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Andrew Smith

School of Architecture and the Built Environment

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Monumentality in 'capital' cities and its implications for tourism marketing: the case of Barcelona

Andrew Smith (PhD) is a Senior Lecturer in Tourism in the School of Architecture and the Built Environment, University of Westminster, 35 Marylebone Rd, London NW1 5LS, United Kingdom (Email: smithan@wmin.ac.uk).

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Abstract

Monuments and monumental architecture are established vehicles for communicating capital city status. The need to reduce complex cities into simplified images also means they can be very effective destination marketing tools. This paper assesses the relationship between monuments, capital city status and tourism marketing. Monumental developments in Barcelona during two periods; 1888-1929 and 1982-present are used to explore this relationship. Barcelona provides an interesting example, because of the city's attempts to reassert its historic status as the capital of Catalunya and of the SW Mediterranean. Despite some noted variances in the scope of, and rationale for, monumentality, the paper concludes that in both eras, attempts to monumentalise the city have assisted political and tourism ambitions. Operational implications are also identified.

Key words: Monuments, architecture, capital cities, icons, Barcelona.

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Introduction

Monuments have always been useful promotional tools for cities; employed both in traditional advertising literature and as a more subtle form of place marketing. They are also intrinsically associated with capital cities because of their role in encouraging collective national memory. Indeed, monuments have 'long served as an appropriate device for allegorical statements of national values and national chronicles' (Gordon and Osbourne 2004:621). This paper aims to analyse the relationship between the monumentalisation of capital cities and tourism marketing. These two processes seemingly reinforce one another, with both benefiting from the other's capacity to communicate strong national symbols.

The present study is unusual in that it focuses on a city that is not the capital of an official nation state¹. This is deliberate, as it is felt that Barcelona's desire to be seen as the capital of Catalunya, as well as the capital of a Mediterranean 'macro-region', is illustrative of a new political order in which being a capital is not necessarily reliant on having a defined territory. This reflects Anderson's (1996) idea of overlapping sovereignties, a 'new medievalism', where geographic space is not absolute, but relative and variable. The relevance of this to Barcelona is affirmed by McNeill's attestation; 'what is this Euroregion in the making but a late 20th century version of the old Catalan-Arragonese territory of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries?' (2001:347). Barcelona has strived to affirm its status as the capital of a vaguely defined Catalan

‘nation’ and analysing a city that is desperate to be recognised as a capital emphasises how such status is ‘manufactured’ through the deliberate manipulation of the urban landscape. The contested nature of Barcelona’s status means that, like other capitals of autonomous or separatist regions, its efforts to display itself as a capital are perhaps more obvious than those of more conventional examples. As McNeill identifies, in the contemporary era it is in cities such as ‘Cardiff, Barcelona, Edinburgh and Antwerp where nationalist architectural projects have been most intensely pursued and where architecture can tell us most about national identity’ (2000:491).

One objective of the present study is to illustrate how Barcelona’s quest for capital status (and the associated monumentalisation) has assisted its marketing as a tourist destination. This quest seems to have been most vehemently pursued during two key eras; the period c1888-1929, when national ‘monuments’ were constructed in similar (albeit less extensive) manner to other late 19th century capital cities; and in the period 1982-present, when Barcelona has also been obsessed with establishing itself as a Catalan/European/Global capital. In both periods, the city’s political ambitions appear to complement tourism marketing objectives. Barcelona’s reputation as a tourist city was certainly enhanced significantly in each era.

The present study aims to explore the above ideas through detailed analysis of existing texts. This secondary research will aim to address the research questions below:

1. How has Barcelona used monuments to communicate its status as a capital in the periods 1888-1929 and 1982-present?

2. Did these periods of monumentalisation assist the city's marketing as a tourist destination?
3. Are there significant differences between the modes of monumentalisation employed during the two periods, and if so, are there different tourism marketing outcomes?
4. What are the implications of the observations regarding monumentalisation for contemporary tourism marketers?

Monuments and Monumentality

According to Verschaffel; 'monuments stand out by their central and eye catching position, by their size, by their being placed on a pedestal or by their massive and solid appearance' (1999:333). Further conditions must also be met for a structure to be regarded as a monument. Braunfels states it should have no purpose but the communication of an idea and not appear to be the work of an individual (1988, cited in Gordon and Osbourne 2004:621). With regards to function, Epps sees a monument as 'a work of remembrance by which the living and the dead might be said to interact' (2001:180). This temporal theme is also highlighted by Verschaffel (1999), who sees monuments as the visualization of a relation between time and stone, where commemoration is an important function. Although they are often explicitly constructed as memorials, monuments are also about representing power (Verschaffel 1999).

Sculptures of heroic figures and commemorative edifices are obvious examples of monuments, but classification becomes harder when considering 'the monumental',

rather than merely monuments. As Epps (2001) identifies, monumentality is not limited to single figures or even to monuments per se. Capitals have long used monumental architecture, as well as individual monuments, to signify their political aspirations. This architectural form was prevalently deployed in the 19th century when many modern national capitals were established and when many cities were transforming their urban fabric into modern metropolises (Lane 1979). Whereas in the 18th century, functional embellishment was seemingly the priority for most capital cities, by the 19th century European capitals in the 1800s aspired to ‘transcend utility and achieve monumental expression’ (Olsen 1986:82/3).

Therborn (2002) notes that in the 19th century, convention dictated that capital cities required four key elements: a collection of buildings for national state institutions; an elegant pattern of streets for parading and promenading; a set of institutions for national high culture; and monumental public spaces. Such a configuration allowed the city to display the majesty of the nation state, and helped to establish shared national identity and collective memory (Therborn 2002). Although the first 19th century example was Ehrenstrom’s plan for Helsinki, this approach is most closely associated with Hausmann’s redevelopment of Paris, where urban beauty was envisaged as order, symmetry and vista (Sutcliffe 1979). A key objective was to create converging horizontal lines to draw the eye to the end of a vista and a striking terminal point. The best example is probably the Avenue de l’Opera in Paris, but this monumental urban arrangement also characterised new reconfigurations of Brussels, Rome and Vienna (Wagenaar 1992). Rather than merely concentrating on individual structures, some architects advocated reordering the entire city in a monumental form. This was achieved by developing monumental buildings which covered an entire city

block, thus reordering the city into a series of large simple units. Therefore, monuments were not simply a part of the way capital city projects were planned in the 19th century; monumentalising urban space was a fundamental goalⁱⁱ.

