of key events in May and June 1968.

6.21 Anonymous, Nijmegen, February 1981, photo.

When the city council decided to demolish a warehouse and houses in the city centre of Nijmegen to build a parking garage, the location was occupied by squatters. A barricade was erected with barbed wire, sand, and a Citroën 2CV. 200 riot police vehicles, five tanks, a helicopter, an armoured car, lots of tear gas, and approximately 2000 men, including military personnel, were needed to remove the squatters from the buildings they occupied. The activists and the squatters' movement heavily resisted this eviction, the so-called Piersonstraat riots.

6.22 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo.

6.23 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, 3 photos.

6.24 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo.

Kin-Long, Chinese restaurant, 58, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince

6.25 Anonymous, Pro-Situ, May 1968, photo.

A leaflet with a détourned advertisement image issued by the *Internationale Situationniste* is shown on a wall near the Sorbonne.

6.26 *Considérée en elle même, la 'Jeunesse'*, Internationale Situationniste, May 1968, leaflet.

This is the first sentence of the original French

edition of the pamphlet from the heroic phase of preparation for the strikes and uprisings of 1968, which began at the University of Strasbourg with the 1966 publication of the Situationist offensive named *De la misère en milieu étudiant*. The quote was repeated on one of their most important leaflets and wall postings in the May revolt. In the depicted speech bubble, a half-naked advertising beauty with her face covered, states, "Considered in itself, 'Youth' is an advertising myth that is already deeply linked to the capitalist mode of production, as an expression of its dynamism."

6.27 *On the Barricades, The Journal for the Protection of all Human Beings*, N° 2, City Light Books, San Francisco 1968.

One of the most lucid and beautiful publications on the iconography and logic of the barricade relating to the May 1968 uprising in Paris. Beside the artist Roland Topor, the writers Jean-Jacques Lebel and Jean-Louis Brau have contributed to the publication of this *City Light* publication. Brau was a member of Guy Debord's gang named *Internationale Lettriste*, the precursor of the situationist group that existed between 1952 and 1957.

7 FOLKLORE OF THE BARRICADE

The barricade is a threatening specter for any form of rule as it recalls with abruptness the will of a neglected subject and its spontaneous unity. In the construction of barricades, the collective asserts an autonomous visibility of its standpoint. Therefore, even though the barricade lost its character as a suitable tactical means in conflicts, it acquired a powerful symbolic content of a metaphor for resistance. An elaborate folklore of the barricade has emerged due to this reason.

7.1 *La Barricate Infernale, Collezione d'avventure*, Torino, casa Editrice Picco & Toselli, 23 May 1926.

7.2 ALBERT ROBIDA, *Révolution de 1953: Première Exposition Universelle de Barricades à Paris*, in: *Le vingtième siècle*, GEORGES DECAUX, Paris 1883, p. 274.

Albert Robida (1848-1926) was a French illustrator, caricaturist, engraver, journalist, and novelist known for his futuristic predictions: "An exhibition of barricades, is that really new? And it's a French idea. We note with satisfaction that France has not given up its role of initiator and guide on the path of progress!"

ARCHITECTURE OF THE BARRICADE

7.3 *Die Barrikaden von San Antone* (Original title: *The Last Command*), advertisement, director: Frank Lloyd, 1955, film.

In their fight for independence from Mexico, 187 Texans barricaded themselves up in the old Alamo mission station.

7.4 ALBERT ROBIDA, *Révolution de 1953: Première Exposition Universelle de Barricades à Paris*, in: *Le vingtième siècle*, GEORGES DECAUX, Paris 1883, p. 267.

7.5 CHARLES-ÉDOUARD DE BEAUMONT, *Les Vesuviennes*, "Ma'am Coquardeau, I forbid you to go to the recall....it's not sensible to leave me with three children on my hands.....and no bottle!....." Paris, 1848.

7.6 Students use the *Police sur la ville* movie sign as a barricade, Paris, May 1968, photo.

In the night of May 10 to 11, 1968, this cinema sign of a 1968 American film by Don Siegel with the original title *Madigan*, starring Richard Widmark and Henry Fonda was torn down by the students on boulevard Saint-Michel in Paris and transformed into a barricade. According to other sources this barricade was erected close to the Bastille, next to a cinema at № 12 Rue de Lyon on May 24, 1968.

7.7 *La barricada cierra la calle pero abre el camino*, sticker.

7.8 *Aux barricades Gay-Lussac*, battle song, Internationale Situationniste, C.M.D.O. – Conseil pour le maintien des occupations, Paris, 16 May, 1968, leaflet.

7.9 *Trust, Toutes Barricades*, 1983, jukebox label

7.10 *Tates, mames, kinderlekh, bojen barikadn*, in SZMERKE KACZERGINSKI, *Ondenk-buch*, Buenos Aires 1955.

The song *Tates, mames, kinderlekh, bojen barikadn*, has been written by seventeen year old Shmerke Kaczerginski in 1926, associated with a workers' uprising in Lodz and the socialist *General Jewish Labour Bund* movement: "*Motyę, bring the basket / Meyerke, bring the table / We'll bring the bureau drawers / And the old barrel / We'll build barricades here / In the middle of the neighborhood.*"

7.11 *Songs from the barricades*, Belfast, People's Democracy 1974.

7.12 *Jeu des manifestants*, S.C. éditeur, Paris ca 1910. Board game.

7.13 *25th anniversary of the Russian revolution*, 1905, CCCP 1930. stamp.

7.14 Spandau Ballet, *Through The Barricades*, CBS Records, 1986. disco 45 giri/ep, disk record.
Spandau Ballet wrote in 1986: "*We made our love on wasteland / Oh, and through the barricades*".

7.15 *Les Barricades*, advertisement for Pilules laxatives Lucas, ca. 1930, postcard.

7.16 *Barricata!!!*, postcard.

7.17 *Barricades of 1588*, cigarette card.

7.18-20 *25-9-1830 Attaque de l'entrée du Parc de Bruxelles / 23-9-1830 Retraite des hussards hollandais, Porte de Flandre / 25-8-1830 Représentation de «La Muette de Portici»*, Wiel's, Bruxelles. coasters.

