IMT School for Advanced Studies, Lucca

Lucca, Italy

Towards Museum-Like Sites:
the Cases of Florence, Rio de Janeiro, and New York City.

PhD Program in MDCH

Management and Development of Cultural Heritage

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IMT School for Advanced Studies, Lucca

2017

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Maria Luisa Catoni, for her fundamental advices and knowledge. I express my profound gratitude to my advisor, Professor Giacomo Pirazzoli, for his creative suggestions and precious encouragement. I also thank the whole faculty and visiting professors at IMT Lucca, in particular, professor Linda Bertelli for her essential support during the first years.

I want to acknowledge the two referees, Professor Maia Wellington Gahtan and Professor Richard Ingersoll, for their insightful comments.

This research would not have been possible without the helpfulness of some people and institutions. I acknowledge the *Opera di Santa Croce*, his *segretario generale* Giuseppe de Micheli, and the president of the Opera Irene Sanesi. I owe to thank Samantha Vaughn for her generous help. I would like to express my gratitude to Giancarlo Latorraca and Miriam Lerner for accepting me at the *Museu da Casa Brasileira*, and I thank the *equipe técnica do MCB*. I acknowledge *Daniel Fernandes Arquitectos* for their kind collaboration. And, I warmly thank Luiza Campos for guiding me into the Brasilian culture. I would love to thank Nina Stritzler-Levine and the staff of the BGC Gallery. In particular, I am deeply grateful to Marianne Lamonaca. She has been a professional tutor and a precious mentor. I have to thank her for the beautiful moments spent in NY, for her continuous advices, and for revising me the early drafts of the thesis. I owe thanks to all those I met in New York and narrated me the different aspects of the 9/11; in particular, the architect Steven Davis, the chief curator of the National 9/11 M&M, Jan Ramirez, and Alexandra Drakakis. I express my deep gratitude and professional admiration to Peggy Loar, Zeuler Lima, and Renato Anelli. I thank Professors Francesco Collotti and Giorgio Verdiani, who cyclically come back in my academic life, and all those professors and researchers, with whom I shared thoughts and ideas during the PhD. I thank the staff of the IMT (especially Sara, Daniela, and Serena), of the IMT Library, and of the BGC Library.

I am thankful to all those colleagues with whom I shared unforgettable moments in the singular environment of the campus, particularly to Benedetta, Fabiana, and Michela.

Needless to say, I thank my parents for their constant support and patience (trad. *Grazie a mamma e babbo*), my friends, and a special, tremendous, thanks goes to Luca.

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1. G. Cerri & A. Positano (2017), "Forte Pozzacchio. Una macchina da esplorazione," in *Abitare la Terra*, 41/2017. ISBN13: 9788849234091

2. G. Cerri & F. Corsini (2015), "Digital reconstruction and analysis of the Nari's Monument in Florence. A Bartolomeo Ammannati's Statue," in *CHNT 19 -Conference on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies Proceedings*.

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1. G. Cerri – "Santa Croce and the Flood: the Exhibition of the Rescued Artworks." Presented at *In situ/Ex Situ: the Art of Exhibiting Art*, organized by: RAHN – Rome Art History Network. Rome, April 27-28, 2017

2. G. Cerri – "Sacred Site and Museum of Itself. Florence and Rio de Janeiro, Two Case Studies." Presented at *Genius Loci: Places and Meanings*, organized by: FLUP. Porto, April 20-24, 2016.

3. G. Cerri – "Digital and real reconstruction: the fountain of Juno and its half a millennium journey." Presented at *Hadrian's Villa. Digital representations in archaeology and art Symposium*, organized by: At ACASA and VU University of Amsterdam. Amsterdam, May 9, 2014.

4. G. Cerri – "From the traces to definition of the monumental space: the case of Bartolomeo Ammannati's "Fontana di Sala Grande." Presented at *CHNT 18 (Conference on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies) - Urban Archaeology and "Correct" documentation, Documenting the Data*. Wien, November 11-13, 2013.

Abstract

There are places in the world, such as churches, public buildings, or stadiums, that hold special meaning, house artistic heritage, or stand as symbols. In addition to typical visitors, such sites attract non-typical visitors, namely tourists. They are sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were. These circumstances create an unusual condition that, in theory, requires strategic managerial choices, since the museum-like use adds to the traditional use.

In light of this, the question must be asked:

Can contemporary museum practices be implemented at museum-like sites, while preserving the original function of the sites?

The main research question leads to further queries. For example: when is a site also a museum? Can different collective social behaviors be considered rituals? How can different behaviors/rituals be managed in the same place? Can different narratives and behaviors coexist? If so, how? **In particular, what tools and design solutions can an architect apply?**

This research focuses on the set of issues related to sites that are enjoyed as "museums," while maintaining their original use. The research develops in two main parts. Following the introduction, the first part describes the theoretical framework, in which general concepts about museums and rituals are related to the research subject. The second is dedicated to the case studies.

To answer to the research question, the study aims to construct a theoretical and multidisciplinary framework that helps to interpret complex situations. In fact, the theoretical part is a tool for understanding such spaces and their users. The analysis of the cases enables answering both the main questions and the sub-questions of the research. The selected case studies are: the Complex and Basilica of Santa Croce, Florence, Italy; the Maracanã Stadium, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; the National September 11 Memorial and Museum, New York City, NY, USA.

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Background

There are places that are not officially classified as museums, although they offer a similar dynamic. These sites attract people for several reasons, including artistic, symbolic, naturalistic, tourist marketing, and so forth. Places such as palaces, churches, natural parks, cemeteries, and urban squares both maintain their original functions and host visitors who come for other reasons.

How do we define a site that is enjoyed in the same way as a museum, but is not one?

Generally, when referring to a museum, one thinks immediately of an institution that collects and exhibits arts and artifacts; in other words, the Western idea of a museum. With regard to museum practice, or museography, design solutions address defined spaces. However, the nature of museums has changed over time. Cultural institutions are taking new forms, and traditional institutions, especially major museums, are following this trend.

This study focuses on sites that are not actual museums, but that are used as if they were. The Basilica of Saint Denis, near Paris, is an excellent example.[1] Since the twelfth century, the basilica has offered a good example of the type of institution we examine within the present research. The *abbé* Suger did not run a church or a museum, but a complex organism. The activities of watching, studying, and enjoying the site accompanied those of worship and pilgrimage. For example, the behavior of worshipers inside the basilica was similar to that of tourists, and such issues as space management and exhibition of the artifacts were similar to those of museography. However, despite its similarities with present-day museums, one cannot consider Saint Denis to be a museum, since it is first and foremost a church.

In our study, we observed sites with multiple functions, uses, behaviors (which we interpret as rituals), and different categories of users. In addition to obvious differences, all these places share one common element: use as a tourist destination.[2]

1.2. General Reference Framework: Site-specific Museums

Our research relates to the studies developed by the SIte-Specific MUSeum project (SISMUS). SISMUS is guided by Professors Pirazzoli, Guerzoni, and Lanciotti who, respectively, deal with architecture, management and economy, and law in the field of museums.[3] Established out of practical necessity and

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[1] Saint Denis is one of the most important and famous French basilicas. The outstanding architectural composition and decoration are mainly due to Abbot Suger's project (De Administratione and De Consecratione). It is the burial place of the kings of France.
[2] We do not take into account people manifesting a temporary interest (such as a trendy attraction to a site linked to a movie or an event, or viral success determined by social networks), but rather the longer-lasting fashions.
[3] www.sismus.org (Accessed May 27, 2017).

concrete experience,[4] SISMUS came about as a reaction to the phenomenon of global museums.

Around the world, the period from the 1980s to the 2000s is identified as the "Golden Age of Museums,"[5] marked by new museums, growing cultural offers, and relatively high public attendance. The so-called "museum mania" exploded at the beginning of the 2000s. After the success of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, local politicians and administrators considered the branded museum as an instrument of urban regeneration, so to speak. Famous architects, the so-called archistars, and huge investments characterized the major museum operations. Besides some museum successes, several failures are evident, in large and small cities, in the West and the East (Guerzoni 2014). The fashionable empty box soon revealed its weaknesses, usually when the costs become unsustainable. Nowadays, big museum operations are diminishing and the fashion of architectural stars seems to have faded (Guerzoni 2014; Pirazzoli 2011; Conn 2010; Jean 2008; Montaner 2008; Poli 2008; Giebelhausen 2007).

At the same time, research and academic interest in this area started to grow, and both museum studies and architectural studies on museums are now extremely broad (Conn 2010).

Although the weaknesses of the fashionable museum model have been well known since the end of the 1990s (Guerzoni 2014), the museum phenomenon still exists. In China, for example, 1,860 museums were opened between 1995 and 2012. In 2012, according to the Chinese Ministry of Culture, the government planned to open a museum for every 250,000 citizens by 2020, totaling 8,362 museums (Guerzoni 2014). Some reports reveal that these new museums are currently quite

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[4] Pirazzoli 2012.

[5] Special Section New York Times, April 24, 2002. See: Conn 2010.

empty, of people, of contents, and of programs (Wong 2015).[6] As design objects, museum buildings are planned and placed wherever the client desires.[7]

In response to this trend is the idea that architecture should enhance the links between the specific location and the specific nature of the collection. The notion of SISMUS was created because of the lack of understanding of the complex reality of museums. It derives from the union of two concepts: site-specific artwork (*artwork created to exist in a certain place*) and museum, according to the ICOM definition.[8] The result is "site-specific museum:" a museum created to exist in a certain place.

Site-Specific Artwork: "Artwork created to exist in a certain place"
+
Museum: "a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment." (ICOM – International Council of Museums)
=
Site Specific Museum: "Museum created to exist in a certain place".

SISMUS research highlights the missing relations among environment, architecture, and collections in contemporary museums and cultural institutions. SISMUS grows from the

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[6] The failed museums share several characteristics: big architectural design projects, famous architects' names, lack of a curatorial agenda, small or absent permanent collections, and lack of a long-term management program.
[7] This is in keeping with Rem Koolhaas' catchphrase, "Its subtext fuck the contest," in vogue in the 90s, which was widely reflected in museum architecture (Koolhaas/Mau 1995, 502).
[8] http://icom.museum (Accessed May 27, 2017)

necessity to unify, interpret, and understand old and new complexities: globalization, migration, nomadism, and the concept of "site" (Pirazzoli 2011). SISMUS' first goal is the enhancement of the relationship between a specific place and a specific collection. Other key concepts are: respect for diversity and social responsibility, attention to social issues, inclusion of local communities, research on sustainability, "but also the radical transformation of structures devoted to the conservation, production, direction, vision and content." [9] An interesting example of reaction to brand-museum, embodied by the Guggenheim Helsinki project, is the "The Next Helsinki" contest.[10]

The SISMUS' use of site-specific museums is different from "site" museums. The latter identifies archaeological sites, which may or may not be museums. Following the principles of SISMUS, the research examines valuable places that are not museums but which share their same ability to welcome, educate, and entertain, as well as the practices that are applied to manage space and people. The sites do not automatically imply institutionalized places, or musealization, [11] since they still function according their primary purpose, and are not static bodies.

To conclude, the picture is complicated, complex, and fluid. The notion of SISMUS might help to understand the issue, but it does not clarify the identification of these particular sites. The lack of a specific term, as well as literature, represents a further element of complexity and disorientation.

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[9] Guerzoni, "Hyper Museums versus Site Specific: The Reasons of The Research." SISMUS.org. http://www.sismus.org/engl/economy (Accessed May 27, 2017).

[10] See: Website: http://www.nexthelsinki.org/ (Accessed May 27, 2017); and: Haapoja, Ross, and Sorkin, 2016

[11] Mairesse, (2002, pp. 62-68); Mairesse (2004, pp. 11-34)

1.3. Not Museums, but Museum Uses

Given the recurrence of the word *museum* in this research, we must clarify the specific ways in which we use the word. The focus of the study is on places used as if they were museums (in addition to their primary uses), but are not typical museums. In order to avoid misunderstandings and misleading concepts, it is important for us to highlight what is, and is not, part of the research: what is a museum? Do we need a definition?

The word *museum* embodies several meanings and interpretations. There is a broad body of literature, as well as several discussions and interpretations regarding museum matters.[12] Nevertheless, the word *museum* is usually interpreted as both the institution and the place that displays, studies, and preserves tangible or intangible materials (UNESCO 2003). In the *Dictionary of Museology* by Desvallées and Mairesse (2009), the authors, analyzing the term *museal*, affirm that:

> "Museum as institution appears to be just one illustration or example of the entire field. This has two consequences: (1) It was not museums that gave rise to museology, but rather museology that founded museums (the Copernican revolution); (2) This allows us to understand that experiences which are of a different nature to those usually identified with museums (collections, building, institution) are part of the same problem, and to accept museums of substitutes, museums without collections, extramural museums, towns as museums (Quatremère de Quincy, 1796), and ecomuseums or even museums" (p. 49).

Considering the definition of museum, we also refer to that of ICOM, and integrate it with the concepts explained in the

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[12] *Museum Definition*, UNESCO, http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/ (Accessed May 27, 2017)

dictionary. Desvallées and Mairesse (2009), about the term *museum* states that:

> "The term 'museum' may mean either the institution or the establishment or the place generally designed to select, study and display the material and intangible evidence of man and his environment. The form and the functions of museums have varied considerably over the centuries. Their contents have diversified, as have their mission, their way of operating and their management" (p.56).

In this study, we do not consider the museum as institution, but rather the museum-like use of the space. This involves museography (or museum practice).[13] Again, according to the *Dictionary of Museology* (2009), the current definition of museography identifies the practical aspects of museology, or "the practical activities associated with museums" (Desvallées and Mairesse 2009, p.52). The multidisciplinary nature of the work makes "the museographer (or exhibition specialist) the

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[13] In this text, "museography" refers to the practice of setting up museum spaces or the arrangement of artworks. Although ICOM promotes this term in *Key Concepts of Museology (*1993*)*, it is not common in English literature.
Aquilina (2011) reports that, for some scholars operating in the museum field, museology, "etymologically speaking 'the study of museums,' means an art, a practice, a science, an applied science, a science in the making, ect." In his essay, Aquilina traces the use and circulation of the words "museology" and "museography" throughout history, showing how academics' translation and use of the two words has changed their meaning. Aquilina refers to concepts that Riviere expressed in 1960.13 According to Riviere, museology is "the branch of knowledge concerned with the study of the purposes and organization of the museums," and museography is "the body of techniques related to museology." This differentiation is diffuse in Western Europe and North America. It is interesting to note a comparison between the French and English versions of the documents produced in 1958 during a regional seminar in Rio de Janeiro on the educational role of museums, which UNESCO and ICOM jointly organized. The French version uses "science" instead of "branch of knowledge" when referring to museology, highlighting a conceptual difference between the two languages. This is perhaps the main reason why English-speaking countries prefer the terms "museum work" and "museum studies" when referring to museography and museology (Aquilina 2011).

intermediary between the collections curator, the architect and the public" (Desvallées and Mairesse 2009, p.53).

What happens when the museum practices are applied to spaces not identified as museums? Let us take the example of the introduction of ticketing at a site that is not a museum. First, the ticket is a museum-sign. Then, the presence of a ticket box implies a series of consequences that involve legal and economic issues and the use and the design of the spaces. Few elements might change the ideal physical perception of a space, transforming it into something similar to a museum, despite its maintaining its original function and primary character.

In general, the difficulties in defining and recognizing such places are strictly linked to the commonly understood idea of *museum*. The official definition of *museum* is broad and inclusive, but the idea of *museum*, even when one does not refer to an institution, leads to the conception of the neoclassical museum building. In considering what a museum is, the first association is with place where the most important things created by man are collected and preserved, according to the Enlightenment idea of museum. Nowadays, examining museums is not an easy task; it is complicated by the fact that, in contemporary society, the category of museums is liquid and flexible.

Answering the question "what is a museum?" Hooper-Greenhill (1992) explains: "the nationalistic temple, represented by the British Museum, is not anymore the main model." Her thesis is based on the fact that museums are constituted according to the "epistemological prevalent context", meaning that "they are the results of several ways of knowing according to the laws and structures of the place and time." Therefore, since "the museum is not a pre-constituted entity" (Hooper-Greenhill 1992), it is never produced in the same way, and does not have a fixed identified role (Cannon-Brookes 1984) or fixed identity; furthermore, the several identities are subject to change. These are conferred by new dominations and relations, from which emerge benefits and disadvantages (Hooper-Greenhill 1992). This point might help in understanding that the generally understood idea of museum, although prevalent, is not fixed.

1.4. Aim and Scope of the Thesis

The thesis focuses on the set of problems and issues related to sites that, while preserving their primary use, function, and shape, are also used as museums. It seeks to initiate a discussion on the theme of sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were.

A key point of this dissertation is to clarify what a "site that one might enjoy as if it were a museum" means. At these sites, the presence of several uses and practices leads to questions that do not find answers in either scientific or professional fields. The lack of a proper body of literature reflects the lack of both scientific interest and professional instruments. Therefore, the goal of this dissertation is to begin a debate on these sites.

With its fundamental idea that places of culture need both theoretical and practical characteristics, this multidisciplinary study presents possibilities for future research and application at sites like these. An integrated and multidisciplinary approach to the argument would help in framing and understanding the problem. One of the first steps is the construction of a theoretical framework, to aid in interpreting complex, real situations. In fact, the theoretical aspect is a tool to understand spaces and their users. Second, the analyses of the cases enable answering the research questions, and simultaneously, accomplishing additional research on similar examples. The thesis does not suggest final resolutions; rather, it is a preliminary approach to the problem and a proposal to use museum reasoning on like-museum sites.

1.5. Literature Review

Museum studies do not include museum-like sites in their research. The museological and museographical literature ignore sites that are not created to be museums but that are used also as if they were museums. On the contrary, tourism science explores some of these sites being them tourist attractions (Santarossa 2012, Ashworth 2009, Smith 2006, Ingersoll 2004, Bonadei and Volli 2003, Urry 1995). Part of this research comprehends also places like: shrines, memorials, religious and secular pilgrimage places, cemeteries, and spiritual sites (Wiltshier 2014, Podoshen and Hunt 2011, Reisinger 2006, Timothy and Olsen 2006, Shackley 2001). Tourism literature is interdisciplinary and involves for example: regional studies, sociological and economic analysis, and urban researches (McClellan 2013, Agnew 2011, Bagnoli 2006, Hall and Tucker 2004, Pine and Gilmore 1999, 2007).[14]

The book *Museum Archetypes and Collecting in the Ancient World* (2014), edited by Gahtan and Pegazzano, interprets Ancient sites as proto-museological cases. The volume, which gathers various essays from different scholars, limits on the phenomenon of collecting during Ancient time. The contributions investigate also the objects collected and displayed in both sacred and secular context, private and public spaces. Although it referred to the Ancient world, the book represents the only example of museological study on museum-like sites.

There are two publications that acknowledge the gap in the literature on museum-like sites. They both concentrate on sacred places, and are both published in Italy. One is the volume *Church, Temple, Mosques: Place of Worship or Museums?*(2012) edited by Gahtan. It is the outcome of the *Forum on Museum and Religion* organized by the Lorenzo de Medici Institute in 2011.

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[14] On tourism see chapter 2; on tourism in sacred sites see chapter 6.

This brought together international religious authorities and professionals, which confronted their experiences on the management of important religious spaces. The other is *Oltre le Apparenze* by De Marchi and Pirazzoli (2011), and gathers essays specifically on the Complex of Santa Croce. It is the result of the meetings organized by the Opera di Santa Croce and the University of Florence on the complex (I Colloqui di Santa Croce, 2009-2010).

1.6. Research Questions

The thesis addresses the following main question:

> **Can contemporary museum practices be used at museum-like sites that preserve their original function?**

Further sub-questions follow the main question:

> When is a site also a museum?
> What rituals characterize the sites?
> How can different uses and rituals coexist in the same place?
> Can different uses coexist? How?
> **What tools and design solutions can an architect apply?**

Other specific questions are linked to each case-study. For example, in the case of a monument such as a church, the following questions might arise: Can a church also be a museum without losing any of its specificity? How can we offer services that are nowadays considered fundamental, yet maintain the site's integrity? Can a space be sacred despite tourism? Can pilgrims and tourists be commingled?

The questions related to each case are formulated in chapter 4, which presents the selected case-studies.

1.7. Methodology

The qualitative approach is best suited to the purpose and the intention of the research. A dual methodology has been applied: discourse analysis (Groat and Wang 2002) in the first part (chapters 2 and 3) and a case study approach (Yin 2003) in the second part (chapters 4–7).

General definitions and literature reviews allow the elaboration of a simple model of study. First, a necessary clarification of "sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were" leads to a search in the museum literature. The lack of literature forces a cross-disciplinary literature review, which involves museum studies, museography, architecture, philosophy, and social sciences. As consequence, the first part of the research constitutes the proposition and the conceptual framework (Yin 2003, Miles and Huberman 1994); that is, the theoretical bases for adopting specific criteria used to select the cases. The first part (chapters 2–3) allows the determination of boundaries and the selection of the cases. The multiple case study approach allows observing three cases and comprehending similarities and differences among them. The creation of a basic scheme allows the site's analysis (Yin 2003 and Stake 1995), from general to particular, and the identification of both strengths and weaknesses. The case analyses are based on site observations, field notes, survey investigations, interviews, and the literature review.

1.8. Chapter Overview

Following the introduction, the thesis is structured in two main parts. The first comprises the main theoretical considerations (chapters 2–3). The second part (chapters 4–8) describes the process of analysis, the three case studies, and conclusions. Supplementary materials are included in the appendix.

In Chapter 2 (*When is a site "like a museum?")*, we trace a historical overview of museum-like places, their interpretations, and the impact of tourism. We discuss the main theoretical considerations about the museum-like uses of sites in the past, revealing the presence of multiple uses and behaviors (ritual) in the same place. To do so, we present a historical overview of spaces and museum practices (2.1) and discuss the contemporary perception of *museum* and its contextualization in history (2.2). Beside the non-Western museum concepts and practices, we consider the definitions of: *museum-like, heritage, museum of itself,* and *house museum*. The chapter also includes reflections on the importance of tourism and its impact on cultural sites (2.3).

Chapter 3 (*Rites, Rituals, and Sites)* comprises three sub-sections. Taking scholars such as Durkheim, Callois, Eliade, Bourdieu, Segalen, and others as references, section 3.2 summarizes some interpretations of rites and rituals. Section 3.3 establishes the relationship between rituals and sites, according to the interpretative view given by architects such as Rossi, Norberg-Schultz, Lynch, Venturi, and Scott Brown. Section 3.4 provides some concluding remarks about rites, sites, and people.

Chapter 4 (*Case Studies*) is devoted to the definition of the boundaries that allow the case analyses (4.2). It presents the chosen case studies (4.3) and describes the structure of the case chapters (4.4). The three case studies are illustrated and discussed in chapters 5, 6, and 7, which are, respectively: the Complex of Santa Croce in Florence, the Maracanã Stadium in Rio de Janeiro, and the National September 11 Memorial & Museum in New York City. These chapters are organized in a similar way, in order to facilitate the comparison.

Chapter 5 presents the Complex of Santa Croce and describes its main features, values, and issues. The focus is on the double use of the spaces, namely, sacred and touristic. In particular, the historical overview shows the historical attraction of the church since the days of the *Grand Tour*, and the explosion of interest in it during the years of mass tourism. To contextualize the case of Santa Croce, we introduce other highly visited sacred sites in Tuscany, in order to compare the solutions adopted by each site. We analyze Santa Croce's architecture, the various paths it offers (i.e., for pilgrims, visitors, and scholars) and services, and the setting of the spaces.

Chapter 6 illustrates the case of the Maracanã Stadium. It opens with a discussion of the link between soccer and Brazilian society. This section explains the cultural importance of the stadium for Brazilians and provides a context for the attraction the stadium has for so many organizations (soccer teams, cheer squads, management bodies – teams, municipalities, state, and international). The presence of several rituals (play, cheer, and visit) determines the uniqueness of this site. The description of the stadium includes its history, location, development, recent happenings, and future perspectives.

