



MEMÓRIA E PATRIMÔNIO NA PERSPECTIVA INTERCULTURAL DO TURISMO GLOBALIZADO MEMORY AND HERITAGE IN THE INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE OF GLOBALIZED TOURISM GIULIA CRIPPA

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Abstract

A reflection is presented on the changes that can be observed in recent decades in relation to the concept of memory, demonstrating through examples how contemporary society is concerned with the construction of memories of a diverse nature and distinct from those of the past, in a reflection that is inserted in the proposal to discuss the processes of its constitution today. The question we pose about creation is what we can call "memory of the future," that is, the inheritance that we consider relevant and shareable with generations to come. It is this that we must confront, observing the changes in perspective to understand the ideals and even ideological framework within which these memories are selected and organized, to be shared by audiences within their own increasingly globalized dimensions. This is a proposal for exploratory and cartographic research, based on some experiences of museums and other spaces dedicated to memory and related to mass tourism. To address the theme, a historical procedure was chosen, from which can be witnessed aspects related to the social and narrative elements and narrative issues of interest of Memory. An overview is offered of the cultural construction of the historical relationship between an "ideal" center, represented by the European model and its traditions of memory, and the "colonized" territories that have been too often defined as "peripheral". We seek to understand the effects of the exportation of European ideals of memory by observing their effects on these "peripheral" territories. It is observed, in partial conclusion, that alongside already institutionalized heritage, new places of memory are being created, in response to an expectation of globalized tourism, which require language dictated by the cultural industry.

Palavras-chave: V!15, Memory, Heritage, Globalization, Tourism

1 Introduction

In this article, I want to reflect on the changes that, in the last decades, can be observed in relation to the concept of memory. My intention is to show, through a set of examples from the globalized world, how contemporary society is concerned with the constitution of tangible memories - thereby understanding material places - of a nature distinct from those offered by tradition (ie: patrimonies already recognized institutionally). In this sense, the question is about the fact that we are continually creating what we can define as "memory of the future", trying to understand the logic of these memories in a system that privileges the tourist's view, which is above all profitable.

I will try to discuss the relationship between tangible memories and territory, and the way they are constituted of an ideal "center", represented for a long time by Europe and its traditions of memory, and the "colonized" territories, that is, those that for a long time were defined as "peripheral". It is worth recalling here that Françoise Choay (2001, p.207, our translation) speaks of the "globalization of values and Western references" as a contribution to the expansion of practices linked to heritage. In this sense, we will try to understand the effects of the export of European memory ideals, observing their adaptation in the extra-European territories, noting the changes that the phenomena of globalization have provoked. Next, I will outline a comparative model of memory building in geographically distant realities, but unified, in fact, by global tourism and the creation of language that economy imposes.

It is worth remembering that the invention of modern tourism is of the nineteenth century, having seen an extraordinary boom during the twentieth century, to the point of becoming industry itself. In this sense, the market is represented by the tourists themselves, and the places that present potential for such a market to become competitive.

The authors consulted on the history of the idea of preservation and protection of monuments (Choay, 2001; Poulot, 2009; Settis, 2010) converge to expose two great theses that, to date, provide the scope and dialogue of patrimony as material of shared memory. On the one hand, the Frenchman Viollet-LeDuc proposes a radical, modernist and modernizing view of restoration, recreating monuments in their entirety, even though they never existed in that way, as can be seen in the entry "Restauration" of the *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Viollet-Le-Duc, 1854). On the other hand, the vision of John Ruskin, especially in *The seven lamps of architecture* (1849) is opposed to that of Viollet-LeDuc, making him the ideal ancestor of the more integral preservationists.

Alongside the discussions on the preservation of heritage, as a memory that becomes globalized, it is necessary to consider the role played by tourism in relation to places of memory (to a greater or lesser extent) institutionalized. Our idea of industry is still obsolete: we usually consider mining, steel fabrication and automotive industry as industry, while to tourism we attribute a superstructural value, somewhat in contrast to the real economy. However, the figures present some important evidence, and for this reason the relation of the tourism industry to the development of patrimonialization by Unesco should not be underestimated or considered casual.