7.21 *Barricade*, videogame advertisement, 1976.

Barricade is a clone of the Blockade arcade game, released by RamTek in 1976. A four-player game where players move their cursors across the screen to create a wall to try and surround their opponents and force them to crash. It was followed by *Barricade II*, produced by Taito in 1977, which instead is conceived as a two-player game.

7.22 FRANÇOIS NEDELEC, DUCCIO VITALE, *Mai 68: La Nuit des Barricades, Un Jeu de Société Carnivore*, Paris, La Folie douce, 1980, board game.

This strategy board game is based on the conflict between insurgents and police forces in May 1968, and incorporates imagery from Atelier Populaire. It was conceived in 1979 by the historian and author of board games, Duccio Vitale (born in 1954), and François Nédeléc. It is illustrated by Stratépop and was first produced by *La Folie douce* in 1980. A second version came out by the commercial board games company Rexton in 1991. Vitale published a book named *Jeux de simulation: Wargames*, MA Éditions, Paris, 1984. In a context of university and lycée students demonstrations on Friday, May 10, 1968, and *The night of the barricades* this game pits a *youth in revolt* player against a *law enforcement* player. The goal of the game is for the *youth* player to survive for 12 hours by mobilizing the lycées and faculties, while the

policeman player aims to stop the ringleaders before they influence too many students. On the map of the Latin Quarter, the players will therefore pursue each other, confront each other, and resolve these battles. The game is in the tradition of Guy Debord's interest in strategy games, f.e. with his own *Kriegspiel*. Similar to the Situationists, they appear to share a fascination with the ludic as well, the logic of play as an elementary human goal in contrast to the compulsion of wage labor as described in Johan Huizinga's seminal book *Homo Ludens* from 1938.

7.23 *Les Maquis*, Guerilla barricades in occupied France 1944, children's paper toy.

The *maquis*, a term derived from the Italian word *macchia* for the scrubland where brigands could hide, referred to the less organized and, unlike the Resistance, non-centralised rural and often spontaneous local guerrilla groups that resisted the German occupation of France during the Second World War. They belonged to differing political ideologies. Many had a communist or anarchist background, others were linked to right-wing movements. The paper game shows the use of a barricade to attack a German convoy.

7.24 French banknote of 100 fr., depicting a portrait of Eugene Delacroix and his painting of the 1830 barricades *Liberty leading the people*.

8 STREET PHOTOGRAPHY MAY 1968

8.1–8.51 Anonymous, Pro-Situs, *Quartier Latin*, Paris May 1968, 51 photos, faces rendered unrecognizable with ink.

9 LITERATURE

9.1 JOHANN GOTTFRIED ZSCHALER, *Geschichte der ereignisvollen Jahre 1848 und 1849. Eine treue und faßliche Darstellung der außerordentlichen Begebenheiten dieser Zeit*, Vol. 1, Dresden, C.G. Lohsesche Buchhandlung, 1849.

The lithograph from the popular compendium about the revolutionary years 1848/1849 shows the barricade in the Burggasse in Altenburg, Thuringia, on June 18, 1848, when an attack by the Royal Saxon Army was successfully repelled.

9.2 JOHANN GOTTFRIED ZSCHALER, *Geschichte der ereignisvollen Jahre 1848 und 1849*, Vol. 2, Dresden, C.G. Lohsesche Buchhandlung 1849.

This page from the illustrated popular history, depicts the barricade fight in Dresden during the May Uprising, spanning from May 3rd to 9th, 1849. The street fights were orchestrated with the assistance of Bakunin, Richard Wagner, and Gottfried Semper. The architect and professor of architecture, Semper, known for several notable architectural works in Dresden, personally designed certain barricades and oversaw their construction. Following the suppression of the revolution, Semper sought refuge in England as a persecuted revolutionary and did not return to Dresden.

9.3 CARL KRAUSE, *Der Aufruhr in Dresden am 3., 4., 5., 6., 7., 8. und 9. Mai 1849. Nach amtlichen Quellen geschildert*, Dresden, Adler und Dietze 1849.

Dies ist die einzig bekannte Darstellung der berühmten Barrikade in der Wilsdruffer Gasse, bevor Gottfried Semper sie tektonisch optimierte.

9.4 Commission des Barricades, *Journal officiel*, 13 April 1871, séance du 12 Avril 1871

Between March 20 and May 24, 1871, two series of the Official Journal of the French Republic were published, one in Paris and the other in Versailles. On 12 April 1871, the 'Commune' Commission des Barricades decided how to construct the barricades in Paris.

9.5 *Haute Cour de Justice*, copy of the papers found in the apartment of Babeuf, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, An V

In the '*Copie des pièces de Babauf*', a proposal of the Insurrectionary Committee for Public Safety is included. This is one of the early instructions on how to apply the barricade. "*In the event of opposition from the soldiers at the Vincennes camp, we will barricade the entrance to the Antoine suburb. Our initial strategy to overcome this resistance will involve sending women wearing civic crowns to engage with the soldiers and persuade them to join our side before they reach the barricades.*" p. 18 "*Would it not be beneficial to construct an additional barricade in the Antoine suburb on the city side? This way, if the soldiers were to breach the first barricade, they could still be contained within the suburb. There, they might engage in even more radical fraternization and potentially be fully converted to the interests of the people, uniting their forces to march toward the designated locations. Paris, 20 Floréal, Year IV.*" p. 19.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE BARRICADE

-x-

9.6 L.-P. ANQUETH, *Histoire de France*, Paris, Marescq 1851, Barricades dans la Ligue (1648), p. 393.

10 BARRICADE PHOTOS

10.1 Anonymous, *Paris au Combat*, Paris, ca. 1945. photo.

10.2-3 *Colonne de Juillet, place de la Bastille*, 1968.

The July Column is a column erected on the Place de la Bastille in Paris between 1835 and 1840 in commemoration of the three days of the July Revolution taking place in 1830, known as the *Three Glorious Days*.