Chapter 7 presents the case of the National September 11 Memorial & Museum. Like the others, this chapter opens with an overview of the site, its history, and main features. The site is characterized by the presence of several rituals linked to memory, grief, commemoration, and tourism. The subsequent sections describe its architecture, location, new urban and design solutions, and prevalent uses.

The chapters, 5, 6, and 7, conclude with a section dedicated to issues, strengths, and perspectives of sites.

The thesis ends with the Conclusion (chapter 8), which discusses main findings, recommendations, main limitations, and novelties of the study, and possibilities for future research. The appendix concludes the book.

Chapter 2
When is a site "like a museum?"

2.1 Historical Overview—Spaces and Museum Practices

The etymology of the word *museum* is the Greek word *museion*, the sacred place devoted to the muses[1] where offerings were made. As stated by Gahtan (2014, 2012), in reference to Shaya (2014, 2005), Elsner (2007), and Pomian (2003), sanctuaries were keepers of objects that attracted visitors even in ancient times.[2] The visitors of the temples were both worshippers and casual visitors, and the place of faith was, at the same time, a space to both watch and pray. Bazin provides a similar interpretation on the temple:

> "At the end of the antique world these treasuries of the sanctuaries were visited frequently, not only by devout pilgrims but also by tourists. One went there to admire the chefs d'ouevre

[1] The Muses have been identified with the categories of knowledge.
[2] About museum origins and proto-museological aspects of ancient cultures see the book by Gahtan and Pegazzano 2014. On first public collections see: Shaya 2005; Bounia 2004.

of the great masters of Greek sculpture, at least those which had not been carried away by the Romans." (1967 p.14)[3]

Temples were the first repositories of works of art in Greece, and that visitors were welcomed into the treasuries if they were willing to pay an *obolus*, a coin, to the *hieropoei* (Bazin 1967, p .12). [4] The latter were the keepers of the treasure, those responsible for its conservation, and the people in charge of the inventories. Issues of preservation have arisen since the second century AD, when Pausanias reported on the conservation of the Stoa Poikile, or of the Parthenon in Athens.

Gahtan and Pegazzano (2014) gather interdisciplinary contributions on museum origin. They acknowledge a gap in the museum literature about the practices of collecting in ancient world (on the contrary Early Modern period preceding the formation of public museums has received larger scholarship attention). The essays analyse the reasons why ancient cultures "from Archaic Greece to the Late Classical-Early Christian period amassed objects and displayed them together in public, private and imaginary contexts."[5]

Bazin introduces other parallels between the ancient and modern worlds. One example is the Mediterranean voyage, undertaken by Pausanias, seen as a precursor of the Grand Tour. From these narratives, Pausanias' concern about what we can

[3] Bazin's words come from interpretation of Greek documents, like the Mime IV by Herodas. The mime describes a visit paid by two women to the temple of Asklepios in Kos. After the religious rite, the women observe and comment on particular statues.
[4] The *hieropoei* were of various kinds. In Herodas' Mime, he is a *sacristan*, who communicates to the women that the God has accepted the sacrifice. (See: *Hieropoei,* Smith, 1890).
[5] The book introduces to the proto-museological aspects of Ancient cultures. The contributors are: S. Bassett, A. Bounia, J. Elsner, M. Franci, F. Ghedini, N. Jones, A. Kuttner, A. Lazzeretti, P. Liverani, I. G. Mastrorosa, M. M. Miles, R. Neudecker, E. Prioux, G. Salvo, J. Shaya, and L. Stirling.

now describe as a site-specific topic arises.[6] According to Bazin, Pausanias "describes for us countless paintings and statues, the pedestals of which have sometimes been found *in situ* but, alas, never the originals" (Bazin, p.14). The *museion* designated a sanctuary, a place of research and erudition, container of books, statues, paintings, and other objects.[7] Besides books, the Library of Pergamum contained copies and original sculptures from Greece. These were dispersed throughout the spaces of the building, delineating a sort of evolution of Greek artistic capabilities (Gahtan and Pegazzano 2014, Bounia 2004; Schaer 1993, Bazin 1967).

Similarly, the *Mouseion* of Alexandria was a college of scholars. Instead of a collection of objects, it was home to a botanical garden and spaces devoted to the study of anatomy and astronomy.[8] Later, with the Romans, "the word museum was applied to specific villas."[9]

Far from Europe, there were similar examples, particularly in Asia, where the temples were storage spaces for precious goods. To go back to the very beginning of the formation of collections, one must also examine the origins of the Chinese empire. The Eastern world was attracted by the past, viewing it as a model to follow. The Chinese practiced the art of

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[6] Other interpretations of the Ancient Greek temples as museum-like or as a exhibition spaces are reported by Elsner (2007, pp. 177-199), about Petronius' Satyrico 83-89, and by Bounia (2017, 2004, p. 261), on Agrippa's 28 BCE speach on public art and Augustus reform. See also Gahtan and Pegazzano 2014.

[7] To Gahtan (2012), the sacred places have been used as experimental laboratories for the notions of collection, ownership, and display.

[8] About Alexandria see: Casson 2003; Canfora 1986; Fraser 1972. On Ellenic acquisition and exhibition display see: Gahtan and Pegazzano 2014 on Howard 1986 and Alsop 1982; Frankel 1891. On collection and museum origins see: Kuttner, Mises and Prioux in Gahtan and Pegazzano 2014. On Pergamum: Gahtan and Pegazzano 2014, p.11; Kattner in Gahtan and Pegazzano 2014; Bounia 2010; Hansen 1971.

[9] Bazin. p. 16 "The word [museum] was never applied to a collection of works of art – the Italian Renaissance was to give it that meaning."
About Roman museum archetypes see also: Bravi 2014; Rutledge 2012; Kuttner 1999; Strong 1973

collecting. The main collectors were the emperors, who kept engravings and calligraphies in their palaces. Subsequently, the Japanese imitated the Chinese, and the temples became storehouses for objects (Bazin 1967). In India, galleries of paintings served as educational and entertainment tools (Clifford 1997), and treasures near sanctuaries existed in antiquity in Persia (modern-day Iran) as well.

During the Middle Ages in Europe, the relics linked to Christianity were collected in the treasuries of churches (Pearce 2016, Pomian 1987). Bazin (1967) defines these churches as "museum[s] in embryo" visited by pilgrims. In particular, the treasuries were specific architectural spaces in the holy sites. Due to the value of the contents, both material and immaterial, and to preserve them from the risk of fire and theft, the treasuries were special sites within the church complexes. As a result, these spaces, whose dimensions changed depending on the wealth of the church, were vaulted, built in masonry, and sometimes annexed to other spaces, such as archives. At Saint Denis, the abbot Suger conceived the space so as to accommodate the flux of pilgrims, and to exhibit the sacred objects. His concerns were about welcoming, teaching, and attracting people (Gahtan 2012, Pearce 2016, Panofsky and Panofsky-Soerel 1979, Bourdieu 1969).[10] Since the concept of museum did not exist, the people in charge of managing particular sites, mostly religious, adopted rules in order to regulate the flux of "tourists" and pilgrims, and to preserve the integrity of the sites. In the thirteenth century, the Republic of Venice established the Treasure of St. Mark's (Tesoro di San Marco). Pomian (1989) describes it as a museum ahead of its time.[11] The treasure was in use, depending on the liturgical rules of the church, and the basilica was first and foremost a sanctuary and treasure. Other Venetian churches adopted a similar arrangement, since they gathered large object collections

[10] Panofsky and Panofsky-Soerel 1979. Especially, Cap. XXXIII, pp. 60-67
[11] The treasure would become officially a museum only in 1832.

as well.[12] In France, the treasury of the *Sainte Chapelle* in Paris, like St Mark's, is still considered to be a gigantic reliquary that stores the relics brought back by the crusaders (Pomian 2003, 1989).[13]

Places of faith have been considered sites to visit for centuries. Gahtan (2012) affirms that the adopted solutions were not very different from those used today in museums. The solutions (articulation of the interior spaces, display cases, and specific itinerary paths) followed practical concerns. Yet, they were a novelty, since they came before the concept and the practices of museology. Settis (1993) focuses on relics and antiquities and their passage from reuse as objects to elevation as works of art. During the Middle Ages, antiquities were considered precious elements to be reused and integrated within then contemporary architecture. Again, Settis (1993) mentions the reuse of Roman sarcophagi in churches of Italy, Spain, and France, as well as the reuse of columns and statues (i.e., Saint Denis, Paris and St. Mark's, Venice). Ancient fragments were considered both a reference of the past and acknowledged as treasures. Later, private houses held collections of precious objects. According to Settis (1993), in this shift there is a new kind of reuse, in which the collections of fragments and relics are transformed in private goods. This period, the Renaissance, marks a disconnection from the past. Antiquities became objects to collect and study, then fragment become monument (Settis 1993), while artistic practice and encyclopedic inclination paved the way to the modern museum.

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[12] Later for example, being affected by Illuminism, Zanetti il Giovane catalogues and describes Venetian paintings and frescoes (Zanetti, 1733; 1744; 1771), portraying Santa Maria Maggiore as a "…compiuta galleria di pitture veneziane" (Pomian, 1987).

[13] About the *Sainte Chapelle* see: Cohen 2014, 2008. In her texts, Cohen provides a literature review on the *Sainte Chapelle,* comprehending: history, architecture, decorative programs, construction and restorations.

Conventional wisdom holds that the origin of "museum" is related to the medieval *schatz*, to the *kunstkammer*, to the Renaissance *studiolo,* and later to the collections of princes and monarchs.[14] Fyfe (2006), Hooper-Greenhill (1992), and Pomian (1989, 2003) discuss the transition from the *cabinet des marveilles* (cabinet of curiosities) to museum, and on how the evolution of the space transformed Western knowledge of the structure itself (Fyfe 2006). Private collections were the foundations to set up public and private museums. As opposed to churches and temples, the collections and their arrangements, being private, reflected the personal taste of their owner, who collected them for personal enjoyment, or to impress his guests. Obviously, the presence and the richness of collections were symbols of wealth and power (Ingersoll 2013, Pomian 2003, 1989, Haskell 2000, Bazin 1967). Hooper-Greenhill (1992) explores the history of the museum and identifies the formation of the Medici family collection as the start of museums. She adopts the view and the interpretation of the history theorized by Foucault to describe the transformation of museums. She does not address the early growing of the museum as an institution or a legal subject, but as a recipient of knowledge. To do so, she focuses on historical, geographic, and anthropological frameworks to describe the birth and development of museums.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the collection assumed the modern function of public good,[15] and, as such, had to be preserved in special places (see appendix A). Despite the democratization of culture, and the birth of the museum as an institution, private collections were still maintained in private sites. They became public at the end of a life cycle, such as at the

[14] On *schatz*, *kunstkammer*, *studioli,* and princes' collections exists a broad literature. See for example: Fiorio 2011; Olmi 2011; Grinke 2006; Pomian 2003, 1989; Mauriès 2002; Lugli 2005; Koeppe 2000; Findlen 1994; Pearce 1994; Elsener and Cardinal 1994; Weil 1995; Bennet 1995; Frazer 1986; Appadurai 1986.
[15] During the French Revolution.

death of the owner. If there was no heir, or because of the owner's will, the collections were donated to public museums; alternatively, both the contents and the container became a museum, as in the case of the house museum. The house museum is a special case, since it must maintain the site according to the original use and manage the space for visitors at the same time.

2.2 As if They Were Museums

Starting with the industrial revolution, the specialization of the disciplines corresponded to the specialization of the spaces. Nowadays, for different reasons (globalization, mass tourism, transportation, web, and more), the situation is fluid and complex. Finally, a cross-cultural and multidisciplinary approach is needed.

Museum studies literature combines contributions from different disciplines, both theoretical and practical. There is a lack of literature about the theme that is addressed in this research. First of all, because of a semantic reason: the subjects are not museum institutions. Secondly, museography presents and refers to examples that showed museum-building solutions, or temporary exhibitions and installations.

This part aims at providing an overview of the analyses made by some scholars toward the sites that might also be considered museums. Contribution from architecture, museum studies, anthropology, history, geography, and social studies shows analogies and differences between these sites and museum purposes.

2.2.1 As if They Were Museums; Some Interpretations

- Museum-Like Structures

As we saw, the places where collections are gathered and displayed precede the invention of museums (Kreps 2003, Pomian 2003, 1989, Settis 1993). Clifford (1997) claims that the practice of gathering goods and objects is a shared human behavior, not limited to certain groups or classes, but a cross-cultural element. The examples listed above are considered museum-like structures, museums ahead of their time. The notion that the museum is only a modern phenomenon is an invention rooted in modern museology, consequently denying other museological models or different curatorial practices (Ambrose and Paine 1993). The rejection of other museum practices is linked to colonialism (Bolton 2003). There was a widespread assumption that non-Western people were not interested in the care and conservation of their own objects, and this served as an excuse to allow the presence of cultural objects in Western museums.[16] Recent studies, linked to comparative museology, have tried to fix the gap, systematically studying differences and similarities among different museological forms and cross-cultural attitudes (Kreps 2003).[17] For example, Asian temples and shrines might be considered to be similar to museums, since they are places where valuable historical, artistic, ethnographical, and cultural objects are conserved and preserved. The care of these places and objects is often given over to local communities that, according to Kreps, can be seen as museographic exercises. Simpson (1996) supports the theory that temples are a kind of museum; to him, the collections of

[16] Bolton (2003) states that the most important activity in a museum, the manner of seeing, is specific to Western society.

[17] Comparative museology is considered one of the many results of post-colonial critics that arose in the 1980s and 90s. They were inspired by certain communities of scholars and by ethnographic culture.

native museums contain objects made by the community, which still use them.

- Heritage

The word "heritage" is an inclusive concept.[18] The notion referred to inherited private property (from Latin *patrimonium*). From the French Revolution, heritage assumed public value (Babelon and Chastel 1980) and was regulated by specific legislation (Catoni 2007; Desvallées 1995). Wars, natural disasters, public interest, and legal verdicts contributed to defining lines of action, aimed to protect, preserve, rescue, and enhance objects and sites identified as "heritage." In particular, the ratification of conventions, norms, recommendations, and directives[19] determined a clearer definition of concepts of: cultural heritage, natural heritage, national heritage, cultural property, and cultural treasury – not to mention the intangible heritage.[20] Therefore, heritage can include museums, monuments, arts, memorials, landscapes, and intangible elements.

Pierre Nora (1989), with his notion of "memory spaces" (lieux de memoire), focuses on the ways in which heritage is spatially defined. Both tangible and intangible elements define

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[18] A brief definition of the word "heritage" is provided by Desvalées and Mairesse's Key Concepts of Museology (2009). Holscher (2006) says that "heritage has several shades that change according to different nations/languages."

[19] To name a few: Hague Convention, 1954 (1999); Charter of Venice, 1964; UNESCO convention on the safeguarding of wetlands 1971; UNESCO convention on the protection of world, cultural and natural heritage 1972; the European Charter of architectural heritage of Amsterdam 1975; Paris Recommendation 1989;
Nara Document, 1994; Krakow Charter 2000; Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2001); Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003).

[20] About them, see specific bibliography; for example: Smith 2006; Poulot 2006, 1997; Arpin 2000; Desvalées 1995; Recht 1998; Babelon and Chastel 1980.

the locations (Hoelscher 2006).[21] However, because of the musealization of the objects, the relationship between place and memory inside the museum is vague or absent (Malraux 1965). According to Nora's concept of site, Hoelscher maintains that in the case of immovable heritage, the act of musealization does not take place.

The attractiveness of a place is linked to time and to the *fortuna* (fortune).[22] For example, the *fortuna* influences the historical choices of enhancement, conservation, and restoration. To Glassberg (2010), interests and needs of contemporary generations guide the aim of preservation. Therefore, the time linked to heritage is the mirror of social changes. However, can we generalize it to every field of culture and science?

- Museum of itself

Quatremère de Quincy asserted that objects attain meaning only when they remain *in situ* (1796). The concepts, expressed in the famous Letters to Miranda (*Lettres à Miranda*), reverberate through centuries, weighing on heritage discussions and on the notion of *in situ*. Coppellotti (1994) defines the site that has the value of document as "museum of itself." He describes it as: "the whole thing of buildings and monuments, recognized as complex cultural good (such as public palaces, big monastic convents, etc.), that preserve their functions, and are simultaneously places to visit as if they were museums."[23] Among the examples, Coppellotti mentions Palazzo Vecchio and the Convent of San Marco, both in Florence. He also emphasizes that the connection between these places and the public

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[22] Vasari, *Le Vite*. Preface to *the Lives* (eng. Edition), i,9; "Fortune, when she has brought men to the top of the wheel, either for amusement or because she repents, usually turns them to the bottom." (Italian, 103) 'Ma perché la fortuna, quando ella ha condotto altri al sommo della ruota, o per ischerzo, o per pentimento il pìu delle volte lo torna in fondo.'
[23] Translated by the author.

determines the civil foundation and the justification for any museums, differentiating the mentioned sites for being a simple cultural property. Besides conservation, a museum can be defined as such only when it can communicate ideas and receive visitors. Therefore, the presence of a public is necessary, but also implies problems linked to safety and conservation.

Regarding the "museum of itself" concept, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) considers the links between tourism and places. To her, the world is a museum of itself, since the museum tries to emulate the journey experience. Museums, being part of the heritage industry, play a vital role in creating a sense of "hereness," which is necessary to convert a place into a destination. Therefore, it follows that heritage and tourism form a collaborative industry. Heritage converts locations into destinations, and tourism makes them economically viable as exhibits of themselves. Furthermore, locations become museums of themselves within a tourist economy. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett connects the concept of museum of itself to that of heritage. To her, when a site can no longer sustain itself as it formerly did, it survives as a representation of itself. But this implies different acts and processes, those of musealizations.

Unlike Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Coppellotti suggests that people operating in the museum field (museologists and museographers) behave as restorers:

> "A careful research is necessary in order to locate the historical and museographical peculiarities: from understanding the reasons of the formation of the collections to the definition of the spaces that contain them, from the current situation of structural and material conservation until the publics. Such observations facilitate the work of an architect who has to know the level of freedom and constraints of spaces, and to find decisions that imply reversible decisions. The evaluation has to be flexible, since a rigid and orthodox behavior risks to lead to a loosing of the curiosity of the visitors. The objective is to set a double reading system, which allows the actual vision

of the museum (both from a curatorial and architectural point of view) without losing the historical traces."[24]

Some buildings and monuments are documents, but only some groups of people are able to read them. This means, in order to reach a broad public, a proper narrative, with the purpose of presenting content, has to be available inside these sites. A way to reach this goal is by using museographical tools.

- House Museum[25]

House museums are specific cases, even among institutional museums. In general, a house museum has to maintain the original characteristics of a living residence, as if the last lodger still lived inside. The museographer has to deal with a series of complexities linked to the use of the places, which should be affected as little as possible. In general, this is an important issue, since as a house it is not designed to welcome a large group of people. Therefore, there are problems of use, conservation, security, and capacity to be addressed (Appendix B).

The case of Sir John Soane and his house is unique. It combines the notions of site specificity, *museum of itself*, and museum-like structures. Sir John Soane's Museum represents one of the most important house museums of London, and it is a specific case of British museums. For the purpose of this study, we shall focus on the time when Soane lived in the house. The novelty was the customization of the spaces in order to conduct different activities simultaneously, such as living, working, and exhibiting the collection. Along with a reasonable timeline, Soane assembled and refurbished three separated residential units, and his home became a sort of one-to-one scale model of his projects. The so-called museographical solutions were

[24] Translated by the author.
[25] The subject is treated more extensively in the Appendix B.

designed to show the collections with the aim of attracting customers, and also for his personal delight. What interests us is the concept of house gallery and how it was used. For example, his collection and gallery of drawings and maquettes entertained his friends, and impressed potential clients. According to Soane's will, the house would become a museum only after his death. As far as this research is concerned, the multiuse of the spaces with its design represents a further example of spaces that can be considered a museum. He took inspiration from the *wunderkammer*, the *studiolo*, and the royal collections, except that it was not for the exhibition of power, but for his personal enjoyment and architectural experimentation.

Soon after Soane's death in 1837, the residence became an institutionalized museum. Architectural models, drawings, and documents of his projects are still preserved there. Nowadays, it is a museum, a research center, a library, and it hosts also a temporary exhibition space.

2.2.2 Non-Western and Postcolonial Museums

Museums are considered to be an expression of Western colonialism. In particular, Kreps (2006, 2003) states that the modern concept of *museum* is a Western invention that has denied other cultural models and different curatorial practices. To Kreps, Western people use excuses to justify their models, saying that non-Western people do not care about their heritage (thus stressing care, conservation, and enhancement), thereby guaranteeing the permanence of "exotic" artifacts in Western galleries. Kreps (2003) proposes comparative museology[26] as a systematic study of similarities and differences between

[26] Comparative museology is seen as one result of post-colonial criticism, which emerged between 1980 and 1990. It is a vision that entered the academic community influenced by ethnographic culture.

museums and cross-cultural behaviors. Kreps defines museum practices as the actions that ensure the protection[27] and conservation of valuable cultural materials. She suggests shrines and temples as examples of places where objects are kept and preserved. Kreps emphasizes the care of objects and sites addressed by local communities, the members of which might be seen as curators. Indeed, these sites have the value of documentation, similar to historical house museums, but they are different because they maintain their original uses. To Bolton (2003), the big difference between Western and non-Western museums is the act of "watching," which is a typical practice for Western structures. Furthermore, in non-Western cultures, the concepts of conserving, preserving, and enhancing objects do not exist. The conservation of objects and places occurs because they are still in use; they are living documents, and the act of musealization jeopardizes their value.[28]

Globalization, digitalization, and new migration fluxes unveil and stress cultural issues (Sassen 2014, 2004, 1999). Ingersoll (2013) dedicates part of his book to the contraposition of the global and the local in architecture. Ingersoll lingers, first, on the attempt by the Third World to escape from Western architecture, and then on the emergence of non-Western architects.[29]

One struggle of the African American community is the community's desire to insert its culture and values into white American society. To accomplish this, members of the African American community have used Western solutions, such as

[27] By "protection," Kreps refers to the transmission of the culture over time.
[28] About Post-Colonial studies see also: Ashcroft 2013, 2005; Ramone 2011; McLeod 2010; Moraña 2008, Loomba 2005; Schwarz 2005, Hawley 2001; Young 2001, Gandhi 1998, Chambers 1996.
[29] See Ingersoll chapter 19.2 and 20.2 Further readings: Tzonis and Lefaivre 2003; Fraser 2000; Nnamdi 1997. See also the differences between the Pritzker prize and the Aga Kahn award (Ingersoll p. 938).

fairs[30] and temporary exhibition pavilions. Mabel O. Wilson tracks these attempts and the realization of black communities in her work *Negro Building* (2014). Wilson traces the history and struggle of African American citizens that culminated in the inauguration of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C.[31] The location of the museum site has tremendous weight, since it is located on the symbolic green of the National Mall. It is worth highlighting that the main designer of the museum was David Adyaye,[32] one of the first African architects to emerge on the international scene. In her book, Wilson enhances the value of African American cultural places as a tool to affirm equality. Historical mobile museums arose as places for sharing knowledge, learning, and creating awareness about the rights and equal value of the African American community. These museums (from 1967–1975) moved around Detroit, touching those places that were symbols of fights between whites and blacks. The motion became site-specific. By and large, such museums must be considered cultural centers, places for conferences and exhibitions, hubs for television and radio programs, settings for community-based activities, and collection centers of oral histories. Over time, the museums have represented political, cultural, and civic points of reference for African American populations. The Safe House Black History

[30] The first appearance of an African American pavilion dates back to 1888, on the occasion of the Atlanta exposition.

[31] The NMAAHC, located on the symbolic green of the National Mall in Washington D.C., is the result of a long path. In 1990, the approved museum was allocated space in the old building of the Smithsonian, the first funds arrived in 2002, and congressional funding was approved in 2003.The full acknowledgement for a mainstream African American museum, to be hosted in a building from scratch, arrived 100 years after the first attempt to create an African American cultural space.

[32] David Adyaye is a Ghanaian architect, educated in London. His main works are the Dirty House, the Idea Store Library, and the National African American Museum.