In order to get an idea of the numbers related to the tourist industry and the relationship that we are most interested in here with the assets, we use some data from UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism Organization). In the *Tourism Highlights 2016* report (UNWTO, 2016) the profit of international tourism is estimated at 1,522 billion dollars. Still by UNWTO, in 2015, 84.5 million foreign visitors are estimated in France, 77.5 million in the US, 68.2 million in Spain, 56.9 million in China and 50.7 million in Italy. It is difficult, in this sense, to overestimate the impact of tourism on the GDP of the nations involved in this industry. The data we find for the year 2015 are illuminating: European GDP benefited from the tourism industry, accounting for 9.7% of the total amount. NB: in Spain tourism accounted for 15.5% of GDP and 15.6% of jobs were provided by the tourism industry. In France, tourism represents 9.1% of GDP and 10.1% of employment, while in Italy the industry produces 11.6% of GDP and 10.1% of jobs (WTTC, s.d.).

The adoption of the 1972 Convention on the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage coincided with the increase in the phenomenon of mass tourism. Of course, the Unesco label allows the tourism industry to profit from the market value of authenticity. While it is obvious that the Unesco label is not the cause of tourism: it is, however, a certification of legitimacy that meets the symbolic needs pointed out by Bourdieu (2007), which allow tourism to be interpreted as a field of dispute of the distinction. It is worth remembering that the holders of cultural capital constantly strive for greater autonomy, a greater space of self-determination of economic and financial capital, but never forget that it is precisely to economic capital that, ultimately, they owe their power over the dominated parts of society. It is a struggle between dominators, which never opens discussion on the limits or power of domination.

Tourism and institutionalized patrimony constitute a mechanism of reciprocal reinforcement: the heritage label gives tourism the titles of authenticity, consecrating the transition of a place, a monument, a landscape, to the way it is for future generations and, at the same time, in the name of preservation, it allows for the devastating exploitation produced by the tourism industry itself. There has never been an antithesis between preservation and profit, between culture and tourism. On the contrary, there is the cultural legitimacy of the tourism industry when it promotes the preservation of those monuments and places that it itself is destroying.

As Choay (2001, p.224, our translation) states:

'The patrimonial city [is] put on the scene and transformed on the scene: on the one hand, illuminated, made-up, and defined for the purposes of embellishment and media; on the other, it is the stage of festivals, parties, celebrations, congresses, true and false happenings that multiply the number of visitors according to the ingenuity of the cultural animators.'

Unesco's label, as the last stage and well demonstrating the patrimonialisation process, has opened up new "territories" for the tourism industry to be explored: cities and monumental sites that are waiting to become theme parks.

Based on the data and reflections pointed out, we believe it is relevant to discuss the material memory that a society linked to the tourism industry produces. Indeed, it is an economy which, as we have pointed out, clearly interweaves symbolic values and memorials related to cultural institutions (exemplified by Unesco at its highest level) and to economic interests that are increasingly evident.

2 Naturalizing "foreign bodies" as memories

The first example to be analyzed is an original historic building. It's about a medieval Spanish monastery, built in the twelfth century in Sacramenia near Segovia. In 1925 the monastery was bought by the American tycoon William Randolph Hearst, who dismantled and packed it up in 11,000 boxes, taking it to the United States. Hearst faced serious economic difficulties that prevented the monastery being unboxed until 1952, when it was sold again to Raymond Moss and William Edgemon, Ohio's wealthy business partners who rebuilt it at its current location in the city of Miami, Florida. The place was opened to the public in 1964, after several additions to its structure of original pieces from other buildings, such as weapons and stone shields from the house of Henry IV of Castile, first Duke of Albuquerque, and the main chapel of the monastery San Francisco de Cuéllar, from the 15th century. It is currently a tourist attraction, as well as being used as the Episcopal Church.