10.4 *Barricade de la rue Vavin*, Paris, Mai 1871.

10.5 *May 1968*, Paris, Photo: Reporters Associés.

10.6 *La costruzione di una barricata*, 19 Marzo 1848, Litografia. Milano, Civica raccolta delle stampe A.Bertarelli.

10.7 *Massacre des cuirassiers*, 28 juillet 1830 d'après une litho. de V. Adam (Bulla ed), postcard.

10.8 *May 1968*, Paris, Photo: AGIP, R. Cohen.

10.9 *Somewhere on the Continent*, British soldiers building barricades. WWI.

10.10 June 1968, a Policeman, smoking a cigarette, clubbing down a woman. AP wirephoto.

10.11 *June 1968*, Paris.

10.12-16 *May 1968*, Paris five photos.

10.17 Backside of a press photo, 19 May 1968.

11 BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

11.1 *Noir Et Blanc, Qui est responsable de toutes ces violences*, revue, N°1212, 20-26 June 1968.

11.2 *Paris Match, Journées Historiques Des Barricades Aux Élections*, revue, N°998, 15-22 June 1968.

11.3 AUGUST HERMANN ZEIZ, *Die roten Tage*, Erich Reiß Verlag, Berlin 1920.

The journalist and author of this novel about the November Revolution of 1918/19 was involved in the resistance against German fascism, among other things, as an escape helper for Jews which earned him imprisonment in the Dachau concentration camp. Unlike his wife, he survived his imprisonment there.

11.4 PJOTR PAWLENKO, *Barrikaden*, Ring Verlag, Zurich 1933.

The Paris Commune from the perspective of a Russian writer, who collaborated with Sergei Eisenstein as his screenwriter.

11.5 EGIDIO STERPA, *I Figli sulle Barricate*, Longanesi, Milano 1968.

The anti-communist journalist and writer became a politician being a member of the right-wing of the Italian Liberal Party. He was a minister for this party in Giulio Andreotti's last two cabinets. He later joined Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia, for which he was active as a deputy and senator. This book is his reactionary view of the student unrest in Italy in 1968.

11.6 KLAUS NEUKRANTZ, *Barricades in Berlin*, London: Martin Lawrence ca. 1932.

The Berlin May Day riots of May 1, 1929 and the following days were known as *Bloody May*. At the time, the state authorities acted with the utmost brutality against unauthorized demonstrations by the KPD, accepting the deaths of 33 civilians and numerous injured demonstrators and uninvolved civilians. In the style of agitprop literature, the writer and journalist Klaus Neukrantz in 1931 turned the carnage into a reportage-like novel, which was called *Barrikaden am Wedding* in the German edition and banned and confiscated immediately after publication. The author was arrested when the National Socialists came to power in 1933. His traces are lost in the fascist extermination camps, which is why the date of his death remains unknown.

12 A TRIPTYCH OF IMAGE ACTS

This triptych hosts an iconography of the barricade, which, through the collection of nearly 300 images, compares three different image acts representing the revolt in Paris during May 1968: the rioters, the media,

and the police. The imagery, although all three panels share the same subject matter, is the result of opposing politics of representation.

In the pictures of the insurgents — photographed by anonymous authors involved in the Situationist movement — the actors appear as a general revolutionary collective whose members' faces have wisely been made unrecognizable.

Mediatized in French newspapers through the biased gaze of photo-journalism, the actors are fictionalized and moralized under the aspect of human interest as individuals committing or subjected to violence.

From the authorities' point of view, the protagonists of the uprising, as the photos recently retrieved from the archives of the Paris Prefecture of Police show, are under surveillance in order to secure evidence and identification so that crime and property offenses can be visually verified and prosecuted.

13 BARRICADE WALL

13.1.1 *Incendiaires de la Commune, Première liste des monuments, habitations, établissements détruits ou endommagés par les incendiaires de la Commune et liste des barricades qui ont été enlevées par les troupes de l'assemblée nationale, à Paris, pendant les journées du 21 au 30 mai 1871*, Paris, imp. Edouard Blot, poster. [barricades: Paris 1830]

A series of four posters was published in 1871, listing the destruction caused by the Commune. The posters were titled *List of Monuments, Dwellings, and Establishments Destroyed or Damaged by the Incendiaries of the Commune* and *List of Barricades Removed by the Troops of the National Assembly under the Orders of Marshal Mac-Mahon, Duke of Magenta, in Paris, during the Days of May 21 to 30, 1871*. Each building is categorized as either burned or damaged.

13.1.2 *Liste des Barricades* (III)

13.1.3 *Laissez-moi mes matelas*. Lettre de Jean de Paris à Jacques Bonhomme, E. Lévy, Paris, 1870, poster.

Mattresses, along with pianos, pushcarts, and cobblestones, are the preferred objects to build a barricade. In *Les Misérables*, Victor Hugo describes: "*Jean Valjean stepped out of the cut, entered the street, traversed the storm of bullets, walked up to the mattress, hoisted it upon his back, and returned to the barricade. He placed the mattress in the opening with his own hands.*"

13.2.1 *Map of Paris*, Aug. 1944. In: *Paris Delivré Par Son Peuple*, Paris: Braun et Cie Editeurs 1944. Journal with a collection of photos of the Liberation of Paris.

13.3.1 *Kampf der königlichen Truppen gegen die Bürgergarde und das Volk, auf der Toledostrasse zu Neapel am 13 Mai*, Lithograph. In: JOHANN GOTTFRIED ZSCHALER, *Das ewigdenkwürdige Jahr 1848, oder treue und faßliche Darstellung seiner außerordentlichen, erfolgreichen Begebenheiten, Gedenkbuch für d. dt. Volk*, Dresden: Lohnse 1849.

13.3.2 *Venezia, Proclamazione della Repubblica, Marzo 1848*, engraving after a drawing of Niccola Sansesi. In: FERDINANDO RANALLI, *Storia degli avvenimenti d'Italia dopo l'esaltazione di Pio 9. al pontificato*, Vol. 2, Firenze: Batelli 1849.