Museum, realized by Rural Studio[33] in 2010, is one such example. Rural Studio has restored, refurbished, and enhanced the two side-by-side shotgun houses that sheltered Martin Luther King Jr. from the Ku Klux Klan on the night of March 21, 1968. The so-called museum functions as a cultural center and a repository for memories of the community's rural roots and local people involved in the Civil Rights Movement.

Stepping back in time and moving from the United States to Brazil, we meet Lina Bo Bardi. She was sensitive to postcolonial issues, although this term did not exist in her time, and she anticipated current anthropological and social questions. Like a social scientist,[34] she learned directly from her contact with local Brazilian communities. Her capacity for listening and understanding different cultures characterized her work.[35] Surely, her meeting with Pierre Verger[36] enriched her unusual vision of architecture and museum settings. Bo Bardi's anthropological approach was visible in her architecture, in which the human factor clearly influenced her architectural solutions. In Salvador da Bahia, this characteristic emerged strongly and influenced her subsequent Paulista architectural style. In contrast with San Paolo, Salvador da Bahia presents strong traces of the colonial period, and the Afro-South American community characterizes the social composition of the city. To be sure, Bo Bardi's political beliefs mattered in her design, which pronounced a sensibility toward human beings

[33] Rural Studio is a design-build architecture studio of Auburn University, Alabama. It is engaged in social projects concerning sustainability, social inclusion, and affordable housing. One of the most famous initiative is the 20k House, a program the goal of which is "to design a market-rate model house that could be built by a contractor for $20,000" (Freear and Barthel 2014).

[34] Lina was not trained as social scientist. There is no certainty about her knowledge of anthropological and ethnographic studies circulating in academia.

[35] Pirazzoli 2011, Carvalho Ferraz 2015, and Bo Bardi 1982 (2002).

[36] Pierre Verger was a photographer and self-taught ethnographer. His research focused on the African slave trade and the African-based religions in Latin American.

and their environments. Bo Bardi felt a sense of responsibility that each architect must bear. Her works in Salvador da Bahia (Benin House Museum, Misericórdia Slope, and Solar do Unhão) honored her closeness to people (Carvalho Ferraz 2015). These three examples shared the same geographical position and use, and they were all restorations of old architecture.

Bo Bardi defines the Benin House Museum as "a living documentation of *Flow and Reflow*, the fundamental book by Pierre Verger on the not so long ago Africa-Brazil episode" (Ferraz 2015). The restorations represented a major effort executed with the Italian approach (*restauro critico,* critical restoration). The goal was to keep the memory of Portuguese colonial architecture alive. The restoration served primarily as a backdrop for the Benin Handicraft exhibition, which Bo Bardi defined as follows:

> "Poor Handicraft (in the modern sense of the expression), like the handicraft in all Brazilian Northeast. Poor, but rich in fantasy, in inventions, a premise of a free, modern future, that may, along with the conquest of the more advanced scientific practices, guard, at the beginning of a new civilization, the values of a history full of hardship and poetry."[37] (1999 p.72)

Nowadays, the Benin House Museum is a cultural center, and Bo Bardi's spatial modification allows for the flexible use of a place that integrates both aspects of Brazilian history and culture. The only construction from scratch is a pavilion located in the courtyard that recalls typical Brazilian architecture. Bo Bardi's design is anthropological, not as a scientific approach but rather as an intuitive approach (Carvalho Ferraz 1999). Her strength was her capacity to observe people, to translate her

[37] Lina on A+U (1999).

observations into dreamlike drawings, and finally to apply them in densely quoted architecture.[38]

Is it possible to speak of a non-Western museum without denying museums? Leaving this question open for further off-site investigation, it is possible to see the direction in which cultural architecture has moved in recent years. Globalization, migration, new obstacles, and the virtual break down of barriers, have modified the Western vision of the world. Lina Bo Bardi anticipated the topics that scholars and experts began exploring in the 1980s regarding post colonialism and cultural studies. Migration, which economists and sociologists first explored, is now a hot topic in Europe and other parts of the world. The global understanding of such a phenomenon characterizes Sassen's works, which go beyond merely political economic studies and consider the different and mutating contexts that determine them. Sassen (1991) holds that is not a new phenomenon and that social and human drama cyclically touched all European countries.

In 2011, a network of European universities initiated a research project (the Seventh Framework Programme), reflecting on the role of museums in the twenty-first century and using the notion of "migration" as a paradigm of the contemporary world. Economy, sociology, anthropology, geography, and architecture are disciplines that comprise the MeLa* Project—European Museums in an Age of Migrations. The main project, called *Museum in the Age of Migration*, questions the contemporary role of European museums in relation to "otherness." The research shows how ethnographic museums are now questionable, given that they are often considered to be the image of empires (McKenzie 2009). The project also investigates the role of urban museums as an inclusive tool and

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[38] Lina's drawings are specific and dreamlike, while her technical drawings are full of quotations. She criticized academia's tendency to limit the use of quotes in drawings (Carvalho Ferraz 2015).

the idea of the postcolonial museum as a way of relating the history of third-generation immigrants or emigrants (MeLA 2012). In addition, the study *Placing Immigration in European Museums* (MeLA 2012), focuses on the role of European cultural centers, the modified kinds of migrations with respect to the past, the economic and cultural crises, the weight of technologies, and different modes of communication. Given these contingencies, museums are now, more than ever, considered strategic and delicate tools. According to MeLa* Project publications, the traditional Western world does not exist anymore. Migrations and new memories force cultural environments to use different approaches. There is thus a significant shift from traditional museums to heterotopic spaces.

According to Chambers (2012), postcolonial museums oppose traditional cultural structures and enhance themes and memories that their traditional counterparts avoided or hid. In Chambers' vision, the museum is not a mausoleum, but an active actor in social and civil society: "The museum provokes a potential and polemical engagements with present understandings and perspectives on who we are and what we might desire to become" (Chambers 2012, p.19). For Chambers, the main goal must be proposing a new composition of time and space that allows for different narrations instead of focusing on peripheral themes (migration, slavery, colonialism). The museum thus becomes a laboratory: "It is transformed into a transgressive and emergent space of historical and critical discontinuities: a potential laboratory of a modernity still to come" (Chambers 2012, p. 33). To Ianniciello (2012), the art museum is transforming itself into a "post-museum." The museum is no longer perceived as an exclusive place for art; instead, it is one of several locations where aesthetic practices circulate (of course, traditional museums are still considered places of power and prestige). Works of art by migrant subjects contribute to the transformation of the museum: "This kind of "migrant art" produces a migrant and "postcolonial" sense of the world: an anti-nationalist, non-exclusive, non-possessive, non-binary and non-rigidly defined sense of the world" (p.156).

In addition to the modification of traditional museums, there is a need to express the intangible. This leads to expositions and museums where objects are not the focus (intangible heritage), and, without fetishism or any aesthetic attraction, these objects become simpler means of creative significance (Bennet 1995). According to this view, objects are not ends in themselves; they can be expressions of ideas and stories (Roberts 1997). The museum's role is changing, moving from a narrative decision-maker to a participative vessel that allows for collaboration and participation and that invites people to shift from passive visitors to active agents (Hooper-Greenhill 1995).[39]

2.3 Tourism, a Key Point

The word "tourist" is a recurrent element of the previous sections. Museums as institutions perform civic roles; besides conserving, enhancing, and preserving, they must also welcome, encourage, educate, and attract people. Then, the presence of the public is a necessary element of the museum's nature. To some scholars[40] (Hooper-Greenhill 1998, Gaskell 2003, Bennett 1995), the presence of these functions makes it a "third space."[41] This concept leads to the academic debate on *museum* between new museologists and other theoretical positions (Conn 2010); however, the point here is the importance of the public in a cultural environment.

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[39] About Post-Colonial museums see also: Adler 2010; Watson 2007; Thomas 2009; Dicks 2003; Barringer 1998, Simpson 1996, Pearce 1994.
40 Those scholars belonging to New Museology (Kamel 2013).
[41] "Third spaces" try to offer forms of communication to irritate the process of "othering" (Varela, Dhawan 2009, p. 346). Museums as third spaces use this drive to be a critical "contact zone" (Clifford 1997, p. 192) or communication center. Nevertheless, museums as social agents cannot replace political and economic empowerment.

Despite the differing positions, most scholars agree on the fact that the public considers contemporary museums to be more than an exhibition space or a gallery. What the visitors expect are services and different functions. Cuno (2001) quotes Krens, former director of the Guggenheim Museum of New York (1998–2008), synthesizes the elements that make a successful museum: "great collections, great architecture, a great special exhibition, a great second exhibition, two shopping opportunities, two eating opportunities, a high-tech interface via Internet, and economies of scale via a global network."[42] The goal of this basic strategy is attracting visitors.

Nowadays, several studies point out that commerce and culture are mixed. To Prior (2003), in the case of art museums, an exchange occurs between art and services. According to him, the profit behavior originated in the mid-1980s. Indeed, starting with Postmodernism, the museums became distraction-attractions, much like malls and theme parks (Ingersoll 2004). It began with the marketing of places, involving museums, when it was possible, or if there was no other alternative, other places. In this view, everything is commercialized, landmarks are places that comprise the cultural landscape, and become items to be sold as well as other commercial sites. From the small to the large scale, everything is part of the consumer logic. In this respect, the book *Se Venezia muore* (*If Venice Dies*, 2014), by Settis, denounces the risk of the commercialization of cultural places through the iconic example of Venice. Similarly, Ingersoll (2004) explores the impact of mass tourism on historical cities, and introduces the figure of the citizen-tourist. As a consequence of transforming the urban centers in sort of theme parks and malls, the resident living in the sprawl becomes a tourist in his own city. In this light, can it be said that sites functioning as museums are commercial operations?

[42] Krens, quoted in Cuno 2001.

In general, publics change in time and space, and are a cornerstone of the museum policies. Some policies foster the strategic planning and projects that seek to affirm local identities, to work on the social role of the place, to enhance an urban area, and, of course, to attract people. The literature devoted to this field is vast, and addressed by scholars coming from various disciplines: sociology, anthropology, economics, geography, urban study, management, and more (McClellan 2013, Lasansky and MacLaren 2003, Bordieu and Darbel 1967).[43] All these viewpoints provide useful information and elements to understand the characteristics and the composition of the public that spends time in cultural and touristic places.

Considering only the spaces we are talking about, they become points of interest in a second instance, implying different lines of reasoning concerning their relations with tourism. First, the presence of tourists in such places is determined by a broad, shared interest in something represented by them, or contained there. Sometimes this implies that a marketing campaign is not necessary since the main goal is not to increase the number of tourists.[44] Second, the presence of the latter defines the implementation of physical changes to the space, different treatment of the public, the need for structures, organizations, and solutions, close to those of museums. Tourism, and mass tourism in particular, determine the need for spaces and services that cannot always be provided.[45] How can the sites mentioned above serve tourist needs? Is tourism the factor that determines

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[43] A vast body of literature regarding museum attendance and tourism composition is concentrated in North America.
[44] Sometimes the number of tourists is so high that we can speak about invasion; Santarossa compares mass-tourism behaviors to military invasions (2014).
[45] On tourism see also: Lozato-Giotart 2008, Bagnoli 2006, Bencardino and Prezioso 2007, Ole Bærenholdt et al. 2004, Bonadei and Volli 2003, Urry 1995, Scaramuzzi 1993, Enzensberger 1950.

whether a site morphs from being only a place used in its traditional fashion to a museum?

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were. In this analysis, the following points emerge:

- In contemporary literature, defining the concept of *museum* in a historical perspective is a complex task.
- The historical cohabitations of different practices in the same place are difficult to define.
- The traditional concept of museum makes the classification of hybrid spaces difficult, where many different practices are carried out.
- The presence of museum-like sites in the past and the absence of a comprehensive definition of them today bring us to consider the link between concepts of *museum* and others, such as: heritage, places of culture, Non-Western cultural examples, and more.
- Despite the presence of the museum-like model in both Western history and the non-Western world, today these sites do not have definition or recognition.
- The difficulty in classifying mixed, hybrid sites can be ascribed to the institutionalization of *museum*, a recent phenomenon; as opposed to this, the coexistence of different practices (religious, cultural, and more) are historical phenomena.
- The impact of tourism in non-museum sites implies the consideration of unusual aspects, such as specific policies, ad-hoc services, safety, consumption of the space, narrative, composition of the staff, and more.

Chapter 3
Rites, Rituals, and Sites

> "Ritual may be said to be the poetry of function: insofar as a building is shaped by ritual it does not simply house function, it comments on it."
>
> *S. Kostoff p.19*

3.1. Introduction

There are conventions, uses, and behaviors that are enacted and considered as appropriate in certain spaces. This chapter sets forth the theoretical introduction to the rituals that are enacted and characterize sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were. In addition to introducing the concept of rituals, the interpretations of spaces and places are taken into account. Kostoff considers the *purpose* of architecture as ritual. In the introduction to his book *A History of Architecture* (1985), he declares this aspect as fundamental to understanding the history of architecture and architecture in general.

> "To the extent that architecture is the useful art that lays the stage for human activities, the history of architecture is inevitably linked to the pageantry of human endeavors-governments, religion, commerce, knowledge, and its preservation, justice and its administration. If it is true that

> architecture expresses human needs as much as it contains the various functions of our daily life, the history of architecture should try, before it is done, to look at buildings as palpable images of the values and aspirations of the societies that produce them." (p. 20)

The first part of this chapter summarizes definitions and interpretations of rites and rituals. The theme has been debated extensively and there is a huge body of literature surrounding it. Philosophers, sociologists, and anthropologists describe and classify certain behaviors and standardized manners as rituals. The latter might be specific to certain places, allowing the association of people and rituals to a site. In their works, scholars such as Durkheim, Callois, Eliade, Bourdieu, and Segalen describe some typologies of rites executed by groups of people. All the sites examined in this study share touristic use and interest; tourism might therefore be considered a ritual too.

The second part links rituals and sites. This connection is exemplified through an overview of theoretical studies made by architects, like: the Aldo Rossi's metaphysic interpretation of space, the phenomenological way according to Norberg-Schultz, and Lynch, Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour's American visions. Different disciplines (such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology, ethnography, etc.) mark the interpretation and the design of buildings and cities (for example, Augé and Clement's thoughts on French environment).

The third part, in conclusion, ties together rituals, sites, and people.

3.2. Rites and Rituals

Encyclopaedia Britannica (2016) describes a *rite* as "the performance of ceremonial acts prescribed by tradition or by sacerdotal decree. Ritual is a specific, observable mode defining or describing humans." The Dizionario di Antropologia

(Dictionary of Anthropology), edited by Fabietti and Remotti (1997), says that:

> "In varie occasioni della vita sociale si osservano comportamenti standardizzati e ripetitivi, che possiedono un significato simbolico più o meno esplicitamente interpretabile da parte di coloro che vi assistono o vi partecipano. Tali comportamenti rientrano in genere in un cerimoniale, una festa, un culto religioso. La nozione di rito, in effetti, si sovrappone in parte a queste diverse occasioni comunitarie, ma non vi si identifica completamente. […] Il rito è piuttosto una categoria analitica che serve a interpretare la realtà isolando e ordinando una serie di comportamenti umani in una sequenza coerente e significativa. Secondo una tale prospettiva, i riti costituiscono creazioni culturali complesse ed elaborate, comportanti una precisa articolazione di gesti, delle parole e delle rappresentazioni di diverse persone in un contesto collettivo." (pp. 635-637).

Rite comes from the Latin *ritus,* which means "required order" (Benveniste, 1969). In general, the term recalls ceremonies, practices, series of acts, traditions, and behaviors, both civic and religious. A rite is a set of ordered sequences, constantly repeated, with the same structure. Consequently, the notion of rites comprises several meanings and interpretations.

To scholars studying the history of religion, ritualism corresponds to the religious rite (Fabietti and Remotti 1997), while other authors extend the concept of rite beyond the religious field. The latter considers social and political life to be part of the meanings of *rite* (Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Kertzer 1988). Despite the tendency of a part of society to recognize rites everywhere (Segalen 1998; Goffman 1967), rites generally indicate something that breaks with the normal routine. There are several features that contribute to identifying a rite. The ritual demarks a "different" moment from everyday life, altering laws and rules. It produces a collective mood and happens periodically (Benveniste 1969).[1] Quantitative elements of classification of rites might be: individual, shared by groups, or involving a society (Thomassen 2012, Turner 1985).

Mauss (1889) considers sacrifice[2] to be an example of a ritual. To him, the sacrifice is a social phenomenon. Without society the sacrifice does not exist, and it has efficacy because it is considered a social act. In the same vein, Douglas (1990) focuses on rites as symbolic actions. To be rituals, social actions have to respect a fixed frequency of occurrence, follow a precise protocol, and have large identification among people. Subjects, behaviors, and words constitute a formalized set of acts that acquires a symbolic dimension. Douglas' thinking is a post-modern vision of Durkheim's thought.

Durkheim (1912) considers rites part of the religious sphere.[3] In his studies on aborigines, he states that two elements distinguish religious thinking: the creed and the rite.[4] Creeds are the representations; they convey the nature of sacred things and relationships with the secular. Rites are the rules; they manage man's behaviors and sacred objects. For example, the "moments of effervescent collectiveness" are a common character of big mass rituals. These elements are part of the Western world as well, and could be both religious and secular (e.g., patriotic events or a visit by the Pope). Durkheim expresses his interpretation of sacred in *Les forms elementaires de la vie religieuse* (The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, 1912), developing

[1] To Benveniste, thinking that rites are extinct and that are everywhere is an error, although the rites lost their prominent role in everyday life have become marginalized.

[2] The sacrifice is one of the most important points of Mauss' thought.

[3] The religious sphere is the totemic worship of Australian aboriginal populations.

[4] The interpretations of Durkheim's works define a classification of rituals: negative worship or taboo, painful moment that determines limitations, and the initiations of the newcomers into the sacred world; positive cults, linked to festivities, characterized by sharing thanks, holy food, donations, and offers; particular rites are those of mourning, characterized by silence, pain, corporal punishment, and expiation.

Hubert and Mauss' concepts (1906).

> "Enfin, les rites sont des règles de conduite qui prescrivent comment l'homme doit se comporter avec les choses sacrées" (Durkheim 1963, p. 43).

Like them, Durkheim conceives of the religious ritual as a form of veneration, which is defined as a social sacred. According to this vision (totemism), the object of veneration is the society itself, the community. Rites are symbols that find expression in the collective beliefs, and faiths are collective representations of the society. The divinity represents the society and sacred rites are collective actions that affirm the beliefs.[5] Indeed, the ritual is an exceptional moment of the social life. A mass of people (physical density) that comes from different classes (social density) marks the rite. More importantly, the rite is characterized by social involvement (moral density): communities take part in a ritual, focus on the same object simultaneously (the symbol, the sacred, and the society), and perceive the cohesion of the group and the power of their collective activity (dances, gestures, and songs) (Durkheim 1912).[6]

Similar to Durkheim, Goffman (1967) interprets society as a moral community, focusing on the individual and concentrating on rituals that are present in the society. To him, daily liturgies are based on shared moral solidarity, thus every daily performance is considered a ritual. He is interested in micro-rituals that give meaning to human activities, and considers the worship by the individual the primary object of contemporary ceremonies. According to Goffman, rites are not the center of the society, but allow it to function. Some

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[5] The conclusion of the book is that religion is a social construct (Durkheim, 1963, p.11).

[6] See: Durkheim, 1963, p. 241.

researchers oppose Goffman's assumption (Giner 1994, Weber 1963) and consider rituals as exceptional events.

To Callois (1963), rites are the practical acts used to confirm religious phenomenon. In the *Men and the Sacred* the author explains the ambiguity of the duality of sacred/secular and the performed acts. One chapter is dedicated to analysis of Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*. Here, the sacred rituals are compared to those of games. Although Callois admits the social role of the game, he does not assert the parallelism between sacred and play. According to him, they are both enacted inside closed spaces, defined by time, are exceptions to ordinary time, and involve symbolic gestures and rules. However, the sacred, through rites, manages a powerful force; it is not a mere distraction from ordinary life, like play.

Eliade (1949, 1971) interprets the repetition of ritual as a symbolic mechanism, seeing it as a reproduction of the cosmos or the regeneration of time. Individuals follow the rules of ritual gestures, which sometimes determine their behavior.

This vision is the *performative utterances*[7] of the rites that Bourdieu (1982) defines as institutive functions. According to Bourdieu, the authorities give meaning to certain symbols and acts, which, as a result, become effective. With Darbel, he (1962) defines the museum as a sacred site, given that gestures, behaviors, and spiritual involvement are similar to those observed in churches. The act of visiting a museum becomes a rite. In the same vein is Carol Duncan's thesis (1995) on why an art museum might be considered a ritual site.

The shifting of rituals from the religious realm to everyday life has several causes, such as the process of secularization in society (Giner 1994), the messages of particular religions (Weber 1963), the crises of the major religions and their

[7] "The performative utterances are sentences that are not only describing a given reality, but also changing the social reality they are describing" (Austin,1955).

inability to react to social change, the division between temporal and religious power, new religious liturgies (Charismatic Catholics, Pentecostal Protestantism), the link between crises in religion and social events (Hubert and Mauss 1968, Engels), and hypermodernity and contemporary crypto-religion (Riviere 1998, Segalen 2002).

To Segalen (1998), a ritual is defined as such based on the repetition of gestures. She reports that in contemporary Western society, the terms *rites* and *rituals* are often abused when linked to everyday life, and that this definition is unsuitable. Rites are plastic, adaptable to social modifications, dynamic, and fall into ever-changing categories. She explains that rites are present in modern society because of the need for symbols.

With regard to the crypto-religious aspects, introduced by Eliade,[8] Riviere and Segalen analyze the formalization of daily behaviors, which Ciattini (2007) defines as "etiquettes." Examples of these etiquettes are the substituted rites for weddings and funerals, or sporting rituals. When rituals are linked to aspects of consumption, they are deprived of their original meanings. The rites could be seen as "stereotyped and repetitive behaviors that are symbolically redundant" (Ciattini 2007). The ritualization of everyday life is given by the need of industrial production to have standardized and homologated behaviors to sell goods. As an example, she discusses the ritualization of the rules of legal activities.

Liquid society is studied too. Van Gennep (1970) analyzes complexities and non-definition of things, and focuses on liminality and marginality. With *rite of liminality*, the ethnographer refers to the precarious threshold between a person, his previous role in society, and his new, evolved,

[8] Mircea Eliade considers crypto-religious behaviors to be a degradation, a desacralization of religion, a not-real religion of modern society. "Crypto-religion: a person deliberately retains the outward forms of a dominant relgious tradition while secretely identifying with another religion." (Cheethan, Pratt, Thomas 2013).

existence. Liminality is always associated with ephemerality and with the transitional passage between alternative conditions. Turner (1982) develops the idea of van Gennep's rite of passage. He highlights the sequences of facts that form a complex ritual, using the analogy of the theater. In this case, the rite is not only a reflection of the social environment, but also the expression of creative power, and introduces the proximity of the liminal experience with the Western notion of aesthetic experience. To him, drama serves to cause emotions, identification, and empathy between political institutions and symbolic constructions. He recognizes the ritual as a powerful instrument that can be a tool of persuasion. He takes this interpretation from Confucian culture, which considers human behavior shaped by repetitive, standardized, and collective actions, that is, by rites. Using symbols, the reference category of perception of reality is cyclically revised. Under this view, the ritual, as a form of communication, has a deep meaning (cosmology and social system). Furthermore, inside the community, the system of rituals is important as a way of transferring knowledge and experience to future generations (Fabietti and Remotti 1997, Turner 1967, 1968).

3.3. Sites and Rituals

> "The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites, which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another." (Focault, 1984 p.23)

Ritual is one possible narrative that can be used to describe a place. The relationship between rituals and places is a highly debated topic in architectural and urban studies. Several disciplines provide architectural studies with a particularly relevant perspective with regard to the study of the relationship between rituals and places. From ideal cities to anthropological environments, the study of sites passes from empty cities to the relationship between people and constructed place.