The history of the monastery is rich and troubled, but it is undeniable that the building was wrenched from oblivion and destruction by this "displacement" operation. However, even if it is an original monastery, its presence in the United States provokes controversial reactions, which oblige us to try to understand how we relate to the past according to its "location" and how we select memories and patrimonies. Berlin's museum, the Pergamon, is a concrete example of a place founded on the ideological framework of the nineteenth century, in which the museum is appointed as a space for legitimizing the monuments selected as representative of a nation-state. The original Pergamon nucleus, designed by Schinkel, dates back to 1830, and underwent successive extensions until 1930. Built as a place of archaeological collections, it gradually expanded and, in 1878, it housed the altar of Pergamon, the Anatolian city, a result of the archaeological expedition of Karl Humann. The altar was completely dismantled and then regrouped in the museum space, with a series of additions to the upper frieze.

This monument is accompanied by the gate of the market of Miletus, dismantled from its original place and rebuilt in the museum in 1903, and the Babylonian port of Ishtar, rebuilt in 1936. There is no doubt about the wealth of the collections, but I am interested in an issue which is often silenced. Through its structure and through the majesty of the operations of "dismantling" and "reassembly" of the monumental pieces, the museum declares the power of the German national state, capable of discovering this archaeological patrimony, and keeping it out of its place of origin. The museum manifests a role of exhibition not only of monuments, but mainly of national "power", understood in its aspects of cultural capacity and colonial force.

In fact, observing the dates of the exhibition that gave it its name, in 1878, it was observed that Germany was an imperialist power, exposing to the world a display of its cultural capacities, including commodity-diplomacy and domination. That is, the museum tells us about the power of the nation-state and its parables, ascending and descending. In 1903, still on the rise, the German nation-state rejoiced at the experience of bringing an entire monument to the museum, once again revealing the mechanism of power that is, on the one hand, cultural but on the other, symbolic of domination of countries considered "backward".

After World War I, defeated Germany was humiliated and indebted economically and socially, and this situation opened the way for the national-socialist power that in 1936 revived the idea of power also in the museum, with the last great displacement and reconstruction of the door of Ishtar. Pergamon is thus not only the area of legitimization and knowledge of the archaeological heritage, but a place of symbolic power, which it materializes in its collections and which transcends its walls. It is hard to imagine what it meant for the Berliners passing by the museum between the wars to remember the old glories that defeat had wiped out. Thus, in 1936, through this place, a space of ideological power is also symbolically restored.

The websites dedicated to the Pergamon are a good representation of the cultural industry in the museum area in relation to mass tourism, and in them it is observed that the history of the museum is exhibited in strictly institutional terms of relevance to archaeology. The fact that the Pergamon museum is a symbol of power, insofar as it is reflected in possible definitions of inheritance, of how it was ideologically used in the various epochs (including the Cold War, when the whole island of museums in Berlin was in the eastern part of the city), is never explicitly presented to visitors.

Having now two examples of memory places (the medieval monastery in Florida and the Pergamon Museum in Germany), we can observe that these are very similar operations. In both cases, an operation was carried out to displace a great original monument. In both cases, the monuments were dismantled, rebuilt and integrated with other, more or less original pieces to provide an image of "integrity".

Indeed, just as in the United States there is no original "memory" of the Middle Ages, in Germany there is no "original" memory of Ancient Greece. Or rather, there is a monastery in both places, for the monastery of Sacramenia and the altar of Pergamon, the gates of Miletus and Ishtar are musealized, remembering with their presence what is distant in time and space, stating the ability of the individual (in the case of Sacramenia) and / or the State (in the case of Pergamon) to appropriate and make available to other communities, different from the original, material goods to which cultural value is attributed.

A revision of our way of understanding the past seems to be necessary and urgent, for we continue to consider some memories more "legitimate" than others. A certain Eurocentric tradition forces us, even today, to consider the Germans as great scholars of antiquity, while the Americans still have a certain reputation for being "adventurers."

However, what other definition, other than "adventurer", could describe the trajectory of Schliemann, to whom we owe the discovery of the great ruins attributed to Troy? Across the Ocean, we have to remember that there is a tradition of curiosity about the past and collectors, and there are as well founders of large libraries and museums, thanks to the sponsorships of bankers and industrialists such as Rockefeller, Carnegie, Guggenheim, or Isabella Stewart Gardner, to name a few figures whose legacy is well known. Randolph Hearst, in this sense, is part of this list, as a facilitator of a medieval "open-air museum", which allows tourists and students to have contact with material memories of such a distant age in time and space.