13.4.1 *Si prepara la repressione*, Mondo Nuova, 15 Sept. 1968.

13.4.2 *Un bulldozer de l'armée remet en état la rue des Ecoles, devant la Sorbonne*, 26 May 1968.

An army bulldozer cleans up the Rue des Ecoles, in front of the Sorbonne, 26 May 1968.

13.5.1 *Hinc justis iterum exardescit motibus omnis*, engraving, WILLEM BAUDARTIUS (1565-1640), *Les Guerres De Nassau, (...)*, Amsterdam, Michel Colin de Thovoyon, 1616.

"Thus, once again, every citizen rises to take up arms, joining together to fight against the Germans and expelling the perpetrators of treachery from the city." This was the rallying cry as German forces withdrew from the citadel of Antwerp on August 2, 1577, retreating to their positions at the Nieuwstad. In the foreground of the engraving illustrating the event, German troops can be seen leaving the city, while, in the distance to the left, the ships of the Prince's fleet are visible on the horizon.

13.5.2 *Barricade in India*, 1725. Hand colored engraving.

13.5.3 *Bloedig gevecht tussen de Calixtinen en Thaboriten*, pag. 295, engraving.

Between 1419 and 1434, the region of Bohemia—now part of the Czech Republic—was the centre of the Hussite Wars, a series of religious and civil conflicts triggered by the execution of the Czech reformer Jan Hus and intensified by widespread calls for reform

within the Catholic Church. The Hussites, Hus's followers, rejected the authority of both the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, placing Bohemia at the center of a broader struggle over faith, power, and national identity. But the conflict was far from a simple clash between Catholics and reformers. It fractured the reform movement itself. By 1432, a moderate faction known as the Calixtines (or Ultraquists) broke with more radical Hussites, siding instead with Catholic forces to oppose their former allies, including the more militant Taborites. Amid these shifting alliances and ideological divides, the Hussite Wars also marked a turning point in military strategy. Facing larger and more heavily armed opponents, Hussite commanders pioneered the use of mobile fortifications. They arranged heavy wagons into square formations, chaining them together to form improvised fortresses. The barricades of these "wagon forts" proved highly effective in fending off cavalry charges and artillery fire. Quick to deploy and resilient under pressure, the tabor system became a defining feature of Hussite warfare and an early example of innovation driven by necessity on the battlefield.

13.6.1-7 *Strike in the Châtillon factory, Marghera / Venice, 1968.*

On July 13th and 14th 1968, a strike occurred at the Petrolchimico factory in Porto Marghera, involving 4,000 manual laborers and 1,000 white-collar employees who demanded an increase in the production bonus to 5,000 Lire for all workers. Student groups, who have been protesting in Venice against the Biennale, traveled to Porto Marghera to support the demonstration by four thousand oil refinery workers. The strike reached its peak on August 1, 1968, when Porto Marghera witnessed significant unrest, characterized by the presence of burning barricades along the access road.

13.6.8 Paris, press photo from the archives of the Daily Telegraph, 12 June 1968.

13.6.9 Paris, press photo, 16 July 1968.

13.6.10 Paris, police on a cobblestone barricade, May 1968, press photo, 13 May 1968.

13.6.11 Paris, Rue Gay-Lussac, cars used as barricade, press photo, 11 May 1968.

13.7.1 *Barricades à Berlin, Police Magazin* (Paris) 3 July 1932.

In early 1932, Adolf Hitler refused to consolidate his paramilitary organizations into a single force under the control of the Reichswehr, Germany's national military. In response, Chancellor Heinrich Brüning's administration imposed a ban on the uniformed factions of the Nazi Party (NSDAP). When Brüning was replaced by Franz von Papen as Chancellor in June 1932, the Hitler Youth was reinstated. On June 20, an incident in Berlin's Gotzkowskystraße sparked significant unrest. A pregnant woman with a young child was facing eviction from her apartment, and the local leadership of the Communist Party (KPD) in the Moabit district called on residents to resist the eviction, which was being carried out by police with the assistance of the SA, the Nazi Party's paramilitary wing. Although the police were forced to retreat, tensions continued to rise in the district. By June 22, the Berlin police had effectively aligned themselves with Nazi paramilitary forces. As the police attempted to advance further to clear workers from the barricaded Rostocker Straße, residents quickly mobilized, gathering garbage cans, scaffolding, and other materials to build barricades. Communists, Social Democrats, and Reichsbahn (railway) workers tore up the pavement to strengthen their defenses. The combined forces of the SA and police were forced to withdraw, waiting for reinforcements to arrive. When an armored vehicle finally showed up, it too was halted by the barricades and had to retreat.

13.8.1 JOSEPH-LOUIS-HIPPOLYTE BELLANGÉ, 29 juillet 1830, *Seulement de l'eau rouge, la petite mère* (Only red-colored water, ma'am), Album patriotique. Paris: Gihaut 1831.

13.8.2 JOSEPH-LOUIS-HIPPOLYTE BELLANGÉ, 31 juillet 1830, *Oh! cré nom, Thérèse, c'est ça un brave homme de Gouvernement... qu'on peut dire qu'est pas fier... que je lui ai pris la main, tout comme je te parle... et qu'il m'a appelé son brave camarade* (Oh, damn it, Thérèse! That's a good man from the government... who wouldn't be proud to have shaken his hand, just as I'm speaking to you... and that he referred to me as his good comrade). Album patriotique. Paris: Gihaut 1831.

13.9.1-8 *Salvate il Molino Stucky*, photos.

After the announcement of the mill's closure in May 1954, an occupation took place that lasted 46 days. Stucky closed its doors for good in 1955 after a troubled union affair that saw the plant occupied for 45 days by hundreds of workers.

13.10.1 *Baricata dei Napoletani a Porta Nuova*, 2 Giugno 1860, Palermo, lithography. *Album Storico Artistico Garibaldi nelle Due Sicilie ossia Guerra d'Italia nel 1860*.

13.10.2 *Baricata a Porta Maqueda*, 2 Giugno 1860, Palermo, album Storico Artistico Garibaldi nelle Due Sicilie ossia Guerra d'Italia nel 1860, lithography, Milano, Fratelli Terzaghi.