Aldo Rossi is the first Italian Pritzker Prize winner. Although he created some iconic buildings,[9] his writings are much more famous. In *L'architettura della città* (The Architecture of the City, 1966), he researches the theme of the city.[10]

> "Io credo che l'importanza del rito e nella sua natura collettiva, il suo carattere essenziale di elemento conservatore del mito, costituiscano una chiave per la comprensione del valore dei monumenti e per noi del valore della fondazione della città e della trasmissione delle idee nella realtà urbana." (Rossi, 1966 p. 16)

Philosophy, anthropology, history, and social science influence his work,[11] as well as architectural references[12] and his former colleagues. Rossi's city is a "big artifact" composed of "urban artifacts,"[13] and is the container of the collective memory.[14] Although social considerations emerge in his text, society is not the core of Rossi's thesis. To him, society is built by

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[9] For examples: Teatro del mondo, 1979; Ossuary and the Cemetery of San Cataldo Modena, 1971–84, Bonnefanten Museum in Maastricht, 1990–94; Quartier Schützenstrasse, Berlin, 1994–98; Administrative building for the Walt Disney Company, Florida 1999. About Rossi's architecture, see: Ferlenga 1996.

[10] See also: Rossi 1975, 1990.

[11] Rossi's deep, broad culture reflects on his works. Among others, he quotes: Fustel de Coulange, De Saussure, Halbwachs, Mauss, Lévi-Strauss.

[12] For example: Milizia and Durand among architects, and Quatremére de Quincy, among historians.

[13] The urban artifact, *fatto urbano*, is one of the main concepts of Rossi's thinking (Rossi 1978).

[14] He refers to Lévi-Strauss, Halbwachs, and Cattaneo.

Figure 1. Aldo Rossi, *Process Sketches*, Bonnefanten Museum. From Portoghesi 2000, pp. 44-53.

Figure 2. Giovan Battista Piranesi, *Reconstruction of Campo Marzio***,** 1761-62. From A. Rossi 1978.

who builds the urban artifacts. Conversely, single and precious architectures (i.e. outstanding churches, arches, and palaces) determine the symbolism and individuality of the city. Here, individuality means the inseparable tie between place and work. He uses a positive approach, following in the footprints of Quatremére de Quincy, and analyzes the city through simple elements: typology, model, and rule. These elements determine the character of a place and the life of its inhabitants.

> "Tutte le grandi manifestazioni della vita sociale hanno in comune con l'opera d'arte il fatto di nascere dalla vita incosciente; questo livello è collettivo nel primo caso, individuale nel secondo; ma la differenza è secondaria perché le une sono prodotte dal pubblico, le alter per il pubblico: ma è appunto il pubblico che fornisce loro un denominatore comune." (Rossi 1966 p.26)

In 1979, Norberg-Schultz published his book *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture;* which he bases on the phenomenological approach of the philosopher Martin Heidegger.

> "In general a place is therefore a qualitative, total phenomenon, which we cannot reduce to any of its properties, such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight. Everyday experience moreover tells us that different actions need different environments to take place in a satisfactory way. […] "Taking place" is usually understood in a quantitative, "functional" sense, with implications such as spatial distribution and dimensioning. Being qualitative totalities of complex nature, places cannot be described by means of analytic, "scientific" concepts." (Norberg-Schultz 1980 p.8)

The book considers the conditions of a man who lives in one space and is exposed to the character of it. The notions *orientation* and *identification with the ambient* describe the environment; “to dwell means to belong to a given space” (Norberg-Schultz, 1980). To him, thanks to the peculiarities of the sites, both natural and artificial, each place gets its own character. According to his theories, before designing, an architect must comprehend the inner nature of the place, to have the “genius loci.” The attention focuses on the characters of a place designed for one person, who is the main recipient. Every line of reasoning concerns the archetype of the human being. Though he does not deny its importance, the man as part of the community is not the main focus of Norberg-Schultz’s research.

Although Norberg-Schultz’s thesis has been criticized, in particular because of his misinterpretation of Heidegger,[15] the spirit of the place is a popular theme. Massey (2003)

says that: “In principle a “place” might be thought of as a generic term for spatial unit, location or territory. […] (They entail) a synthesis of elements thought from the economic to the geological, to the cultural and imaginative” (p.275). The scholar adds, “The relations among heterogeneous things might determine the identity of a place. These relations, mixing, produced the uniqueness of a place.”

The American panorama offers interpretations about spaces, based upon different dimensions, perceptions, and cultural backgrounds. During the 1960s, the innovative and revolutionary cultural environments were fertile grounds for artistic movements, architectural theories, and innovations. Art and architecture were interconnected and influenced each other. The new art movements, Pop Art in particular, opened the field to new experimentation in the USA first, and then in the rest of the world.

The works by Lynch (1960), Venturi (1966), and Venturi, Scott-Brown, and Izenour (1972) open the path to further

[15] Krause (1991) associates Norberg-Schultz’s vision to those of Pugin and Ruskin, defining it as romantic and not new. Reviewed Work: *Architecture: Meaning and Place* by Christian Norberg-Schulz

multidisciplinary research. The approach is collegial and shared. The innovations of these works are in their content, of course, and their methods, since they adopt a multidisciplinary approach to using the university as a platform to share research. The observations of several case studies and theoretical dissertations stand in opposition to a more abstract and theoretical European approach.

Lynch reads some cities as if they were books, but he combines Rossi's urban facts with the reactions of the citizens. He embeds the sociological method of analysis in the urban studies, and understands the importance of the city[16] as image, or as a collection of images, in the life of the inhabitants.

> "The final objective of such a plan is not the physical shape itself but the quality of an image in the mind. Thus it will be equally useful to improve this mage by training the observer, by teaching him to look at his city, to observe its manifold forms and how they mesh with one another. Citizens could be taken into the street, classes could be held in the schools and universities, the city could be made an animated museum of our society and its hopes. Such education might be used, not only to develop the city image, but to reorient after some disturbing change. An art of the city design will wait upon an informed and critical audience. Education and physical reform are arts of a continuous process." (Lynch 1960, p.117)

Venturi and Scott-Brown's work is rooted in the social planning movement of the 1960s and takes into account the teachings of Gans and Jacobs. *Complexity and Contradictions* (1977) and *Learning* from *Las Vegas* (1977) are manifestos of their methodology. Being architects and professors, one of their goals is to *learn*. They claim that one has to learn from both high and

[16] "These shaping and reshaping should be guided by what might be called a "visual plan" for the city or metropolitan region: a set of recommendations and controls which would be concerned with visual form on the urban scale".

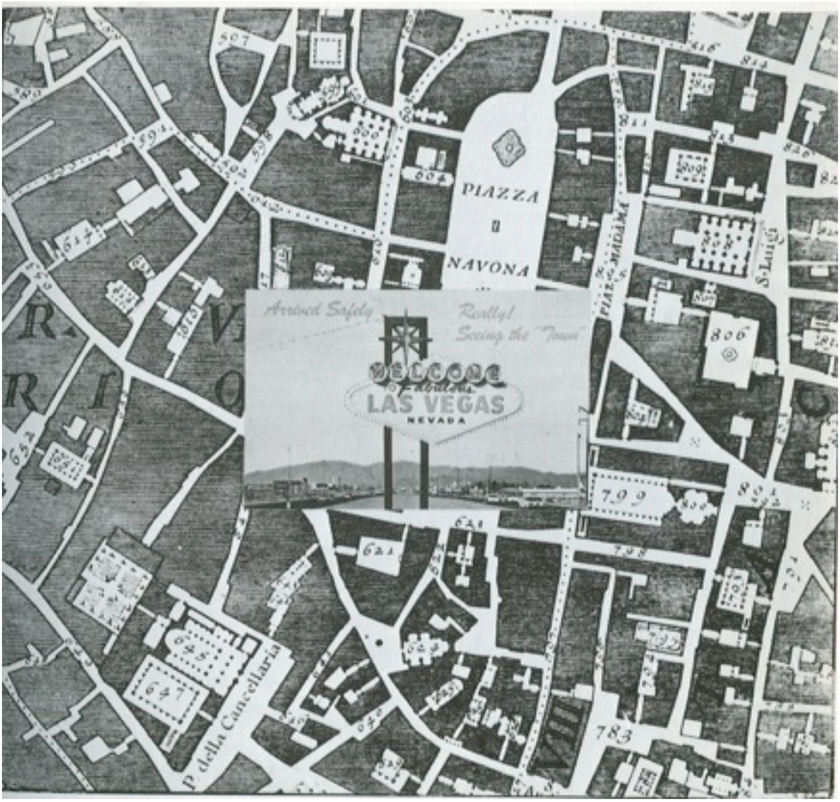

Figure 3. Denise Scott-Brown, *Roma:Piazza=Las Vegas:Strip*. Venturi, Scott-Brown, Izenour 1977.

low architecture, criticizing the conceited behavior of some architects. The other crucial point is the importance of the visual language in architecture, and how this determines the perception and the life of the city.

> "Architecture can't force people to connect, it can only plan the crossing points, remove barriers, and make the meeting places useful and attractive." (Scott-Brown 2009)[17]

> "Learning to really look at a place and question how we look, is a way of becoming revolutionary." (Venturi and Scott-Brown 1977, p.3)

New images and rituals become part of popular American culture, which, according to the authors, must confront "pop" architecture: "Las Vegas is to the Strip what Rome is to the Piazza."

> "We feel too that architects, bar a few diehards, are coming to realize that what we learned from Las Vegas, and what they by implication should learn too, is not to place neon signs on the Champs Elysées or a blinking 2+2=4 on the roof of the Mathematics Building, but rather to reassess the role of symbolism in architecture, and, in the process, to learn a new receptivity to the tastes and values of other people and a new modesty in our designs and in our perception of our role as architects in society. Architecture for the last quarter of our century should be socially less coercive and aesthetically more vital than the striving and bombastic buildings of our recent past. We architects can learn this from Rome and Las Vegas and from looking around us whenever happen to be." (Scott-Brown 1977, p.17)

Rossi frequents the American environment, with which

[17] Denis Scott-Brown interviewed by Andrea Tamas, 2009.

has a mutual exchange of thoughts. The fervent and fresh, though revolutionary, American environments recall leading personalities, like the publication *Opposition.* Produced by the Institutes for Architecture and Urban Studies in Manhattan, the review characterizes the autonomous theoretical discourse, and gathers architects such as Diana Agrest, Mario Grandelsonas, Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, Manfredo Tafuri,[18] Aldo Rossi, Antony Vidler, Denise Scott-Brown, and more.[19]

With the mutation of society, new analyses and deductions about people and places emerge. Just as primitive communities were in the past, Western cities and urban communities are now anthropologists' main subject of study, and philosophical concepts and ethnological practices are used to explain complex social phenomena.

Among other eminent French scholar,[20] Michel Foucault's works[21] receive critical acclaim. Although it first appeared in 1967, the concept of *heterotopy*[22] is still receiving attention from critics and architects.

> "As for the heterotopias as such, how can they be described? What meaning do they have? We might imagine a sort of systematic description—I do not say a science because the term is too galvanized now—that would, in a given society, take as its object the study, analysis, description, and 'reading' (as some like to nowadays) of these different spaces, of these other places. As a sort of simultaneously mythic and real

[18] Tafuri entered in the USA although was inscribed to the Communist Italian Party (PCI).
[19] Hays 1998.
[20] Jean Baudrillard, Jacques Derrida, Julia Kristeva, Jacques Lacan, Roland Barthes, and Jean-François Lyotard.
[21] Foucault 1967; 1968; 1984; 1994.
[22] "The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there." Foucault 1967

> contestation of the space in which we live, this description could be called heterotopology." (Focault 1967, p.4)

Among the beneficiaries of Foucault's inheritance is Marc Augé. His writings have been read by a large number of people, and "non lieu" is part of the common language. The concept of "non lieu" points out the lack of spirit of a place of buildings and sites. One obvious example is that of peripheries or the commercial center, where specific characteristics and identified traits are missing, and with that, specific rituals. The counterparts are the historical centers, with their peculiarities and elements not artificially replicable.[23]

> "Ce qui est significatif dans l'expérience du non-lieu, c'est sa force d'attraction, inversement proportionnelle à l'attraction territoriale, aux pesanteurs du lieu et de la tradition. La ruée des automobilistes sur la route du week-end ou des vacances, les difficultés des aiguilleurs du ciel à maîtriser l'encombrement des voies aériennes, le succès des nouvelles formes de distribution en témoignent à l'évidence." (Augé 1992, p. 147-148)

Virtual spaces, and in-between spaces, like airports, stations, and highways, are also objects of anthropological studies. As happened to Foucault, Lefebvre, and others, Augé's works influence the practices of architects, urban planners, designers, and artists, who begin thinking about spaces in a contemporary way.

> "[Dans] les non-lieux réels de la surmodernité, […] les individus sont censés n'interagir qu'avec des textes sans autres énonciateurs que des personnes "morales" ou des institutions (aéroports, compagnies d'aviation, ministère des Transports, sociétés commerciales, police de la route, municipalités) dont la

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[23] See also: Augé 1997 and 2003.

présence se devine […] derrière les […] innombrables "supports" (panneaux, écrans, affiches) qui font partie intégrante du paysage contemporain. " (Augé 1992, p. 120-121)

"Il y a des espaces où l'individu s'éprouve comme spectateur sans que la nature du spectacle lui importe vraiment […] comme si, en définitive, le spectateur était à lui-même son propre spectacle. Bien des dépliants touristiques suggèrent un tel détour, un tel retour du regard en proposant par avance à l'amateur de voyages l'image de visages curieux ou contemplatifs, solitaires ou rassemblés, qui scrutent l'infini de l'océan, la chaîne circulaire de montagnes enneigées ou la ligne de fuite d'un horizon urbain hérissé de gratte-ciel : son image en somme, son image anticipée, qui ne parle que de lui, mais porte un autre nom (Tahiti, L'Alpe d'Huez, New York). L'espace du voyageur serait ainsi l'archétype du non-lieu." (Augé 1992 p. 110)

In the same cultural milieu, Gilles Clément developed *Tiers Paysage* (2004), receiving public acclaim. Starting from the perception of the French landscape and sociological research, Clément points out the importance of nature in life, and endorses the re-introduction of it within urban agglomerations, in particular in liminal spaces.

"Fragment indécidé du jardin planétaire, le Tiers paysage est constitué de l'ensemble des lieux délaissés par l'homme. Ces marges assemblent une diversité biologique qui n'est pas à ce jour repertoriée comme richesse.
Tiers paysage renvoie à tiers - état (et non à Tiers - monde). Espace n'exprimant ni le pouvoir ni la soumission au pouvoir.
Il se réfère au pamphlet de Siesyes en 1789 :
« Qu'est - ce que le tiers-état ? - Tout.
Qu'a – t - il fait jusqu'à présent ? - Rien.
Qu'aspire – t – il à devenir ? - Quelque chose. »" (Clement 2004,p.1)

Boundaries, in-between, and borders are concepts, part of the architectural vocabulary, that finds a corollary in the notion of liminality theorized by van Gennep (1970). The main characteristics of liminality in architecture are the presence of in-between spaces with multi-faced elements. Besides theoretical essays and scientific dissertations, practical interventions reveal themselves to be worthy promoters of the message. Art teaches architecture, so that on-site artistic installations provide inspirations that has been kept by architecture (Reiss 1999). Site-specific art is part of this approach. Art installations highlight situations or elements that are usually hidden or that are not noticed; in other cases, the art is a statement of claim. Traditional architecture is re-conceptualized, passing from building the object to the person-environment relationship. When architecture must function in blurred zones, ephemeral, social, and hybrid solutions are the main elements of the design process, while traditional practices, political issues, social participation, structural, and legal limitations are all elements of the plot. Knowing the place through the project is a kind of approach used by architects and taught in academia.[24] Projects and analyses of blurred areas are now hot topics. Peripheries and the so-called "frontier zone" are objects of practical interventions and of academic theories, where the work is usually participatory and multidisciplinary.

3.4. Rites, sites, and people

Ruskin (1880, p.5) said, "All architecture proposes an effect on the human mind, not merely a service to the human frame." For historians of architecture, the interpretation of the intangible characteristics of architecture is difficult, but,

[24] See for example: Collotti, Pirazzoli, and Volpe 2009.

following Kostoff's premises, they might be interpreted now.[25]

Architecture provides the stage where particular rituals are enacted. Such spaces might, or might not, be designed for such purposes, and the rituals might be exceptional (religious, ancestral, or secular), as well as habitual or routinized (everyday life). The ritual characters of the places might emerge, in time and space, and become an element of attraction (museums), or the space itself might drive a ritual (tourism).

Religious rituals are codified practices, known by members of a community. In some cases, they are part of a shared, extensive cultural background, and even those who are not part of the community are aware of the majority of its rituals. Pilgrims are part of the religious sphere too, but the pilgrimage may also be secular. For example, there are pilgrimages to places that are not considered religious or sacred; or, like Santiago de Compostela, pilgrimages may also be made by people who do not have religious motives. Memorials and shrines are objects of multidisciplinary research too. Lately, some of them have become popular destinations for tourist travels, as in the case of the shrines of famous persons, or places of extraordinary events (Vikan 2012). The act of paying tribute merges with the curiosity and the spirit of discovery, engendering other kinds of rituals. Sporting halls (stadiums, sports arenas, etc.) host the rituals of the cheer, recalling those ancestral practices analyzed by Durkheim, Huizinga, and Callois. In museums, as described by Bordieu and Darbel, everyone behaves in a similar fashion, as if they were inside a church, even if there are no written codes of behavior. Tourism in general enacts ritual practices. Without considering the micro-rituals of everyday life, rituals are useful

[25] Kostoff (1985) declares that there are four premises that underlie the scope and treatment of the survey: 1. considering the material aspect (that "should be looked at in its entirety"); 2. considering the broader physical framework; 3. considering all the building of the past as worthy of study, without prejudice; 4. "The extra-material elements that affect the existence of buildings should be considered indispensable to their appreciation" (p.30).

for the analysis of unusual buildings.

In summary, religious rituals are useful for describing religious places, memorials, and shrines; other performances, such as sporting events characterized by cheers, museums visited as if they were churches, and touristic behaviors, enacting sequences of particular actions, might be read as secular rituals.

Rituals, architecture, and people become keywords that can be used to describe certain sites. The role of the architect is to study the entire situation in order to propose the best suitable solution. As presented above, uses, typology of people, traditions, the way in which meaning is conferred on a place, intangible values, and tangible characteristics of architecture are some of the elements that must be considered in order to classify and analyze a site. The framework is complicated by the presence of more than one ritual at the same time and in the same place. This must be considered by architects and by those who manage such sites. The solutions adopted by architects and by people working in these special sites must use traditional or innovative architectural and museographical solutions to satisfy multiple audiences, uses, and rituals.

Chapter 4
Case Studies

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the selection criteria for the case studies and the selected sites. Specifically, the first part (4.2) analyzes the chosen criteria. The second (4.3) presents the selected case studies and their relationship to the criteria. The third (4.4) summarizes the structure of the following chapters.

The first part of the research constituted the proposition and the theoretical bases for adopting specific criteria used to select the cases. Chapters 2 and 3 allow the determination of boundaries and the selection of the cases. In order to conduct the analysis clearly and effectively, we built a common ground composed of a set of nine criteria. The selected sites must be: symbols, popular, accessible, broadly known (at the international, national, and local levels), tourist attractions, visited by large numbers of people, stages for different kind of rituals, and "used as if they were museums." Considering the site specificity of each place, different complexities are considered as intrinsic values.

4.2. Definition of the Criteria

- *Symbol.*[1] Encyclopedia Britannica (1998) defines *symbol* as "a communication element intended to simply represent or stand for a complex of person, object, group, or idea."

  In this regard, a large community of people shares the meaning of a place. Therefore, the cases have to be highly recognizable sites, have shared meaning, or be symbols for a community or a nation. This character determines elements of representativeness, shared imagery, iconic representations, and figurative features. According to Hariman (2007), people think of a symbol as a long-lasting element, as something that will last forever. Actually, as societies mutate, new symbols appear while old ones come to an end. The cases must be symbols in the current historical moment, acknowledging the fact that their value may mutate in the future.

- *Popular.* Etymology Dictionary (2010) reports: "*Public* (early 15c.) comes from the Middle French *populier* (Modern French *populaire*) and directly from Latin *popularis* "belonging to the people, general, common, devoted to or accepted by the people; democratic," from *popolus* "people."[2]

  This aspect is linked to the appeal of the sites to diverse people. If *symbol* represents something or somebody, *popular* represents its fame. A site's fame reflects on its surroundings, and may imply additional uses. For example, the presence of mass tourism may determine the rise of additional services and activities. The reasons for such popularity are not taken into

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[1] Fabietti Remotti, "Simbolo,", 1997; See chapter 3.
[2] Douglas Harper, "Popular," 2010.

account as criteria, but are part of the character of each place.

- *Accessible.*[3] ""Affording access, capable of being approached or reached," from Middle French *accessible*, from Late Latin *accessibili*, verbal adjective from Latin *accessus*, "a coming near, an approach; an entrance," from *accedere* "approach to go, come near, enter upon" (Douglas Harper 2010).

  The sites have to be, quoting UNESCO's vision, "inclusive, pluralistic, open for all citizens", meaning that people with disabilities can visit and appreciate them.

  Being accessible also means being open to the public, served by infrastructure and public services, and located in safe places (i.e., geographic areas considered dangerous due to political turmoil or war are not under consideration).

  Accessibility must also be digital (web pages will be analyzed case by case).

- *Broadly known (at the international, national, and local levels).* Linked to the previous point, the selected case studies must be known at all levels of society, from local to international. However, the reasons for this acclaim might be different. For example, a place might represent something at a local level that is completely different from what it represents at a national or international

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[3] See: Neufert 2013. And also: "Accessibility: A guiding principle of the Convention." Enable, United Nations. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/enable/disacc.htm (Accessed: May 28, 2017). "European Symposium: Heritage and Accessibility." UNESCO. http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/1005 (Accessed: May 28, 2017). European Commission, *2003. 2010: A Europe Accessible for All*. Report from the Group of Experts set up by the European Commission, October 2003; Web Accessibility Initiative, UNESCO (https://www.w3.org/WAI/). http://en.unesco.org/themes/access-for-pwd (Accessed: May 28, 2017)

level. What matters is its recognition by large and diversified audiences. This aspect implies a variety of content to be provided, such as basic information that differs for local and international visitors (one example is the choice of written language). Content must be carefully considered, as non-Western visitors might not fully comprehend something obvious to Western ones.

- *Western culture.*[4] The cases must be linked to the Western cultural background. However, due to other criteria, their level of recognizability must be such that they attract people from all over the world.

- *Tourist attraction.*[5] The cases serve as tourist attractions. This implies that every case will host tourist rituals, and therefore faces technical problems linked to consumption, masses of people, conservation issues, and strategic planning.

- *Presence of large number of people.*[6] Linked to the previous point, the sites must record high numbers of visitors. Crowds (usually determined by mass tourism) and complex composition of the public (different cultures, origins, languages, social status, reasons of visits, and more) complicate the management of a site.

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[4] See: MacDonald 2006. And: MeLa* Project. http://www.mela-project.polimi.it/ (Accessed: May 28, 2017);

[5] UNESCO. Cultural Tourism; http://webarchive.unesco.org/20161103063903/http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=36700&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (Accessed: May 28, 2017); Lasansky and McLaren 2004.

[6] See: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998. And: World Tourism Organization. http://www2.unwto.org/en (Accessed: May 28, 2017); Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). http://www.oecd.org/cfe/tourism/ (Accessed: May 28, 2017).

- *Container of rituals*.[7] One or more rituals, according to the analysis provided in chapter 4, must take place at the selected sites. In order to compare various rituals and solutions, each case presents a different ritual. As said, the only common ritual is tourism.

- *Used as if it were a museum*.[8] The main element is its virtual character. None of the selected case studies was created as a museum. It might contain a museum or be linked to one, but is not a museum per se. As introduced in chapter 2, each site adheres to its original use.[9]

4.2.1. Various Complexities and Geographic Location

Multiple elements, uses, and rituals determine the presence of complex spaces under multiple points of view, such as the architecture, the management (staff, budget, space, etc.), the strategy, and development plans.

The necessity to have globally known sites, worldwide fame, and mass tourism determines the absence of geographic limitations. The study does not focus on geographic connections, but on how representative, famous places, which are not museums but are used as if they were, may solve museum issues through museographical tools.