This raises the problem of museum narrative: all museums are a fiction, in that they perform acts of "withdrawal" of objects from the original places, originating associations and ex-novo surroundings in their rooms.

What do we mean, then, when we speak of inheritance, when we speak of memory, and when we make choices about what to preserve? What are the presuppositions and the principles that guide hierarchies of memory?

We must remember some factors:

1. Globalization has led to the phenomenon of mass tourism. This means that people with very different expectations and cultural capitals observe the same places and objects, as I illustrate, albeit briefly, in the introduction.

2. Culture is today closely linked to the needs of the market. Authors like Yudice (2004) and, more specifically on heritage, Salvia (2015) and Benhamou (2016) discuss in a more profound way this relation. What is put forward by the authors is that public sponsorship is in crisis and that museums and other spaces of memory in order to survive must accept contradictory logics of "consumption experiences" to sustain themselves.

3. Technologies have radically changed our perception of what is original or genuine. In fact, the perception of common sense in modernity can be better understood by distinguishing the two concepts of authenticity and singularity. To this end, I present the following paragraph.

3 True, authentic, original...

One of the main references for the study of the Italian situation when it comes to heritage and memory is Salvatore Settis (2005, 2007, 2010). This in essence not only tells us that Italy is a country that was aware of the beauty and value of its works to other countries in earlier times, but also that this "precocious" consciousness has led to a real network within the territory that complexly includes not only individual works or monuments, collections or constructions independently, but also a real circuit that includes, for example, archives, since it is in them that are found the documents that provide information on works, projects, buildings and monuments. In short, Italian territory is an indivisible structure in terms of monuments and documents, which makes each item inalienable from its other parts, for it would become incomprehensible when alienated from its context.

This holistic view of memory, according to which it is not possible to consider any monument in isolation, but always as part of a complex network comprising interdependent documents, monuments and places, does not always apply to other European countries or is exported to extra-European realities. It is a view that perhaps stands as an important element in juxtaposition to the lowly activity of "looting" colonial territories by Italy compared to other nations. A good example of this is the archaeology in Libya, whose wealth stimulated the "removal" and "reassembly" in Italian museums of archaeological monuments during the colonial adventure.

This exemplary patrimonial logic has certainly been a reference for many other situations, as regards authenticity and temporality, at least until the Industrial Revolution, when the relation with the authentic is altered.

To understand our behavior, which is more ambiguous today than museums and memory, it is useful to return to the industrial production of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the collections incorporated the modern phenomenon of repetition. With this comes a different way of looking at things linked to photography, the reproduction of images and objects and their exhibition, which makes the novelty principle a central issue.

The "seriality" of industrial culture comes to be valued as an emblem of the modern spirit, which exchanges antiquity and authenticity for novelty and quantity. The museum's collections gradually reflect the culture of mass production, through the aggregation of several versions of the same objects, systematically organized to reveal their common characteristics, increasingly distancing themselves from the sophisticated selection of rare items or unique specimens, which were exhibited for the purpose of highlighting their uniqueness.

This modernization can best be understood by distinguishing two notions, that of 'authenticity' and that of 'uniqueness': the mass proliferation of copies is established to the detriment of the idea of authenticity, which is supposed to be based on an original object, or founder. What is at the basis of the principle of authenticity - linked to a notion of "essence" - is that only a primary object would guarantee the communication of a meaning in an impeccable and irrevocable way, a fact that according to Benjamin (1966) would disappear in reproduction. Copies, which do not have this essence, immediately lose their value, being considered superficial imitations. Due to its exclusivity, the authentic object increases its prestige.

Authenticity acquires semblance of fetish. The object is the representation of a time in which there was a more direct perception of things, in the first place because there were not the many faces of the Capital nor its complex configuration of system of false equivalences, identified with the value of exchange, just as there were no mechanical processes of reproduction by which copies proliferate which do not reveal the value of authenticity. According to Lipovetsky and Serroy (2015), we can affirm that to the extent that authenticity is singular, it is hardly present and, in this sense, it opposes the processes of modernization.