The monumentalisation of capital cities in the 19th century was primarily employed for geo-political purposes. But it also had important tourism implications. Sutcliffe suggests that these cities 'clearly impressed most of those who visited them in the later 19th Century' (1979:85), reaffirming Lefevre's view that tourists were 'entranced' by what they saw (cited in Sutcliffe 1979:85). The monumental capital city of the late 19th and early 20th century appears to elicit similarly dramatic responses from tourists today. In the contemporary era, in which cultural heritage is the staple tourism product offered by most European capitals, the 19th century planner made a contribution which is more important to tourism now than it has ever been (Hall 1997). Yet not everyone considers monumental capital city projects positively. Debord (1983) thinks that Hausmann's Paris is a city built by an idiot. There are also accounts suggesting that some of the capital cities of the 19th century were not particularly highly regarded by tourists. Despite its monumentality, Wagenaar suggests that in the early 19th century; 'tourists were shocked by London's pervasive squalor and foulness' (1992:63). Even by the turn of the twentieth century; 'London presented an unimpressive image' (Wagenaar 1992:72). Correspondingly, Sutcliffe (1979) suggests that from 1850-1914, London, Paris and Berlin were all outshone by their provincial satellites. This helps to explain why some commentators fail to acknowledge the correlation between monumentality and urban attractiveness. Epps is of the opinion that 'all cities have their monuments' and that 'monuments do not make or break a city' (2001:186).

The period 1850-1914 was the zenith of European capital making. Yet there were still some important projects to come, including Reykjavik, Kiev, Prague and Bratislava (Therborn 2002). Indeed, the mid-late 20th century can be regarded an important era for monumental capital city development. Foote et al. (2000) and Forest and Johnson (2002) suggest that there was a close connection between monument making and political propaganda in the 20th century, especially during the critical junctures that helped establish and disavow European communist states. The capitals of these states are renowned for the scale and overt symbolism of their monuments, some of which now provide popular tourism attractions. Although monumental sites such as Lenin's Mausoleum and Victory Park in Moscow have always attracted visitors, it seems that in the contemporary era, many communist / socialist monuments have become 'post-modern' tourism attractions. For example, after their removal from central Moscow, several Soviet-era monuments were placed in an area behind the Central House of Artists. According to Forest and Johnson, 'this jumble of Soviet icons acquired such kitsch value that the area became a popular tourist destination' (2002:336). In Hungary's capital, Budapest, a similar collection of monuments exists: 'Statue Park' opened in 1993 and is deliberately situated away from the city centre. This is an attempt to situate Soviet-era statues in an anachronistic past and emphasises the importance of location and proximity in monumental symbolism. Like its Muscovite equivalent, Budapest's Statue Park is now an important tourism attraction (Foote et al. 2000).

Although post-Soviet capitals have developed a reputation for monumentality, the exaggerated presence of monuments in these cities results more from their association with unstable national regimes, than from any Soviet penchant for monuments. Most

new political regimes like to inscribe their values in stone to establish their authority and unstable nations have obviously had to undergo these periods of monumentalisation more regularly. This has not merely involved the construction of new monuments, but repositioning / realigning monuments of the past, and iconoclasm – the destruction of the monuments associated with previous regimes (Foote et al. 2000).

Contemporary (monu)mentality

Capital making via monumentalisation continues to be an important phenomenon today. Differing development cycles of nation states means that a similar (monu)mentality is still exhibited by many emerging nations and their capitals. In more mature liberal states, such blatant nationalism is now rather frowned upon, as ‘power now prefers to look warmer and more informal’ (Verschaffel 1999:334). This may be because the public, particularly in Europe, has become suspicious of monuments sculpted solely of political ideology (Foote et al. 2000). This means that nationalist sentiments have to be expressed through more subtle everyday practices: Billig (1995) uses the term ‘banal nationalism’ to represent this phenomenon. Interestingly, Julier (2000) makes a link between banal nationalism and tourism marketing literature. He suggests that destination branding is used to implement nationalist values at a banal level through design features included in destination branding. The ‘Cool Britannia’ campaign and its incorporation into the British Tourism Authority’s marquee is cited as an illustrative example. Such marketing, rather than using traditional national symbols, exploits everyday culture and design to communicate national identity.

A more subtle communication of national identity seemingly compromises the traditional role of monuments and monumentality. This corresponds with Healy's view that civic attention and cultural identity no longer coalesce around grand public plazas and architectural monuments (cited in Miles 2005). But this is valid only if you take the view that capital cities use monuments merely to express *national* identity and *national* culture. It ignores the fact that monumental iconography is not confined to, and didn't stop with, the national. Therborn recognises this and asserts that 'in the 20th century there has also been a popular moment and there is [currently] a global one' (2002:46). It is important to recognise the aspirations of cities to be regional, continental or global capitals, rather than merely capitals of established nation states. Therborn sees the new monumentality as driven by the need to be internationally competitive and orientated towards attracting international visitors, rather than as an expression of national identity. The ultimate example is perhaps The Globe in Stockholm, a monumental structure that literally represents the city's ambitions to become a global capital (Pred 1995). Recognising such ambitions helps us to reconcile the continued influence of monuments as vehicles for communicating capital city status, with the notion that the monumental is out of fashion as a way of asserting national identity.