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[7] See chapter 4.
[8] See chapters 2 and 3.
[9] The uses might also change through time.

4.3. Selected Case Studies

The selection of the cases was based also on practical reasons. The main one was the author's necessity of combining field studies to internship experiences.[10] This aspect narrowed the possibilities, together with further conditions: availability and collaboration of the local staff; accessibility: on and off site, to data, and to information; possibility to travel and staying in the foreign countries for three months; synchronization among different agendas (two different hosting institutions, two sites - case studies, and the researcher).

The case studies selected for the analysis are:

- the Franciscan **Complex of Santa Croce** in **Florence,** Italy.
- the **Estadio Mario Filho**, globally known as **Maracanã**, in **Rio de Janeiro,** Brazil**.**
- the **National September 11 Memorial & Museum** in **New York City**, USA.

[10] The visiting experience.

The following table shows the relation between criteria and cases.

Criteria	Santa Croce	Maracaña Stadium	9/11 Memorial
Symbol	✓	✓	✓
Popular	✓	✓	✓
Accessible	✓	✓	✓
Broadly Known	✓	✓	✓
Western Culture	✓	✓	✓ *
Tourist Attraction	✓	✓	✓
Mass Tourism	✓	✓	✓
Container of Rituals	Religious Ritual	Sporting and Cheering Rituals	Memory and Mourning
Used as If It Was a Museum	✓	✓	✓**

*Even if Brazil is not considered West, soccer and stadium are linked to the Western culture and to the relations between Brazil and its colonial past.

**As said in its name, the 9/11 is both memorial AND museum. In this case, the site is eligible since the two elements jointly work and because it is a special case of museum (see Chapter 7).

- **Complex of Santa Croce, Florence, Italy**

The Complex of Santa Croce is a sacred place for the Christian religion with an invaluable artistic and architectonic heritage. Here, as well as in other European cathedrals, touristic rituals mix with religious ones. The discussion of whether the church is a religious place or a museum is still being debated (Pirazzoli and De Marchi 2011; Gahtan, 2012). In addition, Santa Croce presents a complex situation from both the museographical and museological sides, and the museum designer must address a multifaceted place that is unchangeable and not flexible.
Can a church also be a museum without losing any of its specificity? How is it possible to offer fundamental tourist services while maintaining its integrity? Can a space be sacred despite tourism? Can pilgrims and tourists be integrated?
Our objective is to answer the questions, providing a critical analysis of the existence, and if needed, recommendations and new solutions.

Key Concepts: touristic and religious rituals, museums and/or prayer, risk of losing authenticity, risk of musealization, management of the spaces and fluxes.

- **Maracanã Stadium, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil**

Locally and universally considered to be the "temple" of soccer, the Maracanã Stadium is a must-see for supporters and tourists as well as the historical emblem of equality and social redemption for Brazilians. Moreover, given the close relationship between society and futebol", the stadium is considered to be a secular civic institution. The symbolic and cultural importance of the Maracanã Stadium can be explained only through a historical overview of soccer in Brazil that involves the history of the country, of Rio de Janeiro and, of course, the stadium. In this case study, the identified rituals are touristic and the "cheer" (the latter may also be interpreted as sacred; see Durkheim, 1912 and Callois, 1950). Time has determined different uses of the structure, and consequently, the presence of different rituals at particular moments.

Before considering museum design solutions, one must answer other questions, such as: how do people move inside the building during the different moments of stadium life (e.g., match-touristic tour)? Can exhibition spaces respect safety rules? Can similar services assist different typologies of people? How does the stadium fit into a complicated urban and social fabric?

Key Concepts: touristic and supporting rituals, secular civic symbol, time factor, social integration, contrasts, culture roots, safety.

- **National September 11 Memorial & Museum, New York, USA**

The National September 11 Memorial & Museum and the victims of that day are linked to the commemoration of a tragedy, which imparts significant symbolic value. The place is a memorial and a public square, where rituals of commemoration join those of urbanism and tourism. Compared to the other examples, the National September 11 Memorial & Museum is the only project which, from its inception, included the memorial square, the underground museum, and the services for citizens, tourists, and the victims' families.

It is important understand how it works: how do people moves inside the site? Do they roam freely or do they follow designated paths? How are different rituals combined? What are the "museum" solutions in the square area? The study focuses on: the design of the spaces, its media and social values, the use of the architecture to match the various rituals, the museum design solutions that were adopted for a public and open space, etc. The memorial was erected knowing that it would have to be a tourist location. In fact, the chapter analyzes also the adopted design solutions of a transitional space from "museum-like" to "museum".

Key Concepts: memorial and tourism, memory, new building, media and social, public space.

4.4. The Structure of the Case Studies Chapters

After having determined the criteria and defined the case studies, it is important to define a basic structure to carry out the analysis of the individual case studies. The outcomes are comparable examples that, despite their differences, might exemplify shared approaches to museum problems.

Each case is studied according to this simple structure: global introduction to the place, history of the construction and of the site, analysis of the main features, definition of the kinds of rituals that take place,[11] and analysis of the site. This latter point is divided into four parts: the urban setting, architectural and museum solutions, the visit, and issues, potentialities, and perspectives. General comments, solutions, and remarks are presented in the final conclusion. Following site-specific principles, we are not looking for universal solutions or approaches. The goal is to start closing the gap in the literature through a coherent approach that can be used in different

[11] To provide the best possible illustration of the site, the order of the points may change.

contexts, with solutions that will correspond to specific needs and issues.


Figure 1. The square and the church of Santa Croce. Credit: Opera di Santa Croce.

Chapter 5
The Complex of Santa Croce, Florence, Italy

5.1. Santa Croce: Its Evolution and Features

The Santa Croce district occupies the medieval area of expansion outside the second civic walls of Florence,[1] the traces of which follow via de' Benci and via Verdi. The mendicant order of Franciscans qualified the entire area. The square in front of the church was complementary to the building, as it was conceived to host large numbers of worshippers. Until the nineteenth century, the space between the church and the third circle of walls was almost undeveloped and used as fields for farming. Development of the area began only after the 1860s, with Poggi's plan[2] for Florence as the capital of the Italian kingdom. Nowadays, the complex is included

[1] See: Bargellini and Bonechi 1986, Scampoli 2010.
[2] When the capital of the Italian Reign moved from Turin to Florence, Giuseppe Poggi was the main architect of the redesign of the city. See: Poggi 1882 and Francolini 1888. For graphic plans, see: G. Poggi, Disegni di fabbriche eseguite da particolari, Firenze 1886–87.

Figure 2. View of the complex, 2017.

Figure 3a. Florence 1857-1861, before the Poggi's interventions. Credit: Barbèra.

Figure 3b. Piano Poggi (the Poggi's project) 1865.

in the historical city center of Florence, which is part of the UNESCO World Heritage list.[3]

5.1.1. The Church and the Convent

The church of Santa Croce is celebrated as an outstanding example of Italian sacred medieval architecture. Like many other medieval complexes, Santa Croce has been modeled and transformed over the centuries.[4] The church we see today is probably the third Franciscan building. Filippo Moisè [5] hypothesized that the first establishment of the Franciscan order was in the area of Santa Croce; this has been identified as the current Cerchi Chapel. The construction of the second church started around 1252[6] and its remains are under the current church (de Marchi 2011; Giorgi and Matracchi 2011; Hall 1974). Villani (1845) tells of a Franciscan church realized in 1294, which is attributed to Arnolfo di Cambio.[7] During the fourteenth century, the sacristy, the old cloister, the dining hall, the main cloister, and the courtyard were all built. The complex was enlarged and enriched between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the convent underwent continual modification and growth until the twentieth century. As with other large complexes, layers, construction, and demolitions complicate the reconstruction of the building's history. The modifications were

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[3] "Historic Centre of Florence." UNESCO. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/174 (accessed May 30, 2017).

[4] For more information about Italian churches and mendicant orders, see Dameron 2013.

[5] Moisè was a historian and archivist, working mainly on the Medici collections; see: Moisè 1845.

[6] The construction of the second Church of Santa Croce is linked to Pope Innocent IV's seal.

[7] Building the yard of the third Church of Santa Croce was a complex operation due to complications in the construction yard and preexisting structures. Like other medieval buildings, the preexisting structures were partially reused. This implied corrections and modification to the ideal model.

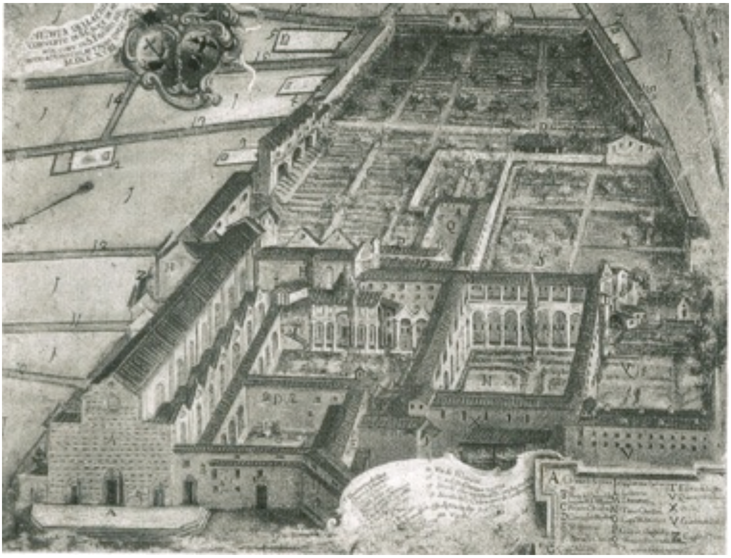

Figure 4. Fresco depicting the Convent of Santa Croce and conserved inside the Complex, 1718. Credit: Opera di Santa Croce.

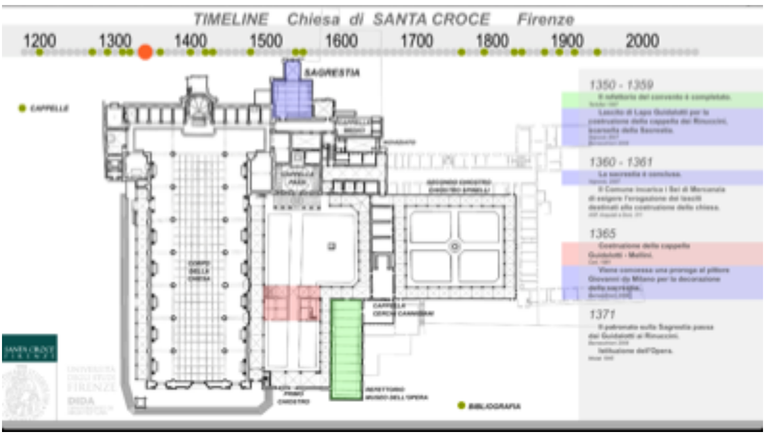

Figure 5. Interactive web-based timeline of Santa Croce, research-project "Laboratorio Santa Croce," Department of Architecture – University of Florence, 2012–2013.

related to the needs of the friars, the patronage of rich Florentine families, and historic events.[8]

The attribution to Arnolfo di Cambio is not certain, but historians agree with it because of the architectural solutions, the high quality, and the coherence with other Arnolfo buildings. As if set on a Greek temple platform, the church is approximately three meters above the level of the square.[9] The main feature is the T plan (Egyptian cross) with its large transept (73.74 meters) lined with private chapels. The three naves are 115.43 meters long (by 38.23 meters), with seven pairs of octagonal pillars sustaining the wooden roof truss. Following the demolition of the medieval wooden wall, *tramezzo*, and the choir, the interior is characterized by its unity, majesty, and solemnity. The oval arches and the external buttress characterize the structure.

The interior decor endured Vasari's renovation,[10] which changed the internal look of the church; this included the demolition of the *tramezzo*, the relocation of the altars, and the *scialbatura* (plastering) of the frescoes. Some of the remains of those works were kept in the Museum of Santa Croce until the 1966 flood. Inaugurated in 1900, the museum also kept elements that came from the demolition of the city center of Florence. It was amplified and enlarged in 1959 and 1975. Until the recent changes, these rooms continued to be a gallery of paintings belonging to the church, although during the flood, the water reached a level of five meters.

The chapels in the transept represent an outstanding example of medieval art: Cappella Castellani with frescoes by

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[8] An interactive web-based timeline of Santa Croce, spanning eight centuries, has been designed as part of the joint research "Laboratorio Santa Croce" coordinated by Giacomo Pirazzoli (coll. Noemi Casula and Giada Cerri) with Maria Teresa Bartoli (coll. Nevena Radojevic), Amedeo Belluzzi (coll. Emanuela Ferretti) and Giorgio Verdiani (coll. Andrea Pasquali) on behalf of the Department of Architecture – University of Florence, 2012–2013.

[9] The church is elevated because it is built on the ruins of the prior church, which lies under a part of the third construction, as well as the risk of floods.

[10] Duke Cosimo I de' Medici ordered the work.

Agnolo Gaddi and the tabernacle by Mino da Fiesole; Cappella Baroncelli with frescoes and stained-glass windows by Taddeo Gaddi (1332–38); Cappella Peruzzi and Bardi with the fresco cycle by Giotto (1320–25); and Cappella Maggiore, painted by Agnolo Gaddi (around 1380) and the architecture of which is characterized by a French influence. In the left arm of the transept, the chapels have later decorations, ending with the Cappella Niccolini by Nicola da Volterra and Donatello's *Crucifix*.

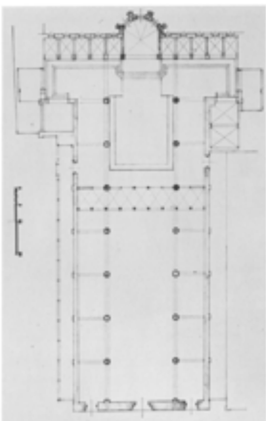
The convent includes other important elements. The sacristy, which dates back to the 1340s, was commissioned by the Peruzzi family and still retains the original wooden furniture. The Renaissance interventions include the cloister in serena stone on two orders, probably by Rossellino, and the *noviziato* (novitiate) wing, commissioned by the Medici family. Michelozzo designed these spaces, which end with the family chapel, around 1445. The most significant element of the complex is the Pazzi Chapel. Overlooking the cloister, it represents a superb example of Renaissance architecture (1429), designed by Filippo Brunelleschi, but finished after 1470. The architecture recalls the structure of the Sagrastia Vecchia (Old Sacristy) in San Lorenzo (by Brunelleschi). With its central plan, the rigorous proportions, the two domes, the elements in serena stones, and the wall-benches, the chapel was a reference for later architects.

All mendicant churches are characterized by interior graves (beneath the pavement and within the walls) (Verdon 2004; Villetti 2003), but in contrast to other convents, the presence of illustrious personages made this particular church the so-called pantheon of the Itale Glorie (lit. Italian Glories) (Berti 1993). Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini, whose monuments were sculpted respectively by Bernardo Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano, were the first famous people buried there, although Michelangelo Buonarroti is the most famous. Although he died in Rome, Duke Cosimo I de' Medici had Michelangelo's remains moved to Santa Croce, the artist's parish church. Vasari designed Michelangelo's tomb.[11] Fostered by Michelangelo's presence, the tradition of burying important and wealthy personages in Santa Croce was cemented by the burial of Galileo Galilei, Machiavelli, the Bardi family, and the Peruzzi family.[12] The work *Dei Sepolcri* by Ugo Foscolo brought new value to such practices. Although the Napoleonic civic law of Saint Cloud (1806) banned cemeteries inside the city walls, great personages buried elsewhere were transported and reinterred in monumental tombs, like Foscolo himself. However, the practice of burying inside the churches stopped.[13] Commemorative plaques and cenotaphs celebrate Florentines and other Italians who were prominent artists, scientists, and heroes—the religious building could be said to host a lay pantheon of Italian excellence.

In 1865, Florence became the capital of Italy. This implied many architectural changes in the city. According to the Firenze Capitale program, Santa Croce officially became the national memorial temple, and the architect Niccolò Matas designed the marble covering of the church's façade.[14] The first public manifestation of Florence as the Italian capital city was the

[11] Appointed by Cosimo I, Vasari also remodeled the interior setting of the church, according to the directives of the Counter Reformation (1566). The main interventions were the dismantling of the so-called "tramezzo" and the design of lateral altars (De Marchi 2011 and Hall 1974).
[12] Given the controversial profile of both of them, their monumental tombs were realized later.
[13] The Napoleonic invasion implied the suppression of the monastic order and the passage of church properties to the empire.
[14] The façade of the cathedral was completed in those years as well, while that of San Lorenzo remains unfinished (Pirazzoli 2014, 2011).

Figure 6. Left nave of Santa Croce: monumental tombs and altars.



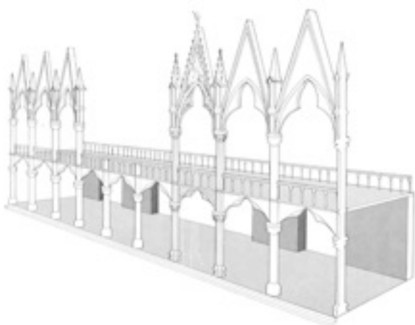


Figure 7a. Marcia B. Hall, *Santa Croce, plan with rood screen and friars' choir drawn in;* **Figure 7b.** Marcia B. Hall, rood screen reconstruction (tramezzo).

inauguration of the monument to Dante Alighieri[15] in Santa Croce Square.

Nowadays, Santa Croce is one of the most visited sites in Florence, with almost one million visitors passing through its gates every year. It is still a convent with a small community inside, but the Vatican is no longer the owner of the building.[16] The structure belongs partially to the State of Italy, specifically the Ministero dell'Interno (Ministry of the Interior), and to the city of Florence. The complex is managed by the Opera di Santa Croce, but the spaces are also occupied by the Franciscan community and the Scuola del Cuoio (Leather School).[17] The Opera di Santa Croce is a *fabbriceria* (vestry),[18] comprising laypeople in charge of running, preserving, and enhancing the complex. Parts of the original complex are used by the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale[19] (National Library), which was built in the same large block, and by the Scuola del Cuoio. The overlapping interests, owners, and activities complicate the site's curation and management.

5.1.2. Scuola del Cuoio

The Leather School represents a further peculiarity that enriches the complexities of Santa Croce. It is located at the rear of the complex and opens onto the garden that surrounds the eastern part.

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[15] This was part of the celebrations of the 600th anniversary of Dante's birth.

16 It is part of the Fondo Edifici di Culto (Worship Building Fund, or FEC) of the Italian Ministry of the Interior.

[17] The school, Scuola del Cuoio, has been established there thanks to an agreement with the Florentine municipality. It hosts laboratories and showrooms, and organizes intensive courses.

[18] The term *fabbriceria* comes from Latin "*fabrica,*" meaning "place of work." Currently, it is a lay institution that provides for the preservation and maintenance of sacred places.

[19] The construction of the National Library was part of the project "Firenze Capitale." The first proposal located it in Piazza dell'Olio (1892). The actual position was chosen after different proposals for the project and destination. The construction started in 1911. The location proved to be a mistake when, in 1966, a flood damaged one-third of the library's holdings.

The school was created after World War II in collaboration between two Florentine families, Gori and Casini, and the Franciscan friars. The goal was to teach war orphans the art of leather, so they could learn a trade. The friars conceded the old dormitory, the architecture of which is still visible, to the school and it became the laboratory.[20] This area was originally the *noviziato* (novitiate), financed by the Medici family and realized by Michellozzo, who also worked on the Medici Chapel. From its beginnings as an educational institution, the school became renowned in the USA and started producing commercially. Additionally, scholarships were created for foreign students coming from third-world countries, and collaborations began with prisons and rehabilitation programs.

Today, its activities are mostly profitmaking and it is frequented by tourists, who can choose from several types of courses (from a half-day to six months). The school is dedicated to a foreign public, and the website is only in English. The modern school was born thanks to an agreement between the school, the friars, and the municipality of Florence. This part of the convent and the school is not under the management or jurisdiction of the Opera.

[20] The corridor and the lateral rooms are, in fact, distributive elements of the monastery structures.

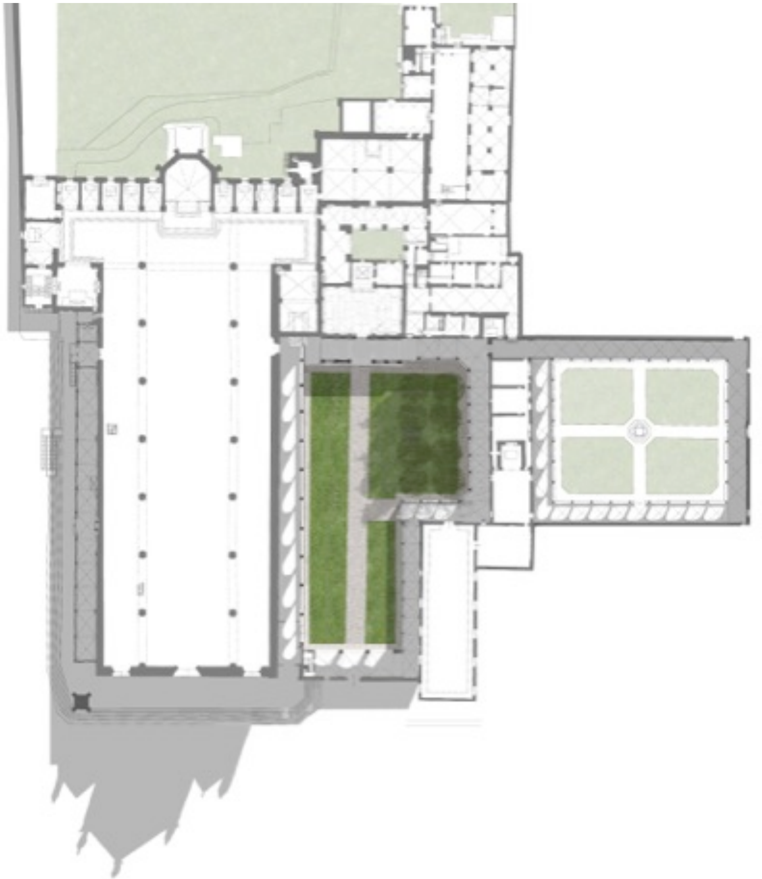

Figure 8. Casula and Cerri, the Monumental Complex of Santa Croce, Plan. In Pirazzoli, *GreenUp!*, 2013.

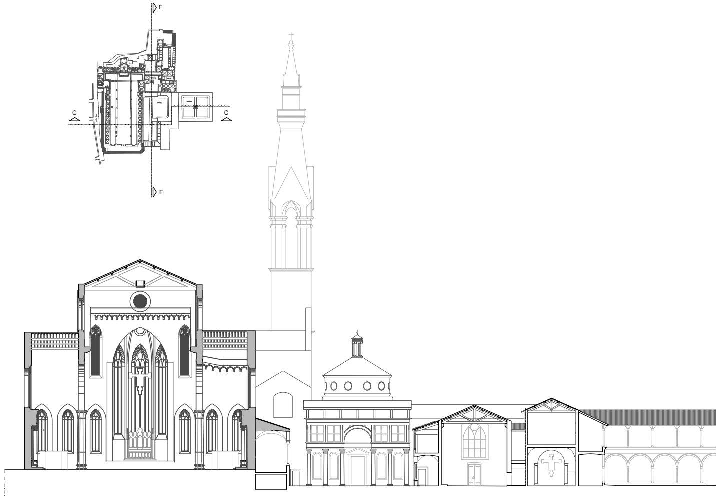

Figure 9. Cross section N-S. **Figure 10.** Cross section E-W, detail on the Pazzi Chapel and the sacristy (Folio 3).

5.2. The Sacred, Tourism, and Tourism of the Sacred

Pilgrimage to religious sites is said to be one of the oldest forms of tourism.[21] The research presented in this chapter is limited to religious sites. This limit is necessary when the broad meanings of the words "sacred" and "spiritual site" are considered (Carmichael 1994; Cummings 1987).