After a photograph by Eugène Sevaistre, taken from Via Ruggero Settimo, depicting two barricades constructed near Via Maqueda during the Palermo insurrection of 1860. The barricades were erected by the Palermitans, who armed themselves as best they could. They utilized everything available, including the cobblestones. This occurred when they realized that Garibaldi's forces were about to enter the city, prompting them to rise up against the Bourbon troops in support of his cause.

13.10.3 *La Porta Di Gaeta Dopo L'assedio Del 1861*. Gaeta, lithography, Album Storico Artistico Garibaldi nelle Due Sicilie ossia Guerra d'Italia nel 1860, 1862.

Following the siege of 1860–1861, the Porta di Gaeta—once a threshold of Bourbon military authority—stood in ruins, its stonework ravaged by relentless bombardment. This siege represented the last stand of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies against the forces of Italian unification. The fall of Gaeta effectively marked the end of Bourbon rule in southern Italy and signaled the irreversible consolidation of the Italian state. The ruined gate was photographed in the days following the surrender.

13.10.4 *Rovine de St. Caterina nella Cont.da Toledo*, 2 Giugno 1860, Palermo, lithography. Album Storico Artistico Garibaldi nelle Due Sicilie ossia Guerra d'Italia nel 1860.

The Monastery of Santa Caterina nella Toledo in Palermo was destroyed by a Bourbon bombardment on 27 and 28 May 1860.

13.11.1 CESARE CANTÙ, LUIGI GUALTIERI, *Grande illustrazione del Lombardo-Veneto, ossia Storia delle città, dei borghi, comuni, castelli, ecc. fino ai tempi moderni per cura di letterati italiani*, Vol. 1-5, Società editrice A. Tranquillo Ronchi 1857.

The Cinque giornate di Milano was an insurrection and a major event in the Revolutionary Year of 1848 that started the First Italian War of Independence. On 18 March, a rebellion arose in the city of Milan

which in five days of street fighting drove Marshal Radetzky and his Austrian soldiers from the city. “So minds were hanging between dismay and expectation, when on the morning of March 18 we read on the street corners that the imperial government promised a constitution to the entire empire, and in the meantime a free press and national guard. Many advised accepting those first legal concessions, to make a ladder to greater ones; and already in this sense they published a newspaper manifesto; others, arguing from them that a revolution must have turned Vienna upside down, raised their hopes higher, they shouted Long Live Italy, they aspired to independence, and having taken the three colors, they began that most memorable five-day battle, which gave the Milanese the hitherto unusual glory of courage”

13.11.2 Trade card, Paris 1830.

13.11.3 *Gravure de Achille de Harlay et de Mathieu Molé* ca. 1830.

On May 12, 1588 during the Day of the Barricades in Paris, Achille de Harlay tried in vain to restore order for the benefit of King Henri III. On the day of the barricades in Paris on August 26, 1648, Mathieu Molé went to see the queen and Cardinal Mazarin to request the release of Pierre Broussel and René Potier de Blancmesnil, whose imprisonment had been the trigger for the riot.

13.11.4 *Vor Paris, die sogenannte musikalische Barrikade der zehnten Division, Über Land und Meer, Allgemeine illustrierte Zeitung*, № 24, 1871.

13.11.5 *Commune de Paris*, 1871.

13.11.6 *Troubles de la Fronde*, 1648.

13.11.7 *Barricade*, July 1830, Paris.

13.11.8 *Civil disturbance*, Paris, 20 nov. 1948.

On November 13, 1948 civil unrest erupted in multiple Paris suburbs following a Communist-organized general strike.

13.11.9 *Italy's warfare in the Alpine valleys, Illustrated war news*, 15 March 1916.

13.11.10 *Le Père Duchêne*, № 32, 27 germinal an 79.

Le Père Duchêne was the title revived for a radical newspaper that surfaced during key revolutionary moments in 19th-century France. The publication

consciously echoed the incendiary spirit of Jacques Hébert's original *Père Duchesne*, published during the French Revolution. Between April 21 and May 24, 1871, ten issues were published. The final number appeared during the *Semaine sanglante*, bearing witness—remarkably in real time—to the collapse of the revolutionary government.

13.11.II *The battle of Four Courts*, Ireland, 1922. National Army troops assault the Four Courts.

On 16th April 1922, 200 Anti-Treaty IRA under Rory O'Connor occupied the Four Courts. Under increasing pressure from Britain, the Free State forces accepted two artillery guns and began shelling the building on 28th June. Two days later, a large explosion destroyed the building, leading to the surrender of the garrison.

13.11.I2 *Odilon Barrot et ses amis arrêtés par les barricades de la porte Saint-Denis*, 1848, from: in: HENRI MARTIN, *Histoire de France populaire, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, Furne, Jouvett et Cie 1868-1885, Vol. VI, p. 193.

13.12.1 *Fusillades de la rue Saint-Denis*, HENRI MARTIN, *Histoire de France populaire*, Vol. V, p. 469, published between 1878 and 1885.

13.12.2 *Barricade du cloître Saint-Merry*. in: EDOUARD SIMÉON, *Grands hommes et grands faits de l'histoire de France de 1804 à nos jours : album de l'histoire de France; ouvrage illustré de 394 gravures sur bois d'après les dessins de E. Bayard, Yan' Dargent, Férat,... etc., etc.* Paris, Combet 1902.

On June 5th and 6th, 1832, was the first republican insurrection under the July Monarchy. It began at the funeral of General Lamarque, opposition deputy, and ended in violent repression; the insurgents who had entrenched themselves on the rue du cloître Saint-Merri (or Merry) were largely massacred by the National Guard. Hugo immortalized the episode in *Les Misérables*. At the beginning of the July Monarchy, Jean Goujon lived on rue Neuve-Saint-Merry. He attended the funeral of General Lamarque on June 5, 1832, and subsequently participated in the ensuing insurrection. Like Jeanne and Rossignol, he was among the most determined insurgents at the barricade of the Saint-Merry cloister. It was on this occasion that he received an arm wound. On October 31, 1832, he was found guilty of "having attacked, with violence and assault and in an armed group of more than twenty people, the public force acting for the execution of the laws."