The contemporary obsession with iconic buildings can be interpreted as the latest attempt by cities to use monumentality as a way of affirming and displaying capital status. In the contemporary era, tourism objectives are often the prime justification for these new monumental strategies. Cities are now competing on a 'global catwalk' for tourists' attention (Degen 2003:878) and, as Landry and Bianchini state, this

competition is 'based less on natural resources, location or past reputation and more on the ability develop attractive images and symbols that project these effectively' (1995:4). Some authors suggest that this emphasis on imagery exemplifies the 'post-modern' city, a centre of consumption where the 'organisation of spectacle and theatricality' is crucial for post-industrial success (Harvey 1989:92). One supposed trait of postmodernism - the precedence of form over function - is apparent in the scramble by cities to build iconic buildings. As it attempts to align itself towards potential consumers, including tourists, the contemporary city relies on effective communication of urban signs and symbols, as much as facilitating enjoyable experiences. As Monclus states, 'city marketing includes not only what tourists enjoy, but also seeks international brand recognition' (2000:60). Such theories help to explain the obsession with iconic buildings and structures designed by signature (st)architects which are now an integral part of many city marketing strategies. These projects usually involve the rather formulaic development of spectacular new structures, such sport stadia (Smith 2005a), art galleries (Miles 2005), and/or concert halls (McNeill and Tewdar-Jones 2003). Perhaps the best known example is the Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao, designed by Frank Gehry (McNeill 2000, Plaza 2000). This case demonstrates how iconic structures are designed to achieve a combination of political and tourism objectives. As McNeill identifies, the Bilbao Guggenheim was 'part of a centre-right nationalist strategy for the Basque Country which favoured tourism and place marketing' (2000:489).

The role of iconic buildings and structures in contemporary capital cities suggests they are the latest manifestation of urban monumentality, even if their personalisation, multi-functionality and tendency to ignore urban memory disqualify them as

monuments. According to both Therborn (2002) and Verschaffel (1999), the (monu)mentality involved is predominantly equivalent, with the only difference being a shift in the scope of aspirations and a shift in the means by which those aspirations are achieved. Iconic buildings aim to promote global capital status, rather than merely national credentials, and work through the space of the media, rather than representational space. The significance of monuments in the contemporary era ‘seems to lie primarily in their suitability to be transformed into an icon and in their potential to promote a cultural identity or to support city marketing’ (Verschaffel 1999:335). Therefore, the dual purpose of established monuments – as symbols of capital status and as vital tools for tourism marketing - is seemingly retained. Accordingly, McNeill and Tewdwr Jones consider the revival of the architectural mega-project as evidence of a ‘partial return to the 1900s’ (2003:743).

Barcelona: an aspiring capital

Since Spain’s establishment, and the associated demise of Catalunya as a sovereign state (c.1716), Barcelona has assumed the ‘status as a capital of a nation without a state’ (Epps 2001:149). Yet the absence of a formalised ‘country’ has not diminished Catalan nationhood, which continues to prosper. In 2006 it was announced that the Spanish Constitution will recognise ‘Catalunya’s national reality as a nationality’ for the first time (The Times 2006). Alongside constant attempts to remind Spain and the rest of the world that it is the capital of this nation, Barcelona has also aspired to be a European capital (Molas 1985), capital of the Western Mediterranean (Busquets 2005) and capital of the South West European macro-region (Monclus 2000). Therefore, it is not difficult to find evidence that Barcelona has aspired to capital

status. These efforts reflect a longing to restore the city's position of the 13th and 14th centuries when 'Barcelona was the capital of one of Europe's largest empires' (Busquets 2005:47). In the modern era its aspirations are demonstrated by endeavours to emulate the French capital. As Smith states, from the start of the 20th century, Barcelona 'was an industrial city which in cultural terms strived to be European, with its sights set on Paris' (2002:3). There is evidence that this was partially achieved. For example, Ealham contends that as the Belle Époque ended in Paris, Barcelona acquired the nickname 'the Paris of the South' (Ealham 2005). Unfortunately, the city was perhaps more successful in inheriting another dimension of Paris's fin de siècle reputation - as the revolutionary capital of Europe.

Barcelona's capital aspirations are most obvious in the periods 1888-1929 and the period from 1982-present, when favourable political and economic conditions encouraged the city to express its suppressed identity. Tourism, mega-events and associated monuments have been crucial in both periods. According to Molas, the 1888 Universal Exhibition 'was an expression of the determination of Barcelona to become a European capital, which implied its real function as capital of Catalunya' (1985:79). In the years running up to 1888 there was a palpable desire amongst Barcelonins to (re)assert this status via changes to the built environment. In 1878, a young Antoni Gaudí had spoken of the need to have the streets 'completely adorned' with a 'true monumental character' (cited in Garcia-Espuche et al. 1991:149). This may have already been underway had Rovira's plans for a monumental city expanding beyond its historic walls not been rejected (by Madrid) in favour of Cerdà's famous extension (1860). Capital ambitions have come to the fore again since 1982, but in keeping with Catalan 'ethno-nationalism' this is not necessarily

indicative of demands for the creation of a sovereign nation state. The Catalan intelligentsia have emphasised that it is possible to be nationalist without seeking the independence of one's own nation. This 'inclusive' approach is the 'predominant form' that nationalist pressure in Catalunya has taken (Hargreaves and Ferrando 1997:85).

Barcelona's affinity with 'inclusive' nationalism can be better understood via reference to contemporary theories concerning malleable interpretations of national territory (Anderson 1996). It also corresponds with the recent 'hollowing out' of Western European nation states and the concurrent strengthening of supra-national and regional authority (Quilley 2000). If the nation state is becoming less important as a political entity, then so presumably is being the official capital of a nation state. Accordingly, Barcelona has pursued a strategy whereby it has simultaneously promoted itself as a Catalan and continental capital. The rationale for this approach is perhaps best explained by the comments of Prat de la Riba (the first president of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya), who stated famously that 'universalism will be the triumph of nationalist aspirations' (cited in Epps 2001:175). This reflects contemporary commentary by Ockman, who suggests that 'a building in a provincial locale can only have a radical cultural effect when it is cosmopolitan enough to enter into a wider conversation' (2004:230). Iconic projects to attract the attention of an international audience can still bolster local or national identity (Miles 2005). In Barcelona, Domènech's Modernista structures (c1888-1910), Mies van de Rohe's Pavilion (1929) or Meier's MACBA building (1995), have assisted nationalist and internationalist objectives. Their iconic and innovative design gives these buildings

international visibility, with that exposure used to promote and validate national identity.