Anthropologists, sociologists, economists, and scholars of religion have conducted research on the link between tourism and sacred sites. O'Gorman (2010) considers religious travel to be the earliest identified driver of travel behavior. Although the commercialization of religious places is forbidden in the Bible (Johnston 2013), souvenirs have been sold at major shrines since medieval times (Leightner 2013). Nolan and Nolan (1992) analyze the European religious tourism system and compare devout pilgrims and secular tourists. Smith (1992) analyzes these polarities and enumerates five types of relationships. Moira (2009, 2003) develops Smith's work, attempting to classify religious resources and their corresponding valorization. Wiltshier and Clarke (2012) examine various religious tourist settings and consider different motivations and levels of religiosity. Stausberg (2011) surveys the work of past scholars on tourism and religion. He emphasizes that the presence of tourists is linked to the artistic value of the site.

As in the case of Santa Croce, we must consider that revenues from visitors are necessary to sustain the costs of maintenance of religious structures (Shackley 2005). The duality of visitors has an impact on both the sacred place and the touristic circuit, but according to Wiltshier and Clarke (2012), the touristic sector is usually not linked to the general local touristic network. To comprehend the dynamics between religious tourism and tourism of sacred sites, one must consider the economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999, 2007), the dominant logic

[21] Chapter 2 discussed the visits to the Greek temples and the plans for visitors by Abbé Suger in Saint Denis.

(Lusch and Vargo 2014, 2008), and the commercialization of experiences (Clarke 2011). Often, tourists consider the consumption of religious places (cost of admission) a negative element, while worshippers see the tourists as invaders who are linked to the dissolution of the site.[22] To Shackley, tourists use the sacred sites in different ways, both physically and psychologically (2005):

> "Visitors come to encounter the spirit of the site and to understand its meaning, to be in some way changed by it. This is what has been termed as 'visitor experience'. But visitors also consume the site, psychologically for its spiritual benefit and physically by the impact of their presence." (p. 34)

Urry (1995) examines the implications of the consumption of religious and sacred sites, pointing out that such consumption might also begin prior to the visit with a variety of non-tourist practices: viewing magazines, TV, movies, etc. Leaving aside the debate between Urry (1995) and Perkins and Thorns (2001) about tourist behavior in sacred spaces (gaze or participation as a performance), Urry (2002) recognizes that the worshipper is an integral part of the tourist experience and that tourists are attracted mainly because such places represent an exception to their normal life. Ensuring the two groups coexist is the challenge for the managers of these sites, which increases the danger of commercialization and commodification of such places. Cohen (1988, 373) explains that "…commoditization, engendered by tourism, allegedly destroys not only the meaning of cultural products for the locals but, paradoxically, also for the tourists." However, he also observes that tourism might represent an opportunity to certain communities: "…what used to be a religiously meaningful ritual for an internal public, may

[22] "A despised golden horde that should stay at home, send the money and we will send the postcards" (Ashworth 2009)

become a culturally significant self-representation before an external public."

Sacred places refer to particular religions and spiritualties, and "most religions designate certain places as sacred or holy…" (Park 2004, 245). Jackson and Henrie (1983) define them as "that portion of the earth's surface which is recognized by individuals or groups as worthy of devotion, loyalty or esteem," and, of course, sacred sites are distinguished from secular sites. Such places become central to the surrounding communities—pilgrimage centers, for example—and are characterized by recognizable features and elements: "a sacred site both exists within sacred space and contains sacred space within it" (Shackley 2001). Sacred sites encompass a range of different types of places (Reisinger 2006; Shackley 2001), but here, only religious (Catholic) sites are taken into account. As previously mentioned, religious sites influence the surrounding community, and tourism has an impact on the territory. Tourism is perceived as dangerous by some religious communities, and thus they prevent the influx of tourists.

Historically, religious and sacred places are part of the marketing strategies of tourism companies, as Timothy and Olsen (2006, 1) note: "mosques, churches, cathedrals, pilgrimage paths, sacred architecture, and the lure of the metaphysical are used prominently in tourism promotional literature…". They go on to state: "Religious sites are commonly used in tourism promotional literature as cultural resources to be consumed by tourists" (Timothy and Olsen 2006, 112) and the religious sites are often part of guided tours. Santa Croce is a perfect example. The commercialization of the site and the management of the touristic office by a third party might degrade its sanctity and its religious and historical meanings.

Different motivations push people to visit sacred places and, as such, different audiences must be considered. Leiper (2004) divides tourists into categories based on their differing expectations and motives. Cohen (2004) creates broad categories of tourists,[23] emphasizing that their differing motives may create different behaviors and thus influence the impact of tourism on the sites. He categorizes tourists in groups that range from "superficial" to "profound"[24] as well as various types of pleasure, ranging from "leisure" to "religious." Shackley (2005) maintains that the tourists who visit sacred sites have different motives than those who use them traditionally. Similarly, Olsen and Timothy (2006) point out that those who visit sacred sites have different motivations, for example, "educational interest in learning more about the history of a site, or understanding a particular religious faith and its culture and beliefs, rather than being motivated purely by pleasure-seeking or spiritual growth" (p. 5). Finney, Orwig, and Spake (2009) divide visitors to sacred sites into four categories (seekers, lotus-eaters, pilgrims, and accidental)[25] and make distinctions between those who visit sacred sites for religious purposes and those who visit for secular reasons. Contrary to the simplifications of the abovementioned authors, Nolan and Nolan (1992) suggest that "…there is no obvious dichotomy between pilgrims and tourists: many fall into the range of intermediate categories" (p. 69). They also notice the problem of the crowd on local worshippers. The crowds of curious tourists might overwhelm the scene, and the worshippers may feel like they are acting out a performance rather than celebrating a sacred rite. However, they add: "…there is no evidence to suggest that tourism and pilgrimage are intrinsically incompatible," meaning that they might mix without negative effect.

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[23] "Different kinds of people may desire different modes of touristic experiences; hence, 'the tourist' does not exist as a type." (Cohen 2004, 66).

[24] He arranges them in "ascending order from the most 'superficial' one motivated by the desire for mere 'pleasure,' to the most 'profound,' motivated by the quest for meaning" (Cohen 2004, 79).

[25] Categories: "Seekers," who visit both secular and religious sites; "lotus-eaters," who visit only secular sites; "pilgrims," who visit only religious tourist sites; and "accidental tourists," who visit neither type of tourist site.

5.2.1. Santa Croce: from the Grand Tour to Mass Tourism

From the very beginning of the Italian Grand Tours,[26] Florence and Santa Croce were must-see stops. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, people moved around for business or religious reasons (pilgrimages), while training travel began in Europe in the seventeenth century (Adler 1989). The English guides for gentlemen, and later for women (Starke 1800), provided detailed descriptions of the wonders of the Franciscan Complex of Santa Croce. Such narratives and charming travel diaries raised awareness of Florence and of the church. However, since the Grand Tour was a custom reserved for the elite, the number of church visitors was low. With the exception of the artists and architects who reached Florence thanks to the Prix du Rome[27] or because of their patrons, the Grand Tour started with the aristocracy and became fashionable during the nineteenth century. Rome and Venice were the main destinations (Naples was added later), and Florence, at the halfway point on the path, was a fixed stop.

The narratives of poets and authors, such as de Brosses, Addison, Berkeley, Foscolo, Foster, Stendhal, Gissing, and Goethe (de Seta 1992) strengthened the myth and the idea of Italy and its beauty. Stendhal described his now-famous experience inside Santa Croce (1919):

> "J'étais déjà dans une sorte d'extase, par l'idée d'être à Florence, et le voisinage des grands hommes dont je venais de voir les tombeaux. Absorbé dans la contemplation de la beauté sublime, je la voyais de près, je la touchais pour ainsi dire. J'étais arrivé à ce point d'émotion où se rencontrent les sensations célestes données par les beaux arts et les sentiments passionnés. En sortant de Santa Croce, j'avais un

[26] Lassels 1670.

[27] The Prix du Rome was a French scholarship for art students established in 1663. Subsequently, it was extended to architecture, music, and engraving. Later, Belgium, the Netherlands, the USA, and the UK offered a similar prize.

Figure 11a. Goethe's Italian Tour (September 3, 1786 – June 18, 1788). **Figure 11b.** Chateaubriand's Italian Tour (May 1803 – January 1804). From Costadura 2011.

Figure 12. von Klenze, Königsbau, Munich Residenz, Munich, 1825-1835.

Figure 13. Le Corbusier, Sketches of Santa Croce, interior, drawing n. 28. From Gresleri 1987.

> battement de coeur, ce qu'on appelle des nerfs à Berlin ; la vie était épuisée chez, moi, je marchais avec la crainte de tomber." (p. 325)

Italian heritage (ruins, architecture, landscapes, and works of art) has attracted artists and architects since the sixteenth century. Before or after visiting Rome, architects spent time in Florence; for example, Leo von Klenze used Italian references in Munich and Le Corbusier studied the Certosa and Santa Croce in his sketchbooks.[28]

Over time, *the voyages* (journey) undertaken changed dramatically. In the period of the classic Grand Tours, visits lasted up to fourteen months; this period was progressively reduced to four months during Romanticism (Gonnelli Manetti 1999). Changes in lifestyle, improved means of transportation, the rise of the bourgeois, and the decline of the aristocracy changed the average duration of the voyages. In addition to modifications to the means of travel (hotels, local transportation, etc.), the way in which places were enjoyed changed too. Travel books were progressively substituted for chaperones and local guides. One of the first examples is found in Thomas Cook's travel agency, which helped his clients organize their tours: the Grand Tour became the everyday tour. In the guidebook for his clients, *Cook's Tourist's Handbook for Northern Italy,* Cook (1875) listed Santa Croce as one of the main sights to see in Florence. Between the two World Wars, Fodor wrote a guide dedicated to the English panorama, *1936… On the Continent* (1936); however, it was with the post-war economic boom that general tourism began. Frommer's (1957) guide, *Europe on Five Dollars a Day*, became the leading American guidebook. He listed restaurants, hotels, practical information, etc., in a concise and useful way, and used the same method for the cities and monuments worthy of a visit. He strengthened the fame of already famous cities such as Florence and illustrated only some of their major sights, such

[28] See: Le Corbusier 1966, Pirazzoli 2003.

as Santa Croce. Nowadays, many different types of guidebooks are available. The style of guidebooks changed along with the tourists and types of trips. From the training journey, through the Romantic voyage, we arrive at the rapid visits of today. Today, the duration of the trip can be extremely short, perhaps a few hours, as in the case of cruises.[29] Modern lifestyles and changes in society do not allow travelers to reside for months in foreign cities and countries. Yet, the charming Italian landscape is still an attractive destination for foreigners, the English and Americans in particular, who decide to move and settle down.

In addition to tourist guides, the presence of Santa Croce in literature and movies has boosted its popularity. When mass tourism began in Italy, this church became one of the most visited places in Florence.[30] Tourism in general transitioned from slow to fast,[31] creating a high turnover of visitors to the sites, the need for new services, qualified staff, and safety devices. Although large churches were designed to host crowds, only certain areas were devoted to this. In Santa Croce, only the naves were intended for the participants,[32] and the rest was reserved for celebrations, rites, and convent life. Managing large groups in spaces designed for small numbers of people is one of the main problems.

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[29] This aspect might open a further argument toward the sustainability of this kind of tourism. See: Santarossa (2012), Ingersoll (2004), Ritchie & Crouch (2003), Butler (1999).

[30] One million visitors per year visit Santa Croce. The other highly visited sights are the Uffizi Gallery (2 million), Galleria dell'Accademia (1.4 million), Grande Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (approximately 1.4 million). Source:

- "2016. Tutti I Numeri Dei #Museitaliani." Ministero dei beni e delle atttività culturali e del turismo. http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/MibacUnif/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_892096923.html (accessed May 28, 2017)

[31] The length of residence in the city passed progressively from months, to weeks, to days, and then to hours.

[32] Before the Counter Reformation and Vasari's interventions, the spaces for the faithful were even more constricted. See De Marchi (2011) and his research about the "tramezzo" in Santa Croce.

Visitors present a dual issue. On the one hand, they are a source of revenue; on the other hand, they are the most significant agent of damage. The latter must be included in the Opera's plan for preservation, protection, safety, and circulation.[33] The rise of mass tourism created a corresponding rise in maintenance and management costs, which necessitated the introduction of tickets.[34] After the Opera's internal struggle and despite the friars considering it unacceptable, tickets were introduced at Santa Croce in 2004.[35]

Another point relates to the content of the sites. Most tourists are interested in artistic heritage. However, despite this common interest, their cultural backgrounds are varied and unshared. As Capurro (2015) notes, the changes in the composition of the public did not result in a corresponding modification in explanatory texts and captions. However, she reports an exception, albeit with limitations, in the activity of Art et Fides, which promotes the training of church staff to welcome people inside some churches such as Santa Croce.[36]

5.3. The Sacred and the Museum

Although religious and sacred sites cannot be defined as museums (despite certain affinities; see chapters 2 and 4), the act of visiting them is nowadays increasingly similar to a museum visit. The conservation of uses, traditions, and meanings is the most important issue. Often, secular visitors consider churches to be touristic stops because of their artistic values. They forget

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[33] Physical carrying capacity, when used within tourism studies, considers the number of people using, or within, a specific physical area Santarossa 2012, Ingersoll 2004, Shelby & Heberlein 1986).

[34] Obviously, this is not the only source of funding. There are donations, public and private funding, and public initiatives.

[35] Conti, Paolo. "Ticket per entrare in chiesa." Patrimonio SOS. http://www.patrimoniosos.it/rsol.php?op=getarticle&id=8499 (accessed May 28, 2017).

[36] Ars e Fides. https://federationarsetfides.wordpress.com/ Inside Santa Croce there is a service of this association. Ars e Fides Firenze. http://www.arsetfidesfirenze.it/

the churches' spiritual and sacred significance and that they are still in use (Stausberg 2012). This implies a shift in meanings, producing misunderstandings between the idea of sacred places and museums.

Tourism studies focus on the relationship between sacred sites and tourism (Stausberg 2012; Finney, Orwig, and Spake 2009; Olsen and Timothy 2006; Shackley 2005, 2001; Mazza 2007; Paine 2004; Nolan and Nolan 1992); economic studies explore the economic impact of touristic religious sites on the urban environment (Shakley 2005); and the anthropology of tourism observes behaviors and manners that characterize such sites (Cohen 2004). Recently, museum studies have begun to address this subject (Gahtan 2015, 2012; Capurro 2015, 2012), although the literature in museography and sacred spaces is lacking.[37] Museology and museography focus on sacred art, temporary sacred art expositions, and religious museums (Paine 2013, 2000; Ambrose and Paine 2012; Beier-de Haan and Jungblut 2010). Religious museums might be independent or parts of religious complexes. In the latter case, they are usually treated as independent areas connected to the sacred spaces. The spaces are managed and designed as normal museum spaces, with few connections to the nearby sacred space. In the book *Religions and Museums, Immaterial and Material Heritage* (2013), Minucciani introduces different experiences and case studies. The focus is upon the sacred art and its display from a curatorial perspective. Similar research is presented cyclically in bulletins and in issues of American museum journals, such as those of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[38] Such research helps in understanding the

[37] There are a few personal contributions of architects and designers who describe their own work, but not scientific contributions.
[38] See:

- MetPublications: http://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/mma-journals (accessed May 28, 2017);

artifacts and the curatorial approaches, but is limited to the conventional museum environment.

Although the international community (UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM, and IUCN) recently began to distinguish sacred, religious, and spiritual[39] sites from other monuments, the recommendations made for them act primarily on theoretical and normative levels. Still, it is important to highlight that ad hoc policies have begun to be enacted. *Religious property* is the term used by ICOMOS to define "any form of property with religious or spiritual associations: churches, monasteries, shrines, sanctuaries, mosques, synagogues, temples, sacred landscapes, sacred groves, and other landscape features, etc." [40] UNESCO/IUCN defines the term *sacred sites* as "areas of special spiritual significance to peoples and communities," and the term *sacred natural site* corresponds to the "areas of land or water having special spiritual significance to peoples and communities." On the occasion of the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures 2010, an international seminar of religious communities in the management of world heritage properties was held in Kiev and "for the first time in the history of the World Heritage Convention, the issue regarding the protection of religious and sacred heritage has been discussed at the international level, involving active participation of the

- The Smithsonian Journal: http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/ (accessed May 28, 2017);
- The Boston bulletin: https://www.jstor.org/journal/bostmusebull (accessed May 28, 2017).

[39] "Several recommendations directly or indirectly concern the safeguarding of the spirit of place, namely their living, social and spiritual nature, in particular the Nara Document on Authenticity adopted at the Nara Conference on Authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention held in 1994 and the Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted at the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS in 2008." UNESCO

[40] "The World Heritage List. Filling the Gaps – an Action Plan for the Future." UNESCO. http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-646-3.pdf (accessed May 28, 2017)

religious authorities."[41] The initiatives were born from the need for "specific policies for protection and management that take into account their distinct spiritual nature as a key factor in their conservation and that such policies cannot be sustainable without in-depth consultation with the appropriate stakeholders." The seminar produced the *Statement on the Protection of Religious Properties within the Framework of the World Heritage Convention,*[42] adopted by all the forum participants, which represents the first and only document about this issue and was developed in concert with national authorities, international experts, site managers, and representatives of religious communities. The 2010 initiative opened the field to further papers and meetings on heritage of religious interest and spiritual sites.

Maia Wellington Gahtan is developing research regarding the role and the use of religious spaces in the era of mass tourism. The first outcome of this research was the book *Churches, temples, mosques: Places of worship or museums?* (2012), which collects the experiences of the administrators and professionals working at these sites. The book is the result of the first forum on museums and religion held in Florence in 2012[43] and is considered an initial approach to the delicate argument regarding sacred spaces and museums. The experiences of Florentine cases (Santa Croce, the Great Synagogue, the Medici Chapels, and San Marco), Italian churches (San Francesco, Assisi; San Marco, Venice), and examples outside of Italy (Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Chartres, Chartres; Westminster, London; and the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem) are presented and discussed. The common thread of all the essays is the need for a

[41] "Heritage of Religious Interest." UNESCO. http://whc.unesco.org/en/religious-sacred-heritage/ (accessed May 28, 2017)
[42] http://whc.unesco.org/en/religious-sacred-heritage/ (accessed May 28, 2017)
[43] The book followed the *Forum on Museums and Religions* (2012). The purpose of it was to bring museum professionals and religious authorities together in dialogue.

transmission of knowledge to the visitors together with the urgent need for the efficient management of spaces and people. By identifying a lack of literature on this subject, her aim is to initiate a discussion among all the stakeholders, so as to build a common foundation of knowledge. This first step is a cross-disciplinary–approach that considers curatorial, conservative, administrative, managerial, architectural, and museographical aspects.[44]

The experience of SISMUS places is similar to Gahtan's initiatives and research, as explained at the beginning of this dissertation. CrossingLab's research work (Pirazzoli 2012; Pirazzoli and Sismus.org 2012) on sacred sites starts from premises linked to Malraux's thoughts, the experiences of Pére Coutourier with *l'Art Sacrée* (journal on sacred art), and the principle of site-specific museums, which in the case of sacred spaces acquires even more meaning. The research refers to site-specific architecture such as the Sagunto Theater by Grassi, Moneo's Cartagena Theatre, the Museum of Roman Art by Moneo, and the Columba Museum by Zumthor.

With Santa Croce as a case study, we will focus on Catholic churches and cathedrals, even if a general discourse on sacred sites and their management might easily be expanded to other religions and various spiritual places.

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[44] Gahtan's research continues at the Lorenzo de' Medici Institute in Florence. See also the second conference of the *Forum on museums and religions* (October 3, 2014) and the related publication *Sacred objects in sacred collections* (2015) edited by Gahtan; other forums and publications are planned for 2017 and 2019.

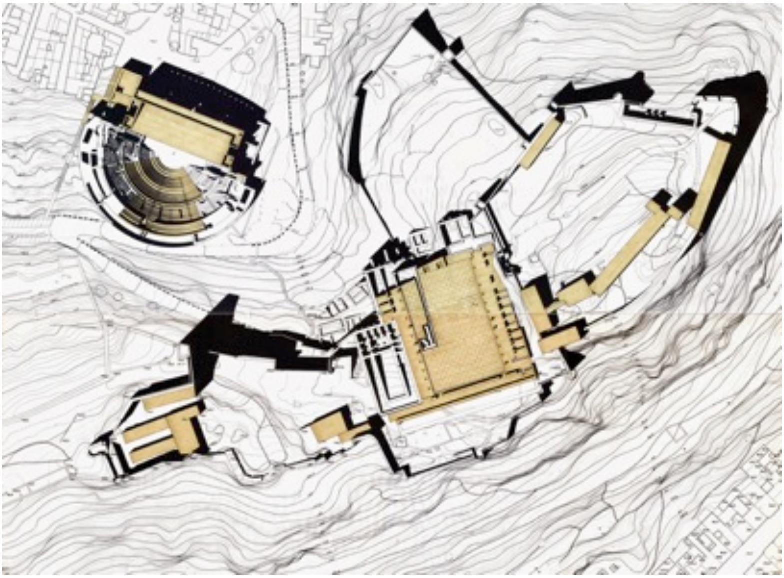


Figure 14. Grassi. Plan, Theater of Sagunto, Spain, 1985.

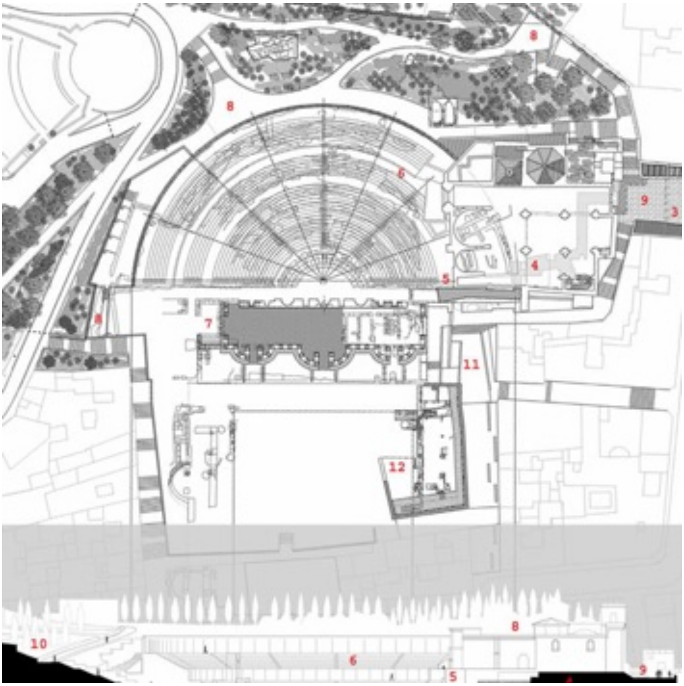
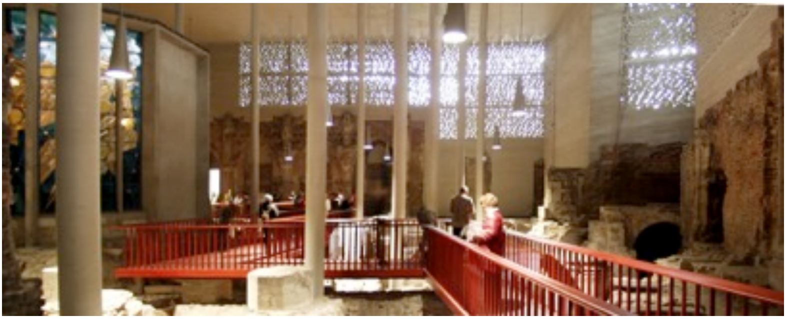


Figure 15a. Moneo, Plan and cross-section, Museum of Roman Art, Merida, Spain, 1980-85. **Figure 15b.** Aerial view of the Roman Theater.