13.12.3 *Verwundung des Erzbischofs von Paris am 25 Juni 1848*, lithograph, in: JOHANN GOTTFRIED ZSCHALER, *Das ewigdenkwürdige Jahr 1848, oder treue und faßliche Darstellung seiner außerordentlichen, erfolgreichen Begebenheiten, Gedenkbuch für d. dt. Volk*, Dresden: Lohne 1849.

13.12.4 *Prise du Louvre* (29 juillet 1830), in: HENRI MARTIN, *Histoire de France populaire, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, Furne, Jouvett et Cie 1868-1885, Vol. V, p. 509.

13.12.5 *Große Barrikade vor dem kölnischen Rathaus zu Berlin in der Nacht vom 18 zum 19 März 1848*, *Geschichtskalender*.

13.13.1 *Odilon Barrot et ses amis arrêtés par les barricades de la porte Saint-Denis*, 1848, from: in: HENRI MARTIN, *Histoire de France populaire, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, Furne, Jouvett et Cie 1868-1885, Vol. VI, p. 193.

13.13.2 *Situation actuelle de quai Bon-Rencontre à Lyon*, April 1834. Le Charivari, 17 Mai 1834.

Two and a half years after the first Canuts revolt, Lyon again was the stage for insurrection. In the spring of 1834, tensions under the July Monarchy intensified, particularly with the prosecution of mutualist workers who had participated in strikes. Against this backdrop, the April uprising broke out. It culminated in what became known as the *Bloody Week*, ending on April 15 with the brutal suppression of the rebellion. More than 600 people were killed. In April 1835, the state launched a sweeping judicial response: a mass trial in Paris involving over 10,000 insurgents. Many were sentenced to deportation or long prison terms—a display of state power aimed at extinguishing the political challenge posed by organized labor.

13.13.3 *Les troubles de Cincinnati*, L'Illustration, 26 April 1884.

In March 1884, public confidence in Cincinnati's law enforcement apparatus collapsed due to perceived systemic impunity. Residents believed that individuals responsible for violent crimes, including murder, routinely escaped both apprehension and proportionate sentencing. Outrage reached its threshold when a seventeen-year-old received a lenient twenty-year sentence for the brutal killing of his employer. On March 28, thousands mobilized around the county jail and courthouse, triggering a three-day riot. The

response—led by the sheriff's office, city police, and both local and state militia—resulted in 54 deaths and over 200 injuries. Fires engulfed the courthouse, destroying legal records and leaving the institutions of justice visibly scarred. The incident drew international attention, catalyzing reform efforts aimed at curbing political patronage and expanding the city's police infrastructure.

13.13.4 *Lagrange*.

On February 23, 1848, Charles Lagrange was part of the group that transported the deceased from the Boulevard des Capucines to the Bastille. The following day, he was present at the Tuileries, where he announced Louis-Philippe's abdication. He was elected as a deputy for the Seine in the by-elections on June 4, 1848, but was later influenced by the workers' uprising during the Days of June 23-26. Subsequently, he worked diligently to secure amnesty, and his speech advocating for amnesty, delivered on December 24, 1848, in the National Assembly, was published as a pamphlet and sold to support the families of those who were exiled.

13.13.5 DANIEL VIERGE, *La Curiosité – Les étrangers visitant les ruines de Paris*, *Le Monde illustré*, 24 June 1871.

13.13.6 M. SAHIB, *La Commune: Insurgés défonçant les murs intérieurs des maisons pour défendre leurs barricades*, in: *Le Monde illustré, Journal hebdomadaire*, N° 741, 24 June, Paris, 1871.

Insurgents strategically created openings in the interior walls of houses in order to fortify their barricades on the first floor. This tactic was employed to counter government troops who were unable to effectively defend themselves in barricaded streets against assailants positioned on the first floor and firing upon them. After the construction of the barricade, Auguste Blanqui explains: "...those manning the barricade should establish contact with the nearby barricades by knocking holes through the walls that separate the houses. The aforementioned procedure is to be executed concurrently in the apartments lining both sides of the barricaded street. Furthermore, it should also be implemented from right to left along the street that runs parallel to the front of the defensive position, extending towards its rear. Two access routes should be established by creating openings on both the first and top floors. This task is intended to be executed concurrently in all four cardinal directions. In order to ensure the mobility and safety of the

combatants, it is necessary to breach the outer perimeter walls of the houses located on the barricaded streets. This should be done in a manner that allows the combatants to access the parallel road at the rear, away from the enemy's line of sight and firing range."

13.13.7 *La Barricata di contrada nuovo a Milano* (Marzo 1848), G. Castagnola, Firenze Ballagny.

13.13.8 *La fin de la Commune, prise de la barricade de la Chaussée d'Antin, par deux compagnies du 55e de ligne*, le mardi 23 mai, in: JOSEPH BURN-SMEETON, *Les deux sièges de Paris, album pittoresque*, 1871. Also in *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, 3 June 1871.

13.14.1 Paris, 10 May 1968, Reporters Associés, photo.

13.14.2 Paris, 10 May 1968, Photo F. Roboth, photo.

14 CMDO SORBONNE POSTERS

14.1 *À bas la société spectaculaire marchande*
The *conseil pour le maintien des occupations*, Council for the Maintenance of Occupations (CMDO), was created on the evening of June 17, 1968 at the Sorbonne at the initiative of members of the Situationist International (I.S.). They published the six famous programmatic posters that were put up on the walls of buildings in the Sorbonne area in the Quartier Latin.

14.2 CMDO, *Fin de l'université*.

14.3 CMDO, *Le Pouvoir aux conseils de travailleurs*.

14.4 CMDO, *Abolition de la société de classe*

14.5 CMDO, *Occupations des usines*.

14.6 CMDO, *Que peut le mouvement révolutionnaire maintenant*.

14.7 CMDO, *A suivre*.

15 LAWRENCE WEINER

15.1 LAWRENCE WEINER, *Flags folded out of sight of the barricade*, 1989, language + the materials referred to, & dimensions variable.