Barcelona's use of monuments to communicate its status as a capital in the period c.1888-1929

Although a strong case has been made to justify considering Barcelona alongside more conventional European capitals, it is mistaken to consider Barcelona as equivalent to monumental capitals such as Paris, Vienna, London and Berlin. The superficial Gothic, Egyptian, and Romanesque styles typically used for monumental buildings in these cities are not common in Barcelona. Bohigas suggests that this is for 'obvious social and political reasons', implying that Barcelona's secondary status meant such a legacy was not bequeathed (1985:108). One of the main reasons why Barcelona is often cited as an important illustration of monumentality is somewhat flawed, further challenging the city's credentials. Ildefons Cerdà, the engineer of the grid patterned extension to the city, is commonly equated with Hausmann. Indeed, Hall deems the pair to be masters of the 'monumental tradition of urban planning' (cited in Epps 2001:156). Yet this ignores the predominantly functional design of Cerdà's extension, which was never adorned with monuments in the way that cities such as Paris were. Prior to 1888, there was little evidence of monumentality in Barcelona. And even in succeeding years the relationship between the city and monuments is far from established. As Epps states; 'monumentality remains a complicated aspect of Barcelona' (2001:160). This is highlighted by contradictory views concerning the city's cultural/tourism institutions. Rykwert suggests that Barcelona never had a reputation as a museum town, 'since its principal monuments

were relatively modest' (2000:238), whereas Garcia-Espuche et al. (1991) suggest that by 1900 Barcelona already had monumental museums equivalent to those in most capitals.

Despite suspicion about Barcelona's monumental credentials, there is strong evidence that the Universal Exhibition in 1888 coincided with a shift towards a more monumental urban landscape. The statue of Christopher Columbus at the foot of Las Ramblas (Fig. 1), the Arc de Triomf (Fig. 2) which marked the entrance to the Exhibition site, and the nearby Exhibition buildings within the newly established Parc de la Cuitadella (Fig. 3) are examples of monumental structures introduced at this time. All still perform an important role in the city's tourist appeal and marketing portfolio today. Although Garcia-Espuche et al. question the overall value of the Exhibition's contribution to the modernisation of Barcelona, they conclude; 'we cannot say the same if we consider the Exhibition as an instrument related to the desire for the beautification and monumentalisation of the city' (1991:148). Such effects were underpinned by a resurgent Catalanism during this period and the search for a national architectural language. Domènech, who was responsible for several of the new monumental structures, explicitly recognised the 'nationalist' rationale that underpinned them. In 1878 he suggested 'only societies without fixed ideas, only these societies fail to inscribe their history in durable monuments' (cited in Hughes 2001:348).

[INSERT FIG 1 HERE]

[INSERT FIG 2 HERE]

[INSERT FIG 3 HERE]

The tourism marketing implications of the Universal Exhibition were considerable. In 1888, 'tourism, in any organized sense did not exist in Spain'. Therefore Barcelona needed 'a total immersion in civic boosterism' to establish itself in foreigners' imaginations (Hughes 2001:348). This was achieved through extensive marketing campaigns that relied heavily on the monumental architecture exhibited in Figures 1-3. For the first time, illustrated magazines published pictures of Barcelona and Exhibition organizers distributed posters of the city in the principal railway stations of Europe (Garcia-Espuche et al. 1991). The new monuments enabled the city to communicate a simple image in this promotional literature and media accounts. As Garcia-Espuche et al. suggest, the urban landscape was 'transformed into a medium for advertising' (1991:151). The monuments did not merely induce remote effects. Literature was also distributed during the event, with new monumental spaces emphasised in the tourist guides published at the time of the exhibition. Garcia-Espuche et al. also contend that the new monuments 'were meant to improve the experience of being in the city', mainly via the production of a clearly defined 'route of dense visual and monumental values' (1991:149).

Many of the Universal Exhibition's 400,000 international guests stayed in the Gran Hotel Internacional, a monumental structure built especially for the event, but removed soon after it closed. Puig, one of the most respected architects and statesmen of the era, watching the construction of the Hotel said this was when he first saw his

vision of the great Barcelona (cited in Rohrer 1985). This structure was desperately required as 'Barcelona, then as now, was short of visitor rooms and had no hotels that even a fervent patriot could call first class by the standards of London, Paris or Rome' (Hughes 2001:367). These comments reveal how important tourism structures such as hotels and museums were to the city's status. The 1888 Exhibition also coincided with several other monumental features that were added to the cityscape. These included the University and the new facade for the (La Seu) Cathedral. Aside from those which adorned the monumental Passeig de Sant Joan (Fig. 2), these were rare examples of monumental structures in the period pre 1900. And these additions were by no means accidentally imbued with these qualities. In 1882 Pirrozzini wrote that the cathedral's new front and dome were 'necessary for it to take the place it deserves as a monumental city' (cited in Garcia-Espuche 1991:158).