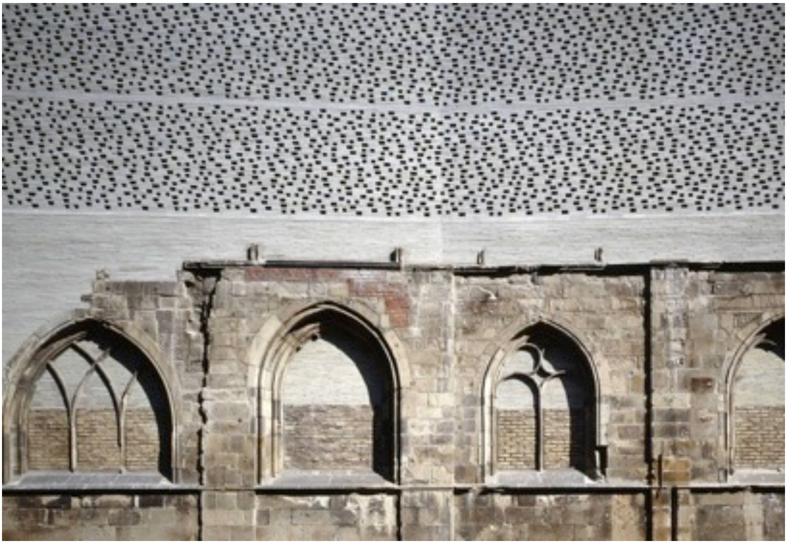


Figure 16a. Zumthor, Interior of the Columba Museum, Columba, Germany, 2008. **Figure 16b.** Detail of the external walls, Columba Museum.

5.3.1. Santa Croce and Other Examples

European monumental churches and convents share similar complexities (Shakley 2005) and all face the question, "what comes first: the touristic aspect or worship?" (Gahtan 2012). Most of these places have common roots, which imply the presence of laypeople that worked in the *Fabricae Ecclesiae.* Nowadays, they are called *Fabbriceria; Opera* in the case of Santa Croce; *lay foundation* in English; and *fabrique d'eglise* in French.[45] They are in charge of conservation, security, restoration, fundraising, management (of staff, tourism, and events) and are the main partners of the religious agents. Several European *Fabbricerie* recently established a European network to share and compare experiences and knowledge.[46] In Italy, an association called Associazione Fabbricerie Italiane comprises representatives of the main monumental churches.[47]

Monumental churches are part of Italian cultural heritage, and although active participation in the religious rites is actually very low, they are symbols of the Catholic traditions. Some of the churches and convents, such as Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, belong to the Fondo Edifici di Culto (FEC)[48] of the Ministry of the Interior, passed from the church to the Ministry in 1866. As they contain artistic and architectural treasures, they are among the most important and visited places in Italian cities. In recent years, many of these churches introduced an admission fee for visitors. The decision to charge admission was not popular and is contested internally by

[45] Of course, we must be careful. Because of the different religions, the internal mechanisms of these associations are different. However, they share similar goals that assure the survival of their churches.

[46] The proceedings of the meeting are available here (only in Italian): "La Natura Giuridica Delle Fabbricerie." Fabbricerie Italiane. http://www.fabbricerieitaliane.it/fileadmin/templates/AFI/download/La_natura_giuridica_delle_fabbricerie_1_.pdf (accessed May 28, 2017)

[47] The association is also important in terms of a labor union. http://www.fabbricerieitaliane.it/ (accessed May 28, 2017).

[48] There is not an official english translation; it means (religious building fund).

Comunità Episcopale Italiana (CEI), according to whom, "the opening of the churches is free, as places primarily dedicated to the community and personal prayer."[49] The act turned out to be necessary to partially bear some of the fixed costs, and the supporters interpreted the ticket as a donation to the church. In general, entrance is free for worshippers, while other visitors have to pay to enter. For example, a ticket is requested in Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, San Lorenzo, the Cathedrals of Siena and Pisa, sixteen churches in Venice, and Ravenna's main sacred places. Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence's Cathedral, is free, but one must pay to access the Baptistery, Santa Reparata, Brunelleschi's Dome, and Giotto's bell tower. The ticket also includes the Opera del Duomo Museum. Likewise, other European examples have ticketed entrances. Notre Dame in Paris, Westminster in London, and the Sagrada Familia in Barcelona, to name a few, apply similar policies for comparable reasons (the cost of staff, ordinary maintenance, and touristic supports such as flyers and guides).

The need for a discussion about the role of ecclesial heritage has arisen recently; in 2012, the Association of Italian Ecclesial Museums (AMEI) initiated a discussion on the necessity of educational tools within ecclesial museums.[50] Capurro (2010) notes that the Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church is still limited to the contents of catechesis instead of proposals to explain religious values to visitors. In this regard, monumental churches must consider aspects such as the different kinds of visitors (pilgrims and tourists); the different origins of the visitors; and the required tools of communication. Global tourism raises important issues about the need for communication and the transfer of knowledge. The same information is rarely expressed in

[49] Translation from Italian by the author. "59 chiese a pagamento." La Stampa. http://www.lastampa.it/2012/02/14/blogs/oltretevere/chiese-a-pagamento-Bnl8my5fyS0I4RkYxkkX8O/pagina.html (accessed May 28, 2017).
[50] AMEI 2012.

different ways to reach tourists of different origins, such as Europeans and Asians.

In contrast to the other case studies (the Maracanã Stadium and the National September 11 Memorial & Museum), we are not going to explain the typologies of churches, architectural evolutions, etc., which can be found in books on the history of architecture by Kostof (1995), Watkin (2005), and Ingersoll (2013). Instead, we briefly present Tuscan monumental churches. The focus is directed at the management of large numbers of tourists, the accommodation of worshippers, the communication with tourists and religious adherents (religious functions and activities), and their presence on the web. This section highlights some of the issues shared by Santa Croce that present interesting challenges for architects and curators.

Santa Maria del Fiore. After the recent renovation of the museum, designed by Adolfo Natalini and Guicciardini and Magni, the Opera changed the ticketing policy and introduced a tourist card. Like other international museums, the €15 ticket (which can also be purchased on the Internet) allows access to all the complex's monuments for 48 hours after entering. To visit the dome, a time slot must be reserved. By shared decision, the visit to the cathedral is free. Historically, the church represents the indoor square of Florence and a different choice would have modified an important link with the Florentine community.

The layout of the website[51] focuses on consumerism at the site, with an emphasis on the app, the card, the art shop, and what is referred to as the "Duomo experience." A large proportion of the website is dedicated to tours, laboratories, social networks, and touristic information. The website is professional, clear, and visually captivating, so as to be envied by some Italian museums (López et al. 2010). Unfortunately, it does not mention the religious aspects of these sites, the

[51] Il Grande Museo del Duomo. https://www.museumflorence.com/ (accessed May 28, 2017).

cathedral and the baptistery in particular, nor the hours for mass, which takes places every day in the baptistery.[52]

With this setup, it is difficult for a tourist, especially one lacking a Catholic background, to understand information such as the links between remarkable treasures and religion. In this case, therefore, it is hard to find any difference between visiting a secular and a religious site.


Figure 17a. External view of the cathedral complex (Santa Maria del Fiore, Giotto's Bell Tower, Baptistery); **Figure 17b**. Interior of the cathedral.

Santa Maria Novella. This Dominican convent is situated in a vitally important area of Florence, close to the rail station and at the crossroads of tourist movement. Entrance is not free for tourists and includes a visit to the entire complex,[53] while worshippers can enter designated areas for free. The complex includes artistic artifacts, such as Giotto's and Brunelleschi's *Crucifixes*; the frescos by Masaccio, Ghirlandaio, and Filippo Lippi; and Alberti's façade, which represents one of the main architectural pieces of the convent. A basic flyer and some

[52] Unlike the other monuments, the opening hours of the baptistery are divided. The intervals indicate the hours of mass.

[53] The visitor area will be expanded in the next several years, thanks to the Scuola dei carabinieri's move to another location, allowing the reorganization of the global convent complex.

concise labels are the only available sources of information on site.

The ticket may be purchased online or at the entrance. The website[54] provides information on visiting hours, the history, the artistic and architectural heritage, as well as on the Opera, monastic life, the history of the Dominican order, and the liturgies. Like Santa Maria del Fiore, the website is professional and the social element is also very important for the Opera di Santa Maria Novella.

Overall, Santa Maria Novella takes more care with the importance of its convent's religious roots, although it uses the same strategies to inform and attract visitors.

Figure 18a. Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

[54] Opera for Santa Maria Novella. http://www.smn.it/en/ (accessed May 28, 2017)

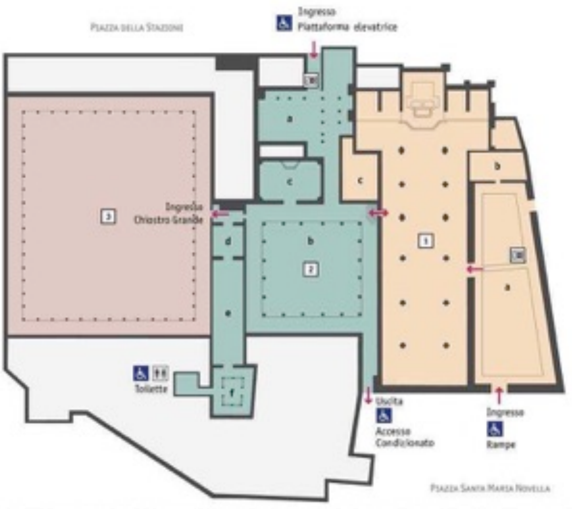


Figure 18b. Tourist Map of the complex of Santa Maria Novella (2017). Credit: Musei Civici Firentini.

San Lorenzo. San Lorenzo, the Medici family church, is an unusual case. It is not possible to visit the complex with one ticket or with one entrance, due to separate ownership; there are two separate tickets and two separate access points. The church and the Laurentian Library (Biblioteca Laurenziana, designed by Michelangelo) are run by the Opera Medicea Laurenziana, while the sacristies belong to the national Florentine museums and are therefore managed by the Ministry of Culture.[55] The Medici Chapels are recognized as museums by law, while the cloisters and the library are not. Besides possible confusion for visitors, this fact also causes difficulty in describing the spaces, which should be considered as a single site—the Medici parish church. The church entrance has a fee, from which local citizens,

[55] After the new law n. 89 of 2014 by MiBACT (Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo), the Medici Chapels (Cappelle Medicee) are now under the jurisdiction of the Bargello and are called the Museum of the Medici Chapels.

children, people with disabilities, and tour guides are exempt.[56] Again, although it is not a museum, the sacred aspect is relegated to small bulletin boards and a small amount of material on the Internet.

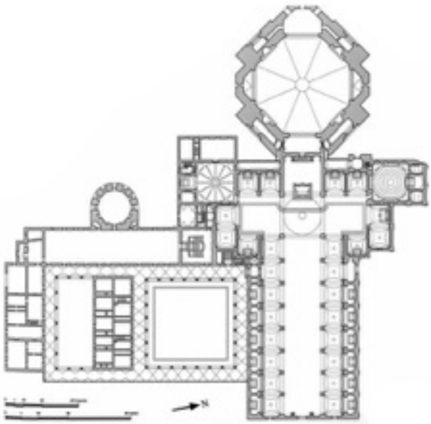


Figure 19a. San Lorenzo, aerial view of the complex. **Figure19b.** Plan.

[56] There is no mention of the religious services or the structure of the church.

The Siena Duomo. With Piazza del Campo and the Torre del Mangia, the Duomo visually dominates the city of Siena. Here, popular, secular, and sacred aspects are mixed. It should be remembered that the church is an important site for Siena's inhabitants because it is a symbolic place at which the Palio rituals take place.

The Duomo is home to outstanding artistic and architectural treasures. Its interior pavement is unique (pic) and its uncovering, which occurs at scheduled yearly intervals, is an attraction for locals too. During the periods in which the pavement is uncovered, the interior of the church has a particular configuration, and visitors are strictly limited to a precise path.[57] Similar to the Florentine cathedral, the Opera della Metropolitana di Siena offers a combination of tickets for entering the monuments.[58] Nowadays, there are two kinds of passes, termed the *All Inclusive* and the *Gate of Heaven*. They are very similar; both include visits to the church, the baptistery, the Piccolomini Library, the Crypt, the museum, and access to the Facciatone.[59] For a higher price, the Gate of Heaven allows access to the roof of the church. Such combinations, tickets, passes, gates, and entrances give the visitor the impression of visiting a museum complex instead a sacred place. The speakers inside the church invite silence, continuously and in different languages, specifying that it is a religious site, while internal signage illustrates behavioral norms. With the reduction of the floor area, the confusion and the crowd are even more obvious.

Similar to the Florentine examples, information about the liturgies is available and limited to the praying area. They are not available on the web page, which is instead full of details for

[57] This kind of interior organization deserves a more in-depth analysis from the architectural and museographical point of view.
[58] In Siena, visitors may also purchase single tickets and are not obliged to buy the entire pass.
[59] The "facciatone," literally the "big façade," is a portion of the incomplete enlargement of the church. Visitors can climb it and enjoy an amazing view of the city and its countryside.

tourists and information about the Opera and its mission. Throughout the website, only a few words are reserved for the historical links between the church, the community of Siena, and the role of the church in local traditions.

Figure 20a. The aerial view of Siena. **Figure20b.** Interior of Santa Maria della Scala.

Figure 20. Duomo, celebration prior the traditional Palio di Siena.

Figure 21. Visitors inside the church taking "selfie." Credit: Cerri.

Figure 22. Tourists: taking pictures, following a guided visit, watching and reading labels. Credit: Cerri.

5.4. Touristic Churches and Rituals

Religious and touristic rituals are the main kinds of rites in monumental churches. Religious rituals follow the prescriptions of their faith; each religion has different rites and rituals. In the case of Santa Croce, the rites belong to the Catholic Church. These rituals are limited in time and space. During religious receptions, some churches might be closed or the visits restricted to a small area, while others are permanently separated (as is the case in Santa Croce). Besides the daily celebrations, other less visible rituals take place—what might be thought of as private—such as confession and prayer, which need physical space, but do not usually interest tourists.

Religious rituals might represent attractions too. Discovering the culture of a place or different cults and traditions may represent a further element of interest. In that case, passive participation in the rituals turns the visitor into a sort of spectator. It happens that famous religious appointments attract both tourists and pilgrims. The choreographic aspect of the processions and the interest in popular traditions usually guide the tourists' curiosity.

Tourism as a ritual appears in Santa Croce in several ways. The mix of visitors implies the observation of different kinds of acts. Some of them are comparable to the behaviors of the worshippers, as well as to those of visitors to museums as described by Bourdieu and Darbel (1966). The way of walking, circulating, observing, talking, and being quiet are common elements, and the lack of explanation about the religious life strengthens the idea of monumental churches as museums. Bourdieu and Darbel's analysis, applied to monumental churches—namely, the use of the church as a museum and the

Figure 23. The crowded right side of the transept. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 24. The empty left side of the transept (reserved to the prayer). Credit: Cerri.

Figure 25. Pilgrims. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 26. A moment of prayer and a moment to take a picture. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 27. Play or Prayer? Credit: Cerri.

Figure 28. Uses of the space. Credit: Cerri.

subsequent introduction of a secular ritual to a space where sacred rituals take place—is convincing if it refers to single visitors, couples, and small groups of people. It is not if it pertains to mass tourism. Large, organized groups are less deferential to both religious and museum sites (Cohen 2004). The presence of guides, non-homogeneous interests, frequent interruptions, and distractions often coincide with noisy, disruptive visitors.

In Santa Croce we may observe several kinds of visitors: singles, couples, independent small groups, guided small groups, and guided large groups. In general, single visitors or couples are visibly interested in the content and architecture. They are focused and participatory, quite and respectful. Some small groups (guided and not) behave similarly. Large groups, as highlighted before, just follow the guides through the visit. These visitors are often noisy, little interested, and chattering. These may be school groups and organized groups (usually composed by day-trippers, passengers on cruises, or organized tour clients). Schools groups concentrate in the morning, while big groups are a daily constant.[60] Large groups have a reserved access from the façade (but the ticket office is the same for all). Inside, guided tours stop in front of the most famous elements of the church (Giotto, Cimabues's Crucifix, Pazzi Chapel) and avoid less known area.[61]

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[60] These deductions coming from direct observations made by the author. One of the future developments of the thesis should be a rigorous study of the publics (user survey, audience analysis, audience development). See: Fitzcarraldo 2011, Bollo 2009, 2005.

[61] Due to the intense programs of the visits (often one day visit), large groups' visit duration are quite short if compared to others.

Figure 29. Tourist map of Florence. Credit: Mapaplan.com


Figure 30. The square of Santa Croce hosts several events; in this picture: a volleyball tournament.

5.5. Analysis of the Site: The Monumental Complex of Santa Croce

5.5.1. The Urban Setting

The Franciscan complex is in the Eastern part of the historical city center, along with the Arno River, the main avenues of the city (called *viali*), and Piazza della Signoria. It is located in the lowest area of the city, which is why the Santa Croce district has historically been characterized by flooding. The size of the church makes it one of the main landmarks of the city, and it is easily recognizable from Piazzale Michelangelo and its famous panoramic view.[62]

As anticipated, the convent has historical links with the local Florentine community. Nowadays, following the trend of other Florentine districts, apartments in the Santa Croce neighborhood are mostly rented and occupied by non-Florentines. It is predominantly students and workers who live and spend long periods of time there, while the unoccupied flats are rented to tourists.[63] The result is a progressive emptying and depersonalization of the urban area, which determines the evolution of the urban dynamic in traditional places (Settis 2014).

As in other areas of the city center, traffic has been considerably reduced since the 2000s. Restrictions are not applied to Santa Croce's residents, who can pass through the gates. The tour bus area is found near the San Niccolò Bridge, so that very large numbers of tourists can come from that direction (but also from other nearby touristic points in the city). The square is almost entirely pedestrian: only taxis, service cars, and emergency vehicles are allowed to pass. The traffic is restricted to via de' Benci, where residents and buses can freely circulate. Reaching the square and the church from the main station (Santa

[62] Piazzale Michelangelo was part of the Poggi plan.
[63] The solutions offered through AirBnB and similar services are very popular.

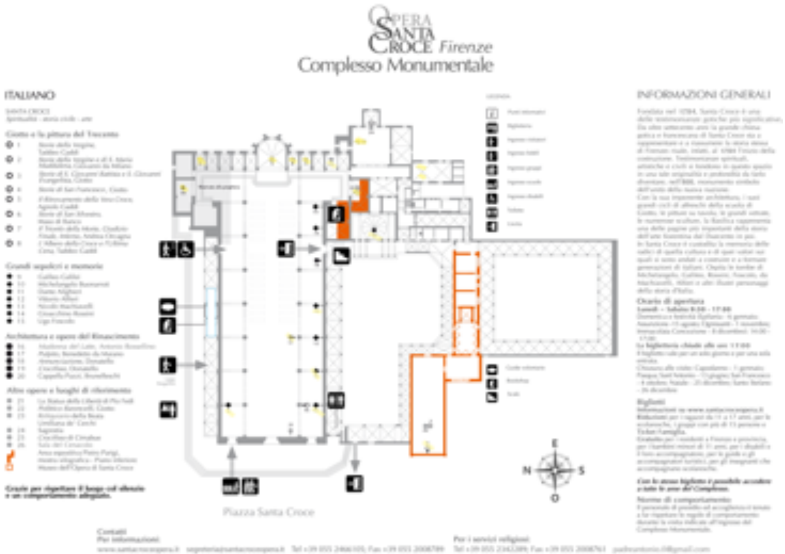

Figure 31. Official tourist map of the Monumental Complex of Santa Croce. Credit: Opera di Santa Croce

Figure 32. Santa Croce, Use of the spaces, Church level (see Folio 1)

Maria Novella) by public transportation is not easy, but the pedestrianization of the center and its small size make it easy to get around on foot. Slowly crossing the center is considered an enjoyable experience.

The square was created as an expansion of the sacred space, but it developed into a relevant civic and secular space in the city. Several activities and events characterize the square—from traditional popular celebrations, such as the Calcio Fiorentino, to the most recent use of the square as an open theatre for prose, musicals, and opera, or to the more controversial manifestations, such as the Christmas market, the Chocolate festival, and the MTV show[64]. The stairs of the church are a nighttime meeting point for young tourists, students, and citizens. Local committees and the friars themselves have supported some campaigns against the night *movida*, but with little success. For better or for worse, Santa Croce represents one of the most important spots in the city of Florence.

5.5.2. The Visit

First, we must distinguish the tourists' entrance from the worshippers' entrance. The latter enter from a side door and their movements are limited to the very end of the north transept. To avoid safety and security issues, the reserved area is set off by wooden barriers that allow observing the rest of the church, but which are not easy to pass. The entrance is free, and, like any other local church, there is a bulletin board with scheduling information and communications with followers. The church is only closed to visitors and dedicated completely to religious ritual in cases of solemn ceremonies.

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[64] Friars, some local associations and people argue that the commercial use of this spaces do not respect the place. Sometime, this disappointment reverberates on local and national press.

Figure 33. Santa Croce, interior. Group of students. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 34. Santa Croce, interior. Different panels with: directions, map, and descriptions. Credit: Cerri.

For tourists, the visit starts with the purchase of a ticket. The ticket window is located under the vaults of the north porch, which opens along via San Giuseppe, and the entrance is on the same side. As with other Florentine monumental churches, the ticket can also be booked on the Opera's website. Electronic booking enables visitors to avoid the line. There are two differently priced options: the scheduled entrance or the open ticket. All the tickets allow access to all the spaces. Benefits and discounts are based on age, groups, and school groups. The ticket is free for residents, teachers, the handicapped, tour guides, and children under age 11. The ticketing area also functions as a bookshop and information point, and distributes flyers and audio guides. For individuals and small groups, the visit starts from the side gate of the church. Large groups enter the door to the left of the main façade.

The church's architecture has a dramatic impact on those who enter.[65] The enormous proportions make the illustrative signage, scattered around the space, small and unnoticeable. Visitors are free to walk around; some thematic paths are illustrated both on the flyers and the website.

Starting the visit from the naves, one notices the altars along the external walls. Here, we also find the votive plaques and the funeral monuments that comprise the Tempio delle Itale Glorie. Looking from the main door toward the central altar, visitors have a magnificent view of the church. Walking around, one notices the presence of several gravestones. Burial inside a church was common during medieval times, especially in friars' convents. For reasons of preservation, some of the gravestones are roped off while others are not. A lack of knowledge influences visitors to not step on the funeral marble plaques and to view those roped off as more important.[66]

[65] The large scale of Santa Croce's interior is highlighted by the passage from the low vaults of the lateral porches to the high ceiling of the gothic church.
[66] Gravestones are part of the floor, they were conceived to be step; some ropes are there because of conservative reasons. See: Capurro 2015 and Vaughn 2012.

The visit continues toward the transept. No mention is made of the fact that the church was subjected to large internal changes, such as the demolition of the wooden wall (*tramezzo*) and the friars' stalls, or of the presence, in the central area of the main nave, of the second church. Reaching the transept, the visitor is limited to the central and right chapels, since the others are reserved for prayers. The transept is crowded in the busy season, since the works of Giotto, Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi, Donatello, della Robbia, Volterrano, and Vasari are concentrated in just a few square meters.[67]

The visit continues in the service areas of the church—the sacristy and the convent. Due to the emergency flood plan, these rooms are now set up as galleries where important pieces of art are displayed both temporarily and permanently. The sacristy hosts Cimabue's famous *Crucifix*, a symbol of the 1966 flood. The corridor exhibits other paintings, but its structure, created as a distributive space, is not suitable for displaying art. The Medici Chapel by Michelozzo, located at the end of the *noviziato* (novitiate) corridor, is part of the so-called museum too. Proceeding on the right, one can access the bookshop and then the Leather School, which is officially accessible from the rear of the church.