At the same time as the development of the museum as an appendage of the bourgeois world as a pedagogical complementation of the narrative of the power of the positive nation-state (Crippa, 2005), great exhibitions and international fairs since the nineteenth century have highlighted and centralized utopias and desires for the future, materializing them as something that, at the same time, is already there. For Pozzi (2015), the future / present is presented in a positive way and, in their spaces, the technological advances are staged, seeking all sides of the individual and collective life. The utopia present at the fairs is, in every way, a narrative based on the human intellect and its ingenuity, able to materialize in tangible objects and projects, masking their utopian traits in production.

With the museum, a representation of the past narrated as a path to the utopia of a radiant modernity, according to the designs of a positive bourgeoisie, was present, without a real separation, its mirror being the exhibition or the Fair of the future. Admiring the achievements of the past would lead to choosing the inevitable future ideal, where science, technology and products provide happiness.

The 20th century preserves these ideals with the maintenance of this idea of the museum, until the expansion of the phenomena of globalization of markets and consumer society imposes new conditions on museums, among which, following a scheme based on the reflections of Appadurai (2014), we can highlight :

1. The expanded presence of the market - as a judge of taste - and to the success of the entertainment industry, parallel to the development of the information economy, based on knowledge and creativity;
2. The emergence of new consumer markets, that is, new audiences;
3. The growth of multicultural urban models, in which different communities present themselves as cultural protagonists, searching for tools to (re)define their identities.

In this context, museums follow new trends: they make their structures and exhibition devices more and more spectacular, media coverage scramble; commercialize and privatize their activities, in an attempt to equate museums with companies (Dubini, 1999, Montella, 2003, Molino, 2004, Lumley, 2005, Benhamou, 2016).

4 A thousand castles for a thousand fables: memories à la page

There is a typology of monuments, located throughout the world, which have a precise definition: they are called "folias" or follies, which are properly capitalized on by the institutions. These are places that, over the last few decades, have seen a strong increase in the number of tourists. They are places that please, amuse and are successful. In architectural terms, the follies are:

'[...] buildings built strictly as decoration, which have none of the usual purposes of housing or shelter associated with a conventional structure. They originate as decorative accents in parks and properties. 'Folia' is used in the sense of fun or lightness, not in the sense of somebody warned' (Essential, s.d., s.p.).

Some examples of follies in Italy are Scarzuola in Terni, Rocchetta Mattei in the province of Bologna or Grazzano Visconti, near Piacenza. The list is long, so let's just look at some of these examples: Grazzano Visconti, the Rocchetta Mattei, Ludwig's castle in Bavaria, arriving in Brazil, where it is also possible to see castles defined by the internet sites as "medieval".

The Sammezzano castle, in the province of Florence, was built in the seventeenth century, and is a place that has particularly attracted the attention of tourists. In the second half of the nineteenth century it was completely restructured, following Orientalist patterns of fashion. In 1927 it was decreed a "place of public interest", and in 1955 it was sold by the owners to a company, Sammezzanosrl - which in 1972 obtained the concession to make the castle a hotel-restaurant. In the same year, the Ministry of Education declared the place of artistic and historical interest. Despite this, it opened to the public only a little over a year ago, quickly becoming a difficult place to visit because of the long waiting list.

Also the story of Grazzano Visconti is the story of a folly. The original castle, dating from the 14th century, belonged to the Visconti family of Modrone. At the beginning of the 20th century Giuseppe Visconti took care of its restoration, linking a medieval styled village to the castle, which is why it was declared a cultural and historical patrimony. Visiting Grazzano is a bit like visiting the scenes of some of the best-known fantasy films, as it is a scenario that reproduces quite effectively some aspects of the "medieval dreams" mentioned by Eco (1995). The place is visited by a large number of tourists, often in *cosplay*, and its economy is based on the trade of themed *gadgets* and the organization of events, also medieval or fantasy themed. Essentially, although patrimony, while representative of the medievalist architectural trends that occurred between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its importance is, in fact, linked to its ability to develop a narrative reserved primarily for tourists of fantasy.

It seems necessary at this point to make a little digression about what fantasy is and what weight it exerts on our reading of memory, for it seems clear from the observation of the tourism trend of recent years that this genre, between entanglements of convergence of media, also involves spaces and material places, transforming the senses and our own perception of them.