In the years following the 1888 Exhibition, the project to monumentalise Barcelona continued. The plan for the city conceived by Leon Jaussely in 1905 demonstrates that the city aimed to use new monumental squares and public buildings for the purposes of exhibiting capital city status. It was clear that many felt Barcelona was still far from monumental in character. The Jaussely Plan included the revealing statement: 'what characterises the greatness and the dignity of cities are the monumental squares and the public buildings. And one must outspokenly confess that Barcelona lacks this' (cited in Monclus 2000:58). Bohigas states that the Plan 'attempted to impose all such components and outward signs of a metropolitan centre as Paris, London, Berlin and Vienna had acquired over a whole century' (1985:101). This was advocated by the new nationalist bourgeoisie (under the Lliga Regionalista), who wanted to reconfigure Barcelona in a manner 'which reflected their claim that Barcelona has the status of a

capital city' (Bohigas 1985:101) and who espoused 'the idea of a Great Barcelona', 'ordered and monumental' (Monclus 2000:58). During this period the 'Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros' (Society for the Attraction of Foreigners) disseminated a new image of a cosmopolitan Barcelona, in contrast to its representation as an industrial and revolutionary city (Monclus 2000). Various tourism marketing activities were undertaken by the Sociedad, involving 'brochures, guides posters, magazines, photographs, films etc.' (Monclus 2000:59). As Figure 4 demonstrates, this tourism marketing was able to exploit the new monuments constructed in preceding years, in this case those in Parc de la Cuitadella, but also the emerging Sagrada Familia cathedralⁱⁱⁱ. The Sociedad's marketing was also assisted by other significant urban reconfigurations made at this time, including the implementation of a new 'Hausmannesque' boulevard, Via Laietana. Such changes were typical of the tendency in many European capitals to replace medieval zones with more sanitised and navigable spaces.

[INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE]

The second of Barcelona's three great world events also provided an opportunity for new monumental architecture and associated tourism marketing. The redevelopment of the Montjuic hillside to stage the 1929 World Exposition bequeathed a set of buildings and spaces which 'still provides one of Barcelona's postcard archetypes' (Woodward 1992:102). But this time the symbolism was very different. Rather than expressing the city's Catalan and European credentials, Spain's shifting political landscape meant the Expo was appropriated by a government keen to promote Spanish cohesiveness and modernity. In a style very typical of capital making, an

avenue was created leading up to a new Palace (the Palau Nacionale); an ensemble that reflects the ‘non-separatist’ spirit of the time and the ‘re-evaluation of Catalunya’s role within Spain as a unified nation’ (McCully 1985:67). Despite the different meanings represented, the new landmarks still assisted the project to establish a ‘monumental Great Barcelona’ pursued since the beginning of the century (Monclus 2000). The 1929 Expo was an attempt to reassure an international audience that Spain was a modern nation suitable for tourist visitation, thus allaying fears of inhospitable backwardness and impending civil unrest. This is confirmed by flyers distributed by the Spanish Travel Bureau in London to coincide with the event. These told tourists there was ‘no revolution in Spain’ (Mendelson 2004:140). Such marketing activity was made possible by the establishment of the Patronato de Turismo in 1928 to promote the Exposition abroad, and to promote travel to Spain more generally. As this was a Spanish initiative founded by Royal Decree, there was clearly little scope to promote Barcelona as a rival capital to Madrid, or even as the capital of Catalunya. Therefore, it is interesting to note the tactful approach taken (Figure 5). Despite its respectful distance from Catalan nationalism, this example of tourism marketing shows the city was still promoted using the by-now established approach; deploying monumental buildings to communicate ‘capital’ city status.

[INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE]

Barcelona’s use of monuments to communicate its status as a capital in the period c.1982-present

There are clear parallels between Barcelona's attempts to communicate its capital status in the period 1888-1929 and the strategy it has pursued since 1982. The most obvious similarity is the use of an event to monumentalise the city, which in turn has assisted political and tourism marketing objectives. Although the architect responsible for the changes to the city in advance of the 1992 Olympic Games advocated the 'monumentalisation of the periphery' (Esteban 2004), rather than monumentalisation per se, Barcelona's Olympic renaissance extended beyond this preliminary aim. Reflecting European capital making 1850-1914, Barcelona has recently been reconfigured as 'rational and ordered' (Balibrea 2001:203). For example, the monumental incisions made through the medieval core in the early 20th century have been replicated by renewed attempts to sanitise the notorious El Raval district. As Ealham identifies; 'before, during and after the 1992 Games, the Raval's street were again subjected to a vicious process of urban reform and slum clearance' (2005:397). Siting the Centre de Cultura Contemporània (de Barcelona CCCB) in the Raval is also reminiscent of Barcelona's long held aspirations to be a Mediterranean Paris. According to Balibrea, the CCCB imitates the Pompidou Centre because of its function, design and location (2001:196). This structure, plus the construction of Richard Meier's Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA) in one of the Raval's new 'air-holes', suggests this area is being monumentalised for the benefit of urban tourists. The MACBA is the building which perhaps best matches the definition of contemporary monumentality discussed previously. Indeed, Balibrea (2001) suggests it is the closest thing in Barcelona to Bilbao's Guggenheim. Just as Bilbao used the Guggenheim Museum to model itself as 'capital of the Atlantic axis' (Ortega 1995 cited in McNeill 2000:457), so Barcelona has used MACBA to reaffirm its status as capital of the Mediterranean equivalent.

As well as parallels between the types of initiatives pursued in the two eras, more direct connections are also apparent. Barcelona seems keen to resurrect some of the monumental structures constructed 1888-1929, and to resemanticize monuments from this era that do not fit with current philosophies. The best example of the former is the restoration and promotion of the city's Modernisme architecture^{iv} (Smith 2005b). Most of the iconographic capacity, and therefore tourism marketing potential, of these buildings resides in their outer appearance. This is why Esteban (2004) suggests restoration work focused on facades and outer walls. Therefore, some consider that the city's modernista heritage was restored and championed mainly to construct a new tourist image of the city (Balibrea 2001). This interpretation is reaffirmed by current tourism marketing literature which proclaims the city to be the 'Capital of Modernisme' (Smith 2005b), a slogan that once again highlights the synthesis of monumental and capital aspirations, and their exploitation in tourism marketing. Examples of resemanticization, rather than mere restoration, of monuments, include efforts to reclaim Palau Nacional as Catalan symbol and tourism marketing tool by using it as the Museum of Catalan Art. The former Mayor of Barcelona (1982-1997), Maragall, now describes this monumental building as 'Catalunya's calling card and the best planned of our investments in our future draw as a quality destination for tourism' (2004:68). This contrasts with its interpretation by Woodward as 'rejecting any local references' and promoting 'grandiose Spanish national values' (1992:18).