Lawrence Weiner conceived this work on the occasion of the bicentenary of the French Revolution in 1989. With its political connotations, this rarely exhibited wall installation of a commentary on the barricade is an unusual work in Weiner's oeuvre. Unlike all the other conflicts of popular revolt against the powers of the political order that took place in the streets of Paris, the French Revolution did not typically feature the methods of barricade fighting. Only one barricade is known to have been set up at the old *Porte Sainte-Antoine*, in the traditional district of the rebellious *precariat*.

15.2 LAWRENCE WEINER, *Three works*, 2014, stamped offset prints, edition.

The three sheets have been part of an artists book of a German photographer and friend of Lawrence Weiner, who owns these three statements relating to her work and to the topic of the barricade as well.

16 SNEAKER

16.1 *Barricade*, Tennis shoes, ADIDAS, 2023.

17 ECCE HOMO

17.1 *De Gaulle Assassin*, Action, 11 June 1968

17.2 *De Gaulle Assassin*, Affiche, Atelier Populaire

18 REVOLUTIONARY PORCELAIN

18.1 *Une Barricade*, Février 1848, N°1, from a set of 12 plates depicting the Paris revolt of 1848, Leboeuf et Milliet, Creil et Montereau, ca. 1861 - 1867.

18.2 *Arrêtez c'est mon père*, Février 1848, N°2.

24 There is an engraving on the same subject by Raffet, Auguste, in a series *Journée du 24 Février 1848*.

18.3 *Prise du Château d'Eau*, Février 1848, N° 3.

18.4 *La République proclamée*, Février 1848, N° 4.

On February 24, 1848, powerless in the face of a popular revolt fueled by the economic situation and growing democratic aspirations, King Louis-Philippe abdicated; a provisional government was established and proclaimed the Republic. A college including Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Arago was established at the head of the State.

18.5 *Envahissement de la Chambre*, Révolution de 1848, Mai, N° 5.

The demonstration in Paris on May 15, 1848, resulted in the decapitation of the progressive republican movement of the Second Republic on the eve of the political offensive of the conservatives of the Constituent Assembly.

18.6 *Fête de la Concorde*, Mai 1848, N° 6.

The Fête de la Concorde was a festival held on the *Champ-de-Mars* in Paris on May 21, 1848. Architect Henri Labrousse and painter Pierre-Victor Galland contributed to the decoration of the event in 1848.

18.7 *Prise de la barricade de la porte St Denis*, Juin 1848, N° 7. 23 June 1848.

18.8 *Prise du Panthéon*, 24 Juin 1848, N° 8.

18.9 *Assassinat du General De Brea*, Juin 1848, N° 9.

In Charge in June 1848 with operations against the insurgents on the left bank of the Seine, he succeeded in driving them back from the city walls: in the hope of stopping them by peaceful means, he wanted to discuss outside the barrier of Fontainebleau, but he was seized and shot on June 25.

18.10 *Mort de l'Archevêque Affre*, Révolution de 1848, N° 10.

18.11 *Revue des gardes nationales par le Général Cavaignac*, Juin 1849, N° 11.

18.12 *Service funèbre en l'honneur des victimes de Juin*, Juillet 1848, N° 12.

Funeral ceremony July 6, 1848 on the *Place de la Concorde*, in honor of the victims of the June Days.

19 RED FLAG

19.1 ARSENALE INSTITUTE, *Dystopic barricade*
scène, woven Jacquard fabric, one of 12 motifs.

20 TOWER CLOCK HAND

20.1 *Tower clock hand*, gilded iron, 18th century.

Walter Benjamin begins the XV Thesis from his famous text *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, 1940 with this thought "*The consciousness of breaking up the continuum of history is peculiar to the revolutionary classes at the moment of their action.*" This applies not only to the building of barricades, but also to a spontaneous activity by the revolvers that is documented during the 1830 July Revolution, when over 4,000 barricades were erected by the insurgents in just one day and one night. Benjamin writes: "*When the evening of the first day of fighting had come, it turned out that in several places in Paris, independent of each other and simultaneously, shots were fired at the tower clocks. An eyewitness, who perhaps owed his divination to rhyme, wrote at the time:*

*Who would have believed it!
we are told that new Joshuas at the foot of every tower,
as though irritated with
time itself, fired at the dials
in order to stop the day."*

21 EARLIEST IMAGE OF A BARRICADE

21.1 JOSEPH BOILLOT: *Modelles artifices de feu et divers instrumens de guerre avec les moyens de s'en prévaloir. (...) Utiles et nécessaires à tous ceux qui font profession des armes*, Chaumont-en-Bassigny, Quentin Mareschal, 1598.

This first book on explosive weapons of war from the 16th century appears to be the earliest depiction of a barricade in which the very term is explicitly used. It appears here decidedly not as a means of street fighting by an oppressed urban population, but as an instrument of military forces of an authority. It therefore does not derive from the inventory of the proto-proletariat, but from the armoury of a warring sovereign. Already six years later in 1601 the work was published in a German translation as *Künstlich Feuerwerck und Kriegs Instrumenta*. Straßburg, Antonium Bertram 1603.



The Arsenale Institute for Politics of Representation is an international institution for cultural studies and philosophical research in Venice, Italy. It focuses on image politics in different areas of social communication, the media and the arts. Special emphasis is given to the study of image criticism in the avant-garde of the early 20th century. The institute grew out of the Class on Politics of Representation at the IUAV University in Venice. It was founded in 2006 by Lewis Baltz, Marco de Michelis, and Wolfgang Scheppe. In 2009, it became an independent entity under the direction of Wolfgang Scheppe known for his urbanist and image critical work since the 2002 project *End-commercial*. It began exhibiting in its current location, the Marinarezza spaces in Venice, in 2017.