Without being able to delve into the matter, we can turn our attention to the extraordinary success of fantasy products, such as the film adaptation of The Lord of the Rings (whose filming locations are now tourist attractions, with the right to stay in Hobbit-themed hotels), the global success of Harry Potter (in all its forms: books, movies, gadgets, fandoms and so on) or even the intergalactic-medieval saga of Star Wars. The fantasy territory seems to have found a fertile land in the popular imagination. Stefano Calabrese (2015, p.113-114, our translation) explains the phenomenon:

'One might think that the idea of inventing a plot from scratch and giving it a fantasy form shows the intent to attract an international audience, who could hardly identify with something that, even if presented with something of "real" historical bearing, would feel

strange. In fact, if universal is transcendence, which is achieved by ascending to some pure dimension without time or space, the global and immanent, which is reached by going down into a promiscuous space-time/time-space, albeit without localisms, as observed in some of the global bestsellers [...]. What, then, is the secret of these inventions? In a word, what is the magic and how does it attract readers? [...] Magic consists of... a dissociation of the causes of effects, and in the magical event what happens is never what we envisage. The unexpected is magical. New knowledge is magical. [...] magic acts work contrary to reality, but it is also the basic principle of creativity and a privileged instrument to deal, in real life, with unexpected and new situations. [...].'

The author goes on to assert that immersion in magic and fantasy makes sense in that it establishes the relationship between the ability to make predictions, to become creative, and to learn the capacity for abstraction. He argues that "the success of fantasy is due to current anthropological evolution and plays a very positive role in reconfiguring globalized societies" (Calabrese, 2015, p. 123, our translation):

'The transgressions to the principle of causality operated by magic compose the nucleus of fantasy narratives today so widespread in the world, precisely because they are configured as moments with strong emotional impact: "pure" identities no longer matter, but the construction of identities through intermediary stages and mestizo identities [...]. Metamorphoses are necessary ingredients for the bestseller of globalization because today everything is a metamorphosis [...] today Metamorfoé is the survivor of the cataclysms of the twentieth century, the one who has the grammar of life, because he learned them by the blows of literary fictions, television, and filmography' (Calabrese, 2015, p. 129-130, our translation).

Perhaps we can now understand more clearly why tourists prefer to visit the Ludwig Castle in Bavaria - Neuschwanstein, one of the best-known follies (with an average of 1.3 million visitors per year), inspiring the Disney Castle in Orlando (where the number of tourists exceeds 50 million a year), rather than one of the many medieval art museums that dot European cities. The castle was built in 1868, inspired in the Middle Ages by Ludwig's interest in "Fantastic" of novels and tales, and its facilities, although inspired by medieval models, are the result of the same technology that staged the great universal exhibitions, which, to clarify, are found in their most essential form synthesized by the engineering skills of the Eiffel Tower.

It is seen therefore that our ability to decide what is worth preserving cannot ignore this great global engine that is tourism, nor the market that feeds it, nor can we ignore media convergence fueled by the cultural industry. Nowadays, we must be aware that places like Rocchetta Mattei are, in fact, products of the cultural industry that, in the interest of its visitors, associate themselves with *best-sellers* such as Paulo Coelho's *The Alchemist*. Note: its creator was a pioneer of modern homeopathy, the most popular and widespread belief of magic of our times. The same happens with Scarzuola, a gigantic architectural folly that can only be understood by references to alchemy and magic: its founder, Tommaso Buzzi, began to design it in 1957 as a complex path of esoteric initiation.

These are places opened or reopened to the public after long periods in which they have remained invisible, forgotten, or considered to be of little relevance and which have now undergone recognition processes of their historical and cultural values which, have been appropriated by the public and which do not always marry with those of official acknowledgments: at the base of appropriation is placed an imaginary that is not the result of historical research, but of a memory that recuperates literary and cinematographic images resulting from the cultural industry.

Paradoxically, in times of sophisticated and accessible technologies, what pleases us in movies, books and *fandoms* becomes sought after as a material, tangible "sign", "inventing" new traditions in places that do not exist for memory or incorporating narratives into levels often associated with the imagery of fiction.