The recent reconfiguration of the city also incorporates some monumental traditions. One local architect, Ricardo Bofill, who was commissioned to construct several 'capital' buildings (e.g. The National Theatre, The National Institute of Physical

Education) has certainly drawn upon on the monumental city-design principles of the past. The decline of this approach is often associated with the introduction of tall buildings in cities, but Bofill has managed to reconcile these with traditional monumental designs (Barnett 1986). Other parts of the city have also been monumentalised in recent years. The area around Vila Olímpica has been redesigned with references to an old blueprint for the city, which included two tall buildings at the end of a coastal axis. This monumental design is reminiscent of Barcelona's long established practice of emphasising its role as a Mediterranean capital. The main street axis includes columns set between palm trees, connoting Mediterranean-ism and ancient classicism (Campi 2003 cited in Julier 2005). Just in case tourists did not appreciate such symbolism, various marketing initiatives reinforced this Mediterranean imagery. For example, Josep Ma Trias's famous logo for the 1992 Olympic Games was designed to evoke an antique Roman past (Julier 2000). Therefore, in Olympic Barcelona we see a combination of old and new mechanisms for establishing identity discussed previously. The city has used a combination of monumental spaces and 'banal' marketing images to (re)establish itself as the 'capital' of the Mediterranean.

New monuments have appeared in the period post 1982, but there has also been a de-monumentalisation due to the quiet removal of monuments to Franco. This process was accentuated by the anti-monumental theme of much of the city's new public art (McNeill 1999). Mirroring the reticence of post-Soviet states to evoke memories of de-Stalinisation in the 1950s, this may have been an attempt to placate a sensitive and cynical public. Nevertheless, there are examples of new sculptures and art works that have helped to monumentalize peripheral and central spaces, with Lichtenstein's

Barcelona head and Gehry's fish sculpture cited by Benach (2004) as examples. New monumental buildings have also been constructed. Unlike post-Soviet Russia, Barcelona has introduced new civic monuments, rather than references to ethnic or historical traditions. Barcelona has made up for lost time by establishing cultural institutions that would never have been tolerated by the Franco dictatorship (1939-75). Examples include the National Theatre, National Auditorium/Archive and Palau St Jordi. These new 'institutions of the state' (Woodward 1992) reflect Therborn's (2002) criteria for capital-making cited previously.

Efforts made circa 1888 to ensure Barcelona could be easily communicated to an external audience of potential tourists have also resurfaced. Balibrea feels that over the past decade, there has been an 'implantation of a standard, totalising vision of Barcelona' involving the development of new icons such as Norman Foster's communications tower (Balibrea 2001:204). This has continued with the opening of Nouvel's Torre Agbar in 2005. The French architect responsible claims 'this singular object will become the new symbol of Barcelona, the International City (cited in Spring 2005:48). Rather than dismissing this grandiose claim, Spring responds: 'Being the city's most prominent, as well as its most alluringly shaped, coloured and textured, he may well be right' (2005:48). Nouvel's nationality and mention of the international dimension is important. It demonstrates a shift towards the increasing use of global designers, and the related pursuit of more global ambitions.

Conclusions

The historical perspective adopted by this paper highlights that there is nothing new about using monumental spaces to promote capital status, and to market cities as a tourist destinations. This practice is particularly relevant to capital cities because it performs a dual role; attracting tourists whilst reinforcing national identity. The Barcelona case illustrates that recent attempts to develop iconic monuments and spaces in cities has strong parallels with the development of European national capitals 1850-1914. In both eras, tourism and capital city ambitions complement each other. These parallels should be noted by many post-modern theorists eager to pronounce the dawn of a new urbanism. Being a capital city with strong 'simplifiable' imagery is clearly advantageous for tourism marketing. The reverse is also true. When Barcelona has affirmed its capital status, it has often done so by implanting cultural institutions, events and architectural styles which appeal to an international audience of tourists, as much as its own citizens. Thus, tourism marketing has been employed to communicate the validity of Barcelona's capital identity.

Yet there are also some significant differences between the modes of monumentality employed during the two periods. Although monuments were also designed to covet media attention 1888-1929, this role has been accentuated in recent years. Increasingly, the design of monuments is governed by their media 'imageability'. This lessens the requirement to have 'sets' of monumental buildings in certain parts of the city. Single structures surrounded by a relatively un-monumental milieu are now seemingly sufficient. Examples in Barcelona include the MACBA, Torre Agbar and Foster's communication tower. This suggests Barcelona is relying more on media imagery than experiential effects to further its capital and tourism ambitions. The deployment of structures matching established definitions of monuments also seems

to be less significant in contemporary times. A commemorative role and references to national heroes seems to be waning, resulting in some commentators questioning whether there is now a conscious attempt to conceal Barcelona's (recent) past (Balibrea 2001). Traditional monuments have been replaced with monuments to the city itself, and to those who designed and commissioned them^v. This has allowed Barcelona to develop its contemporary image as a 'designer' city, whilst providing ammunition for those who think it is becoming overly 'pharaonic' (McNeill 1999).