The Arsenale Institute's archive contains an extensive research collection of the avant-garde movements of the early 20th century, with a focus on documents and works by the Futurists, Raymond Roussel, DADA, Marcel Duchamp, the Surrealists, Belgian Revolutionary Surrealism, the Lettrists and Situationists. The Institute's library and archive are available to research for scholars and students upon request.



PUBLICATIONS (selection)

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Migropolis, Atlas of a Global Situation*, 2 Vol., Ostfildern, 2009.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Done.Book: Picturing the City of Society*, The British Council, Ostfildern, 2010.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *The Garden of False Reality*, in: Lewis Baltz: *Candlestick Point*, Steidl, Göttingen 2011.

Lewis Baltz: *Migropolis*, in: *Texts*, Steidl, Göttingen, 2012.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *The Things of Life / The Life of Things*, 3 Vol., Cologne, 2014

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Logical Rain*, SKD, Dresden, 2014.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Supermarket of the Dead, Fire offerings in China and the Cult of Globalised Consumption*, 3 Vol., Cologne, 2015.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *L'invention de l'image de la Ville*, in: *Le Marais en héritage(s)*, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 2015.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Surveying the Non-Human. On the Aesthetics of Racism*, SKD, Dresden, 2016.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Die legislative Erfindung des Stadtbildes*, in: ARCH+ 225, 2016

Bastiaan D. van der Velden: *Lautréamont in Nederland (1891-1917)*, L'horizon brumeux, Amsterdam NAP 2016.

Bastiaan D. van der Velden: *Arthur Cravan, Die Kunst, die Kunst, ich pfeife auf die Kunst*, Hamburg, 8. Salon 2016.

Bastiaan D. van der Velden: *Rechtsgeschiedenis*, Heerlen, OUI 2017.

Roberto Ohrt, Wolfgang Scheppe: *The Most Dangerous Game*, 2 Vol., Merve, Leipzig, 2018.

Bastiaan D. van der Velden: *Mai 68 – Revolution système D*, Hamburg, Den Haag, 8. Salon, La Société Protectrice des Enfants Martyrs, Bronco 2018.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *The Ground-Rent of Art and Exclusion from the City*, in: *The Property Issue. Politics of Space and Data*, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2020.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Taxonomy of the Barricade, Image Acts of Political Authority in May 1968*, Nero, Rome, 2021.

Michael Vahrenwald, Wolfgang Scheppe: *The People's Trust*, Kominek, Berlin, 2021.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Leaving an Island (Lawrence Weiner's farewell)*, Köln, 2022.

Bastiaan D. van der Velden: *De la Nouvelle France à la brasserie Zimmer, La dérive d'André Breton et Nadja*, Hamburg, Heerlen, 8. Salon, La Société Protectrice des Enfants Martyrs 2023.

Bastiaan D. van der Velden: *Documenten rond Gerard Sanders*, Heerlen, De Bij 2024.

Wolfgang Scheppe: *Kent & Kentridge*, Venice, Arsenale Institute 2024.

Bastiaan D. van der Velden, Wolfgang Scheppe: *Babeuf*, Hamburg, Heerlen, 8. Salon, La Société Protectrice des Enfants Martyrs 2025.

EXHIBITIONS (selection)

2009 *Migropolis*, Bevilacqua la Masa, Venice.

2010 *Done-Book*, 12th International Architecture Biennale Venice, The British Council.

2014 *The Things of Life / The Life of Things*, SKD, Dresden.

2014 *Logical Rain*, SKD, Dresden.

2015 *Supermarket of the Dead, Fire Sacrifice in China and the Cult of Globalized Consumption*, SKD, Dresden.

2015 *Die Kunst, die Kunst – ich pfeife auf die Kunst*, Arthur Cravan im Ring mit 13 Künstlern unserer Zeit, 8. Salon, Hamburg.

2016 *Surveying the Non-Human. On the Aesthetics of Racism*, SKD, Dresden.

2016 *The Soul of Money*, DOX, Prague.

2017 *Sacred Goods*, Johann Jacobs Museum, Zurich.

2017 *Tous Contre le Spectacle*, Marinarezza, Venice.

2018 *Unbuilt*, Marinarezza, Venice.

2018 *Mai 68 – Revolution système D*, 8. Salon, Hamburg.

2018 *The Most Dangerous Game*, HKW, Berlin.

2019 *Hey Psycho!*, Marinarezza, Venice, featuring works of Douglas Gordon and Florian Süßmayr.

2020 *Paul Nougé, Non vouloir*, Marinarezza, Venice.

2021 *Das Barrikadenwerk*, 8. Salon, Hamburg.

2021 *Architecture of Speed*, Marinarezza, Venice.

2022 *The Language of Lawrence Weiner*, Marinarezza, Venice.

2022 *Und dennoch gibt Babeuf sich nicht geschlagen*, 8. Salon, Hamburg.

2023 *Barrikadenwetter*, MACRO, Roma.

2023 *Barrikadenwetter*, MOMus, Thessaloniki.

2024 *WILLIAM KENTRIDGE, Self-Portrait as a Coffee-Pot*, Marinarezza, Venice.

2024 *FABIO MAURI, The Langugae of War*, 8. Salon, Hamburg.

COLOPHON

—x—

Edited and curated by

BASTIAAN D. VAN DER VELDEN and WOLFGANG SCHEPPE with SARA CODUTTI.

Installation by

RITA FORTIN, KEES VAN DEN MEIRACKER, SOFIA PITTACCIO, MARIE LETZ.

Gallery assistant

MAX GLADER

Acknowledgements to

ALEXANDER BONIVENTO, ARTHUR GEH, PETER KAMMERER, TOM LAMBERTY, KARL BORROMÄUS MURR,
Masha Negura, Eleonora Sovrani, ALICE WEINER, KIRSTEN V.T. WEINER,
STAATLICHES TEXTIL- UND INDUSTRIEMUSEUM AUGSBURG.

ARSENALE INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

Castello 1430 /A
Riva dei Sette Martiri
I-30122 Venezia

May 7th – November 23, 2025

Open by appointment

email: frontdesk@arsenale.com
Information: www.arsenale.com