A castle, as an architectural structure, can be medieval, renaissance, baroque, romantic, post-romantic and contemporary. A few kilometers from the city of Livorno, in Italy, overlooking the Tyrrhenian Sea, a large castle was built in the 1910s. Also inserted in the trend of neo-medieval eclecticism of the time, the vision of it is not related to the historical knowledge of its construction. It matters little to visitors that it was the residence of Sidney Sonnino, a conservative minister during World War I, to whom we owe Italy's commitment against Austria. The story disappears before the image that confirms the reminiscences of a Fantastic and cinematographic Middle Age.

Follies, however, are not found solely in Europe, they are a global phenomenon. This is the case of the castle of Itaipava, in Rio de Janeiro, which, as the site announces, is a castle in "medieval style with a classic Norman touch of the Americas" (Castelo, s.d., our translation), a rather strange definition. Officially it is considered a place of historical interest: it is a private property, which can be visited by tourists, and is mainly used for events such as weddings, parties, conferences, lunches [...] An attractive place which makes money by being a structure that has a history similar to that of Grazzano, Sammezzano, and the follies discussed above. The castle of Itaipava was built in the 1920s by Baron José Smith de Vasconcelos and has been open to visitors since 2001. It is not clear to what extent he participated in his project, but the name of Lúcio Costa is associated with this place. The building was built with high quality materials, most imported from Europe: the stone blocks from Portugal, the slate roofs from France, the Carrara marble from Italy, the iron work from England, and the stained-glass windows from Austria.

Again, we must admit that the boundaries between "true" and "false", and between authenticity and reproduction, thin or disappear. The castle at Itaipava is a building that represents eclectic tastes and tendencies of an elite class very similar to the European elite at the time and the language chosen to attract tourists is very similar to that employed in Grazzano Visconti, or Rocchetta Mattei, or Scarzuola. However, like the castle of Sammezzano, which was planned to become a hotel and restaurant, the castle of Itaipava is mainly used as a "princely" place for parties.

5 Final considerations

The question of the constitution of shared memory as a legacy for generations to come and of memory, in this case linked to the materiality of objects and places proposed for the needs of the tourist industry, must be rethought urgently. We are facing the expectations of globalized audiences that constitute mass tourism and the interest in linking new memories to places to make them profitable, and capable of sustaining themselves in the business world is increasingly related to places of memory. At the same time, it is necessary, in the face of these phenomena of a globalized culture, to invent languages and forms of communication that do not have, as a base, the patrimonial tradition of European matrix in the construction of hierarchies of values for the places.

We live in a time when the word museum must be in the plural. It is also the moment when one of the main reasons to visit museums and monuments is their inclusion in sight-seeing tour packages. Obviously, the size of mass tourism transforms our relationship with the places that have been consecrated to art, history, science and technology. It should be remembered that all museums are a set of physical documents and conceptual elements, organized to validate the present, that is to say, museums have been and are used as instruments of communication of principles and values by their stakeholders, as well demonstrate Montella (2003) and Davis (2007).

It can be seen that it has become increasingly difficult to understand the relations that are established between authentic objects, representations of those objects, copies or reproductions, due to changes in our habits of consumption and interpretation of the phenomena arising from industrial modernity.

We are holding up to discussion the need to deepen the paths of the transformation of meaning given to places linked to memory according to the phenomenon of mass tourism and globalized readings that needs to be considered in terms of offers and expectations. This theme, which we have developed on other occasions, meets the anxieties of Augé (2004, 2009, 2010), author on which some of our reflections have been based.

Museums and monuments, theoretically, are placed as an antidote to oblivion, to avoid the "end". Each museum and monument tells us about the end of things, which can be avoided thanks to its existence. It is, however, very easy to confuse memory with fetishes and with the fascination of narratives less and less historical and more mythical, as observed by Augé (2009), exemplifying this by describing the scenic reenactments of the Battle of Waterloo, where many visitors gather, dressed in period costumes. The question that needs new answers, it seems to us, is how much the celebration - that is, the present - has grown to the detriment of the memory of the facts.

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