The pursuit of tourism marketing objectives has caused some of the discrepancies noted above. Although such objectives have always been pursued, Barcelona's ambition to become a European cultural capital, and therefore 'part of the tourist circuit of great cultural cities' (Balibrea 2001:198), is perhaps now so dominant, that it has obscured other motives for monumentalisation. Therefore, tourism marketing is perhaps dictating urban monumentality to an unprecedented extent in the contemporary era. Whereas this study set out to establish the implications of monumentality for tourism marketing, it seems that tourism marketing opportunities are not merely a by-product of capital monumentality, but a central objective for contemporary examples. This relegates established objectives, including Catalanism, down the list of priorities. In previous eras, Barcelona was very keen to promote itself as the capital of Catalunya, and although this has been maintained to some degree, its priorities have shifted somewhat towards its own promotion as an autonomous city-state. This is reflected in the differences between the rationale for the 1888 Universal Exhibition and that of the 1992 Olympic Games. Whereas the former aimed to demonstrate the wares and prestige of the Catalan nation and was equivalent to events staged in Nice, Bourdeaux and Antwerp (Garcia-Espuche 1991 et al.), the latter was

primarily a civic event designed to promote Barcelona itself and which demonstrated the city's capacity to compete with some of the most important cities in the world. This corresponds with the contention that cities are now using monumentalisation to appeal to a more international audience. Although, again, this is not a new phenomenon, an increased obsession with international competitiveness has dictated recent changes. Therefore, capital monumentality in 21st century Barcelona is less about collective memory and shared identity, and more about tourism marketing and international visibility.

Implications for contemporary tourism marketing

The most successful tourism cities in the contemporary era are those which effortlessly communicate cultural cosmopolitanism. This is not achieved by producing brochures, posters and catchy slogans, but by being seen as a capital, and by enhancing the imageability of the urban landscape. Tourism marketers need to realise this, and work more closely with architects, planners and designers in cities. As Julier (2005) and Smith (2005b) note, traditional tourism promotion has only played a relatively minor role in Barcelona's remarkable rise as tourism destination. Instead, the city has adopted an approach where 'architecture, city planning and advertising join hands' (Garcia-Espuche et al. 1991:152). Tourism marketers need to learn from the success of this approach and adopt similarly subtle forms of marketing that capitalise on the media's thirst for capital city icons. But it is insufficient simply to supplement traditional advertising with the development of iconic monuments. Marketing capital cities successfully also relies on tapping into urban design activities which take place at a level between landmark buildings and official tourism marketing

(Julier 2005). Because of the noted rise of 'banal nationalism', a joined up approach incorporating urban design and 'everyday practices' (Degen 2004:13), can also assist capital cities in more established ambitions to assert national identity.

Despite the predominantly conceptual nature of this paper, the preceding discussion does highlight some important operational implications for those involved in capital city marketing. These are clarified below:

- Emphasising capital city status can encourage useful associations with cosmopolitanism. Even regional and provincial capitals are beginning to exploit this status.
- 'Official' tourism marketing communications are becoming less important than more subtle place marketing via urban design initiatives. Therefore, marketing resources can be better spent on urban design initiatives and associated public relations work.
- Tourism marketers to need to work more with, and delegate more responsibility to, urban designers. This will help to deliver more co-ordinated and more imaginative messages.
- Capital city tourism marketing is not simply about tourism, but has become important for national identity. Therefore, its design requires careful negotiation and consultation.
- Despite recent pronouncements that tourism marketing and other forms of national marketing are inherently contradictory (Anholt 2006), marketing capital cities as tourist destinations can help to reinforce wider political objectives.

- Tourism marketing's role as a major tool for 'capital-making' and 'nation-building' can be a useful bargaining tool for those seeking more funds to assist marketing efforts.
- Monuments and monumental spaces are valuable tourism assets (even as de-politicised kitsch attractions) and, where appropriate, they deserve more protection and emphasis.
- To compete effectively, tourism marketing of major capitals needs to simultaneously communicate local identity alongside global significance.
- Coherent monumental spaces in European capital cities are amongst the most important tourism spaces in the world. Therefore cities such as Dubai, who are trying to establish themselves as tourism capitals, need to consider how they can develop their own monumental equivalents.

This paper has attempted to explore the complex relationship between monumentality, capital cities and tourism marketing. From the evidence presented, it is clear that these phenomena are self-reinforcing, and tourism marketers therefore need to recognise how capital status and monuments (can) contribute to their efforts. In European capitals, the prioritisation of tourism marketing and corresponding frailties of the nation-state means that the rationale for contemporary monumentality has shifted towards tourism ambitions, and away from those associated with 'nationhood'. But this does not necessarily mean that the importance of being a capital has rescinded. In a Europe of regions, being a provincial and continental capital is still very important, and via associated changes to the built environment and connotations with cosmopolitanism, can greatly assist tourism marketing. In the short and medium term, tourism marketers in capital cities must work closely with architects, planners and

designers to ensure they capitalise on opportunities for branding and positioning. In the longer term capital cities must consider whether the tourists of the future will be interested in the media-orientated monuments we see emerging today. The lack of coherent sets of monumental structures may affect the experience of tourists, who may be denied the opportunity to visit a 21st century equivalent to the monumental capitals of the past.

ⁱ It should be noted that the inclusion of the case of Barcelona in a publication devoted to national capitals is not without precedent. Hall (1997) devotes a large proportion of his book on 'Planning European Capital Cities' to Barcelona because he feels that the city was even more influential than Paris in influencing the planning solutions of capitals. Similarly, one of the best papers in a special edition of the journal *Geoforum* (Volume 51) devoted to capital cities focuses on Barcelona (Monclus 2000).

ⁱⁱ It is perhaps too simplistic to see the period 1800-1914 as a period of uninterrupted monumentality for Europe's capital cities. Lane's (1979) account provides a good account of the temporal patterns within this period, although frustratingly it provides few explanations for the shifts observed. Although the great public buildings built in European capitals were of significant proportions throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, Lane suggests that during the period 1880-1900 there were clear attempts to miniaturise such structures by manipulating surfaces and outlines. Rather than placing important buildings at the end of a ceremonial axis, many of the important structures of this period were set at 90 degrees to a major thoroughfare, or away from it on a smaller side street. According to Lane, this means that many such buildings do not qualify as being monumental. This is seemingly confirmed by the call at this time for a return to the 'lost values of monumentality' (Beherendt cited in Mebes 1918:9). Between 1900 and 1914 the tendency to monumentalise individual buildings returned even though such buildings were often smaller in absolute terms than those of the preceding period (Lane 1979). This was partly because most of the grand capital project buildings such as national state buildings and institutions of national high culture had already been constructed.

ⁱⁱⁱ Perhaps the most well known structure in Barcelona and one that is still being constructed today. The Sagrada Familia was conceived as another way of adding distinctiveness to Cerda's uniform extension, although there is some disagreement as to whether it can be considered an example of a monument. Epps (2001) suggests that the Temple is an example of a monument that is not strictly a monument. However, as he admits, there is little doubt about the monumentality of the structure which has become an important synecdoche for the city. It is also an incredibly valuable tourism marketing asset and functions both as iconic image and as a tourism attraction in its own right.

^{iv} Many of the most famous buildings, including Gaudi's Casa Mila, Domenech's Casa Lleó Morera, and Ferrer's Hotel Ritz, are corner buildings which aimed to monumentalise Cerda's otherwise mundane grid pattern. These were examples of monumental buildings used to adorn new spaces created at street intersections because of the building, widening and straightening of capital cities' streets in the period 1864-1914 (Lane 1979).

^v The very prominent role played by favoured architects in both eras is also an indicator of monumental ambitions. During the Olympic preparations, Barcelona's neighbourhood associations (the FAVB) complained about the approach taken which was deemed to be a private affair between 'the prince' (Maragall, the city's Mayor 1882-1897) and 'the architects of the prince' (Calavita and Ferrer 2000). Such criticism parallels political satire at the time of the 1888 Universal Exhibition; 'In days of yore, our leaders surrounded themselves with jesters for amusement: modern day mayors surround themselves with architects' (cited in Rohrer 1985:97).

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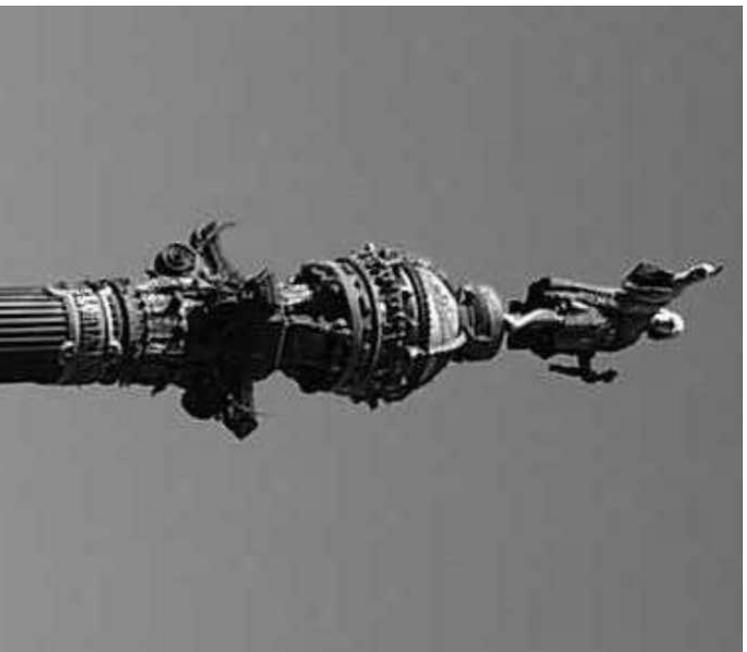


Figure 1: Colom: ‘the first symbol of the new Barcelona’ (Hughes 2001:365), built ‘in the tradition of great monuments that started with Bastille in 1830 and continued with the Siegesule in Berlin’ (1873) (Woodward 1992:59).

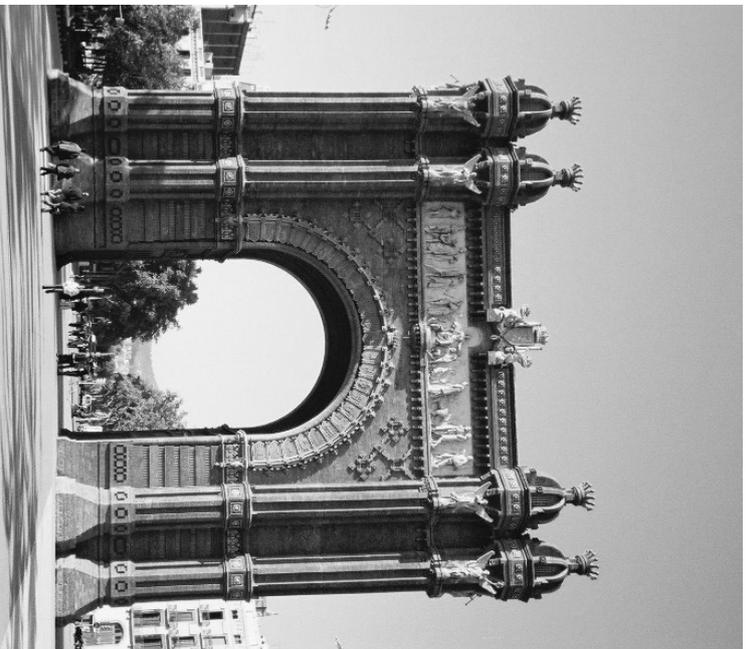


Figure 2: Vilaseca’s Arc de Triomf: ‘designed as the keynote monument’ of the 1888 event (Rohrer 1985:98), although ‘more of an ad hoc monument than an integral part of the exhibition’ (Montalban 1992:79).



Figure 3: Ciutadella Park: ‘created as a symbol of renescent Catalanism’ (Hughes 2001:356), ‘conceived as a beautiful and monumental area’ (Garcia Espuche et al. 1991:143) and littered with ‘bronze statues of Catalan heroes on plinths’ (Hughes 2001:356).



Figure 4: Poster promoting Barcelona (Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros c.1909)



Figure 5: Poster promoting Barcelona (Patronato Nacional del Turismo c.1929)