To continue the visit, one must return, enter the churchagain, and exit from a door on the left. From the lateral porch, which covers the basement gallery, there is a view of the main cloister; an observant eye might notice its unusual shape. The current structure of the cloister is a result of the changes that modified this area after 1869. During the 1860s, architects adhered closely to the then-fashionable idea of a visual axis; accordingly, a part of the convent and the Inquisition building facing the Pazzi Chapel were demolished. The demolition left a

[67] For a complete description and illustrations of the treasures and works of art in Santa Croce, here only briefly mentioned, see the dedicated bibliography (i.e. Touring Club 2007; de Yoldi & Rocchi 2004; Verdon 2004; Fanelli 1973) and websites.

clear, direct view of the chapel entrance from the square gate. The small courtyard façade was reinterpreted as a neo-Gothic fragment, while the side façade on the square was greatly altered to create something that resembled a transparent wall. This radical redesign resulted in alterations in the perception of scale and the modification of the cloister's function. Regarding the architectural composition, the forced frontal perspective broke the original soft balance and the secrecy of the space (Pirazzoli 2012, Cerri and Pirazzoli 2014). Brunelleschi designed the Pazzi Chapel as an architectural fragment inside *Primum Magnum Claustrum,* the original medieval system.[68] It is reasonable to assume that the chapel, ordered by the powerful Florentine Pazzi family, was the chapter house, and as such, a private area in the convent. The alteration might be misleading for visitors because information about this story is not available on site. To perceive the chapel from the correct perspective, one must reach the center of the current cloister.[69]

From the main cloister, the visitor may proceed in several directions. Following the porch, the public can access Rossellino's cloister. This also has a unique story. The doors of the cloister, which originally led to cells or other rooms, are now fake, as the National Library (Biblioteca Nazionale) occupies the spaces behind the walls. The cloister is a monument in and of itself.

The visitor continues through the so-called Museum of Santa Croce,[70] a sequence of rooms, among which are the Cappella Cerchi (possibly the first Franciscan constriction) and the Cenacolo (Upper Room), which hosts Taddeo Gaddi's fresco *The Trees of Life*. Before the rearrangement in 2014, all the museum's works of art were kept here. This was the most

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[68] Brunelleschi's design must be studied as an important lesson in interior architecture. The design disappeared when demolitions erased the delicate relationships that once maintained the balance of the whole complex.

[69] See the research by Cerri and Pirazzoli (2013; 2015).

[70] Initially storehouses of the art pieces of the Opera (1884), these rooms were inaugurated as Museum of Santa Croce in 1900.

damaged space of the complex during the 1966 flood. From here, the *angeli del fango* (Mud Angels) rescued Cimabue's *Crucifix*, and artworks by Bronzino, Vasari, and others.

The rear of the church has recently been added to the visitor path. This includes a permanent exhibition of graphic arts,[71] the old cloister, and the *famelio*. The latter element is an unusual place, with a peculiar story that emphasizes the uniqueness of Santa Croce. The *famelio* is a crypt that was refurbished after World War I to host a memorial to the war's victims. Under the Fascist regime, the memorial was enlarged under the transept chapels, using the basement structures, to host a memorial to the victims of the fascist war campaigns. It was inaugurated during Hitler's visit to Florence (1938). This area is opened only on special occasions.

The exit is located opposite the Pazzi Chapel. Visitors may circulate freely inside the complex, but they cannot exit from the entrance door.

Among the non-accessible spaces, there is the private area of the friars, the Library, the upper parts of the cloisters, and the Scuola del Cuoio (Leather School).

Current Museum Solutions. Although the impression is that of visiting a museum, there is no curatorial program. As it is not a museum, the church does not have a proper museum mission; to a certain extent, however, some aspects of the Opera's mission might be similar to that of museums.[72] The management must work in concert with the friars, for whom the complex is home.[73] The delicate equilibrium of competencies, different visions, and a lack of professionals, results in a mix of solutions that are juxtaposed throughout time (i.e. we can observe a 1990s internal signage close to a brand new

[71] The exhibition is on the Florentine artist Pietro Parigi and has no links with the complex.
[72] See Appendix D.
[73] Friars live in a private wing of the complex, which is reserved and closed to the public.

explanation panel). As described in section 6.3, ecclesial churches lack narration of the spaces and liturgies and the links between them, creating a missing dialogue between the religious body and visitors (Capurro, 2015).

The area of the old Museum of Santa Croce is an inheritance of the previous setting of the complex and is still indicated in official maps and guides. Today, there is no clear separation between the sacred area and the museum use. Some signals identify the museum areas: a little panel indicates the entrance of the new exhibition rooms (*Noviziato -La via più alta in Santa Croce. Nuovo percorso espositivo di opera e spaz*i,*)*, and the label "Museo dell'Opera di Santa Croce" on one door of the Cenacolo area recalls the previous museum setting.

The absence of a global and long-lasting program can be perceived through several clues: circulation, services, maps, different layouts of the totems and labels, and a lack of proper conference programs. Some labels are placed near the most important tombs and altars. They mention the artists and to whom the monument is dedicated. However, these labels do not follow a homogeneous layout and clearly come from different periods of time.[74] Other informative signs are placed at other points in the naves and in the complex. Like the labels, they are not homogeneous. If visitors do not have guides, they may gather information from their mobile phone and download an interactive guide.[75] There is also a volunteer guide service offered by the Ars et Fides association, which is mostly oriented to the religious side of the church. In general, it is best to download the app before the visit in case there is no Wi-Fi or mobile coverage, as in Santa Croce. Printed maps are available at the entrance desk. They contain a simple illustration with basic information, such as a brief introduction and a list of the most important areas and works. Some monographs and an extended

[74] Some are typed on a typewriter (likely around the 1970s), while others are laminated labels created in the 2010s.
[75] The interactive guide is currently in a beta version.

guide of the church are also available there. Individual visitors usually have their own guides of Florence, which always contain information about Santa Croce, highlighted as a must-see.

The website is continually modified and updated. It is an interesting place to gather information prior to and after the visit. It contains information about the Opera (who they are, their mission, statute, history, etc.) and the Franciscan Order (history and liturgies), touristic information (location, hours, tickets, services, etc.). It also explains the complex through thematic sections such as architecture, the Itale Glorie, medieval art, interactive pages, and restorations.

The website also contains information about the research center and the use of the library. The library is available to scholars who want to research the church or need material belonging to the library. It requires registration (which is free) and must be reserved in advance. It is located in a private and non-touristic area, and is accessed from the gate on the square (the tourists' exit); visiting scholars are accompanied by an employee.

5.6. Issues, Potentialities, and Perspectives

Issues. As highlighted in several passages in this chapter, Santa Croce presents several unsolved issues, as well as some potentialities.

- One major problem is the division of the two narratives: the secular narrative for tourists and the religious narrative for worshipers. Such separation is a mistake in the presentation of the complex and prevents people from learning. For example, the frescoes should not be described only in terms of their techniques or artistic innovations, but also in terms of their iconography and history (i.e., patronage, timing, context, etc.). The iconographic, and eventually the iconological, descriptions should consider that the audience may be non-Western, may not be highly educated, or may belong to different religions. Spaces, rites, and rituals should also to be mentioned, using comprehensible language and the appropriate methods. For example, lay volunteers from the Ars et Fides association only assist Italians that already have basic knowledge of the Catholic religion.

- The lack of a long-term program similar to a curatorial one.
- The current physical separation of the church into two areas, visitor and prayer, has architectural implications (see 5.5.4).
- The presence of the ticketing desk is the first element of confusion for visitors (who are uncertain as to whether it is a church or a museum). Inside, the absence of explanation about religious life at the church and the presence of large groups of visitors obscure the sanctity of the site.
- The new museum setting in the *noviziato* (novitiate) area and the sacristy is a further point that warrants criticism. The positioning of the large canvases, the lighting, and the circulation betray the emergency setup. [76] Additionally, there are content mistakes that give false information, as none of these works is site-specific.[77] For example, the two large canvases, *Discesa di Cristo al Limbo* by Bronzino and *Deposizione dalla Croce* by Salviati, are now inside the Medici Chapel. Their locations mislead visitors, in that the locations emphasize their rescue from the mud; not a word is devoted to their original positions, history, or patronage. Furthermore, their presence alters the delicate equilibrium of the Renaissance chapel. The choreographic positioning of Cimabue's *Crucifix* in the sacristy assumes a magnificent

[76] Officially, the exhibition is labeled as temporary.
[77] The incoherent setup brings to a bad reading of both the space and works of art.

importance. However, it diminishes the comprehension of an important room in the convent.

- The appearance of the website and the information available on it might enhance the confusion between museum and church.

Achievements. The Opera's primary task is that "of managing, preserving, increasing the value of the structure and of the works of art here preserved" (Statuto Opera di Santa Croce). It is also the key body that communicates with the various parties that are involved in the complex. Several of the Opera's initiatives are worth mentioning and are of interest to both laypeople and worshipers.[78] The fields of preservation, restoration, and renovation are managed by the Opera; their knowledge was developed thanks to their experiences following the 1966 flood.[79] From 2005–2011, the Opera led a remarkable initiative during the restoration of Agnolo Gaddi's *Legend of the True Cross*. For a limited period of time (in 2008 and 2009) and by reservation, people were allowed to enter the reserved area, climb the scaffolding, and have a previously inaccessible view of the frescoes and, from the opposite side, of the nave.

Potentialities. The main critical points are circulation, signage, a lack of curatorship, missing integration between sacred and secular uses, the presence of mass tourism, and the diversification of the services. Below are some possible solutions:

- As pointed out by Capurro (2015, 2010) and Gahtan (2012) there is a need for an inclusive vision in which religious explanation is integrated with the presentation

[78] For example, cycles of conferences, small temporary exhibitions, and research of patronage, such as the collaboration with The Florentine to promote crowdfunding for the Pazzi Chapel loggia. https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/santacroceopera/restoration-of-pazzi-chapel-loggia-at-church-of-sa (accessed May 28, 2017)

[79] The rescue of the works of art was carried out with other Florentine institutions, in particular, the Opificio delle Pietre Dure.

of the complex's artistic heritage.
This implies the study of other similar models, such as that of Westminster, the involvement of professionals, and most importantly, a dialogue between the responsible parties of the complex.

- Empirical, quantitative studies might be useful. Understanding tourists' needs and satisfying them is vital for improvement. Thus far, there have been no scientific studies regarding visitors, whether sociological, anthropological, or statistical. Furthermore, an understanding of visitors' basic religious knowledge may be useful, so as to plan both the theoretical content and the museographical solutions.
- The use of the church needs to be conserved and promoted. The quantitative research must be extended to the religious dimension and the worshippers. The friars must take an active part in this operation.
- The definition of some kind of museum program would pave the way to rethinking visitor paths and alternatives, and would structure the involvement of partners and patrons.

After the definition of programs, goals, deadlines, and priorities, there are architectural and museographical actions:

- Alternative visitor paths might be studied that consider unused spaces in the complex, the Leather School, the first order of the cloisters, the back garden, and some areas of the National Library.[80]
- The graphic signage will require redesign once the written contents are defined (labels, captions, catalogues, plans, brochures, website structure, and apps, etc.). Visual communication is just as important as written

[80] One might consider extending the study made by Vaughn (2012).

communication. Labels, totems, paper maps, apps, and the website must adhere to the same graphic identity.

- New tools and contemporary set design should be considered. From temporary installations, such as in the main cloisters, to permanent or semi-permanent informational devices, museum solutions might provide the latest generation of tools to be applied in the complex (virtual reality, projections, interactive supports, etc.), but traditional solutions might be suitable as well. This depends on goals, targets, and sustainability.
- Light design and architectural solutions (such as systems to overcome architectural barriers, design of visitor paths, safety disposal, barriers, etc.) must cater to both touristic and religious use.

Perspective. Can contemporary museum practices merge with places that are not museums, but are perceived as if they were?

- The answer to the main research question is yes, if the various parties involved work as a team. Shared goals, guidelines, and long-term plans must be defined. [81]
    - Speculative projects, such as competitions for ideas or experimentation in academia, might be a first step. A proposal based on concrete needs and spaces, but without a real commission, helps to define problems, programs, and hierarchies, and highlights the solutions. Following the philosophy of *studying by the project*,[82] this method might assist the managers in visualizing spaces

[81] All project strategies must consider possible complications (i.e., Italian bureaucracy, financing, etc.). The Opera of Santa Croce seems to be moving in the right direction. For example, initiatives, such as participation in the forum "Churches, temples, mosques: Places of worship or museums?" and the collaboration with the DIDA (Pirazzoli 2011), show its receptiveness to the idea.

[82] The concept is explained in the book by Collotti, Pirazzoli, and Volpe (2009).

and solutions, and the architects to experiment and reason through architectural languages. Due to the lack of literature on museum design in sacred spaces—and in general, about places that are not museums, but that are used as if they were—this kind of exercise helps to fill the gap and create a platform for discussion.

Can a church also be a museum without losing part of its identity? Can a space be sacred despite tourism?

- Collaboration between the Opera and the friars is essential. Maintaining the site's integrity and continuing its religious activities is the best tool to prevent the musealization of the complex.

How is it possible to offer services, which are nowadays considered fundamental for tourism, while maintaining the integrity of the sacred site?

- Santa Croce must receive all its guests. The Opera must provide useful information to promote understanding of the site, and tourists must remain mindful that they are in a church, not a museum. Services and information should be customized according to different visitor profiles.

Figure 35. Santa Croce, photogrammetric view of the altar chapels. Credit: Opera di Santa Croce.

Figure 36. Santa Croce, Use of the spaces, square level (see Folio 2).

Figure 37. Santa Croce, photogrammetric survey of Agnolo Gaddi *Storie della Vera Croce* used for the frescoes restoration. Credit: Opera di Santa Croce.

Figure 38. The new setting up of the Cimabue's Crucifix inside the Sacristy.

Figure 39. Medici Chapel. The new setting up of the so-called Rescued Artworks (*La via più alta in Santa Croce. Nuovo percorso espositivo di opera e spazi*); on the left Bronzino, on the right Salviati. Credit: Cerri.

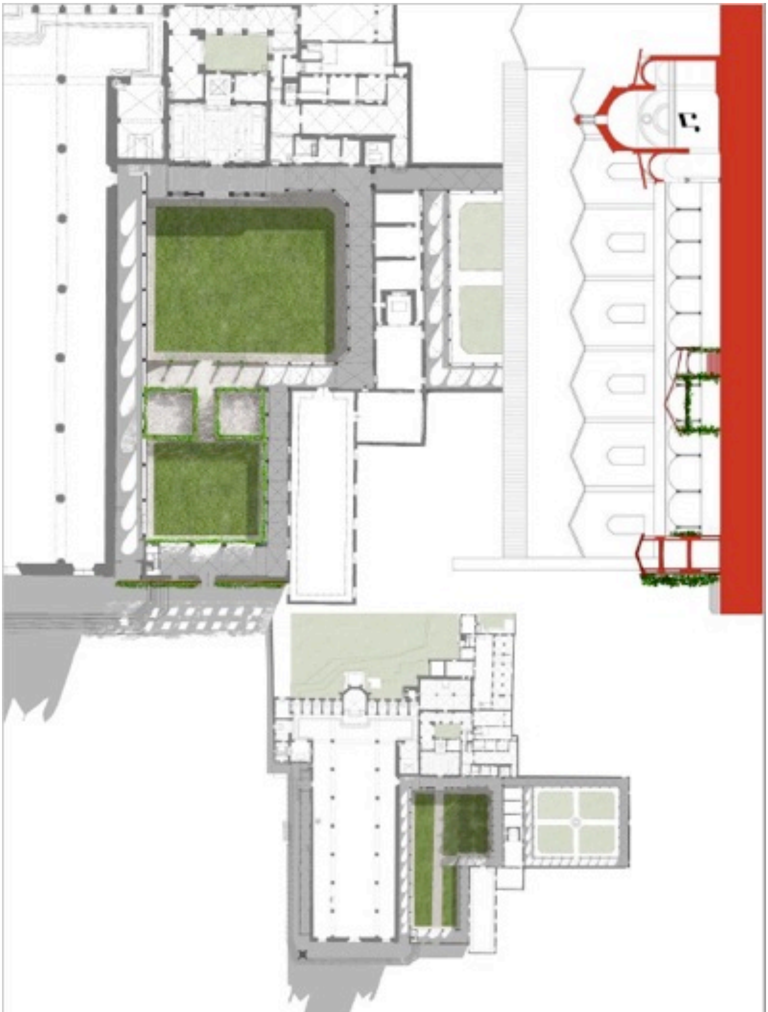

Figure 40. Casula, Cerri, and Pirazzoli, the Monumental Complex of Santa Croce, Design proposal. From Pirazzoli, GreenUp!, 2013

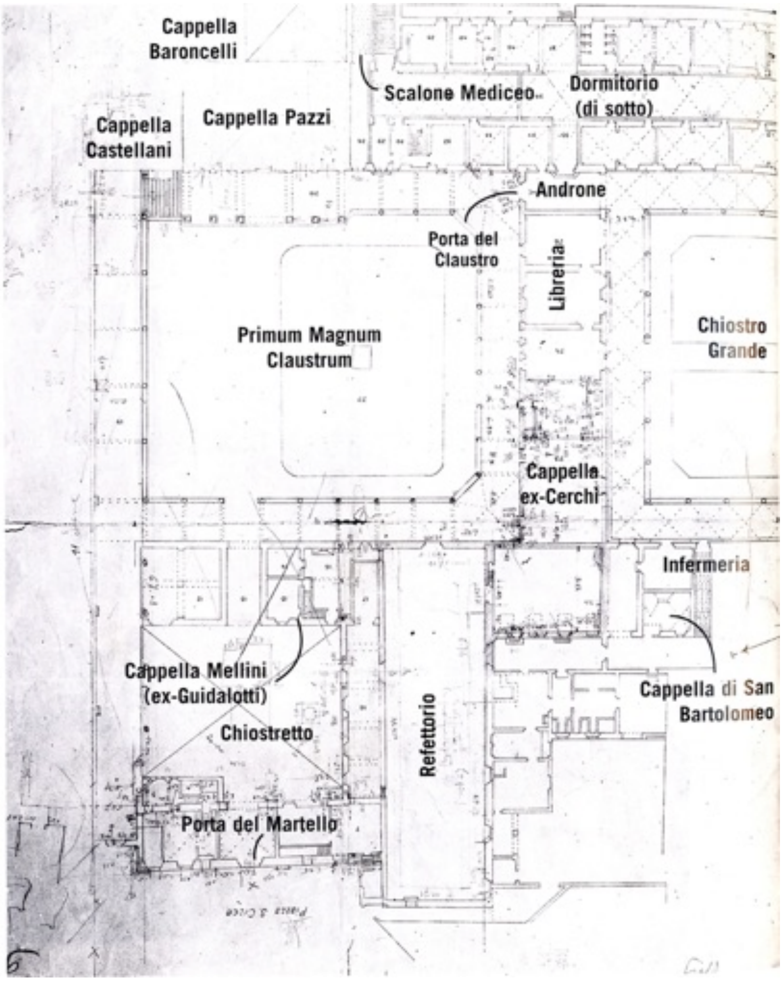

Figure 41. Jack and Caferro, Reconstruction of the system of cloisters prior 1869. From Jack and Caferro 2001.

Figure 42. Fanelli, Stereoscopic cards, *Firenze stereocopia*, 1999. Credit: Hautman Archive, 67, 68, 65.

Figure 43a. Santa Croce façades: prior 1853.
Figure 43b. Prior 1869 (prior the demolitions and with the Matas' façade, 1853-1863). Credit: Alinari.
Figure 43C. in 1966.

Figure 44. Santa Croce, Cenacolo, today. Credit: Opera di Santa Croce.

Figure 45. Santa Croce, Cenacolo in 1966.

Figure 46. Rescue of the Cimabue's Crucifix, 1966.


Figure 47. Cenacolo (2017). Credit: Cerri.

Figure 48. Visitors waiting for their tickets; at the end of the porch the ticket office. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 49. Bookshop. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 50. Entrance. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 51. Entrance reserved to groups. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 52. Signals. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 53. A corner reserved to the friars' communications. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 54. An altarpiece currently on loan (October 2017). Credit: Cerri.

Figure 55. The so–called New Museum of Santa Croce (La via più alta in Santa Croce. Nuovo percorso espositivo di opera e spazi), hosted in a portion of the Noviziato wing, in the sacristy, and in the Cappella Medici. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 56. Exit. Credit: Cerri.


Figure 1. View of the Maracanã complex. Credit: Fernandos Arquitectos

Chapter 6

The Maracanã Stadium, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Foreword

Brazil is geographically one of the largest countries in the world. It is a country with complicated and dynamic political, social, and economic contexts, but it is often simplified in the international popular conception as the country of beaches, soccer, and *Carnaval*.[1] Although Brazil's passion for soccer has become a cliché, Brazilian culture and development have, in fact, been built on soccer. In Brazil, soccer is more than a sport; *o futebol* (soccer) has become a veritable secular institution. Therefore, several specific behaviors take place at a stadium. These behaviors have been interpreted as rituals.

[1] Similar to Mardi Gras, Carnaval is a religious holiday that marks the beginning of Lent.

Figure 2. Two covers of *The Economist* describing the rise (2009) and the fall (2013) of the Brazilian economy. Credit: The Economist**.**

Figure 3. *Sao Paulo, Brazil, 2005. The Paraisópolis favela (Paradise City shantitown) borders the affluent district of Morumbi in São Paulo*. Credit: Tuca Vieira.

6.1. Introduction: Brazil, *Futebol,* and Social Contradictions

Brazil is characterized by its contrasts, recognizable in nature (e.g., Amazonia vs. Sertão) as well as society (e.g., extreme wealth vs. the poverty-stricken *favelas*, or slums), and is internationally famous mainly because of it stereotypes.[2] Despite its positive aspects and potentialities, Brazil presents little international authority, a fluctuating economy, and political instability. This generates contrasting feelings among Brazilians, summarized by Tom Jobim's saying: "*Viver exterior é bom, mas é uma merda. Viver no Brasil é uma merda, mas é bom*" (Living in a foreign country is good, but shit. Living in Brazil is shit, but good).[3]

Brazil now must confront some important issues that are not typical of advanced countries (Caracciolo 2014, Cauti 2014). One of these challenges is the unfair disparity in allocations of capital. During the early 2000s, Brazil lived in a golden age. Rapid economic development had given the illusion that a middle class had been established and joined by a large proportion of the population. However, the effects of worldwide economic crises damaged the economy, and Brazil's lack of solid institutions and long-term strategies ruined the country's economic accomplishments. The subsequent failure of welfare solutions, wrongheaded economic measures, and international financial crises destroyed Brazil's illusion of wealth. More recently, domestic political instability has worsened Brazil's image in the world.

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[2] Brazil is better known internationally for its stereotypical "five S's" (sun, samba, sand, soccer, and sex) than for its economic power or strategic weight. Henry Kissinger (1986) described the Brazilian attitude toward life using a soccer metaphor, linking Brazil's fascination with soccer and the limits of this view to the country's reality.

[3] Dramatic contrasts are also recognizable in two common attitudes: the *mongrel complex* (a feeling of inferiority) and the *ufanismo*[3] ("ufanism" referring to a vainglorious attitude). The popular saying "*ou é oito, ou é oitenta*" (either it is terrible, or it is terrific) describes a national mindset characterized by contradictions and extremes (Caracciolo 2014, Cauti 2014).

Even now, class differences among Brazil's population are enormous, reflecting a society founded on slavery and led by the power and money of the *fazendeiros* – farmers [4] (Caracciolo 2014). This adds to the limited development in medical care, disparities in school readiness and educational outcomes, complex social problems, racial[5] and gender disparities, the centuries-old problems afflicting the *favelas*, the lack of proper regional infrastructure, and the mismanagement of resources (Cauti 2014). The passage from dictatorship to democracy coincided with the transformation of the global economy. Technological development opened new pathways in communication and transportation systems. Brazil, with an economy based primarily on agriculture and commodities, was unprepared to face these changes. It became dependent upon other countries while it began investing in the "new." Against this backdrop of social ills, soccer represents an important source of pride (Caracciolo 2014).

As is the case for other former colonies, Brazil is considered a young country. It became an independent republic in 1889, before it could develop a national identity. The construction of a civic common ground has been a major concern among Brazilian leaders since the birth of the republic. The absence of heroes and a glorious past led, in part, to the use of sporting events in the creation of social myths. Without solid roots, one football defeat is sufficient to generate an identity crisis for the entire nation, as was the case in 1950 (Cauti 2014). The link between soccer and society emerged again in dramatic fashion following the deaths of half of the Brazilian soccer team Chapecoense in a 2016 plane crash in Colombia. Brazil declared

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[4] "*Fazenda*" means farm. During the colonial period, it identified a plantation founded on sugar or coffee. The expansion of agriculture determined the intensification of slavery in Brazil.

[5] Although the Brazilian population is a mix of cultures and the country developed thanks to immigrants, racial disparities are still strong. Brazil ranks fourth in the list of the most racist countries in the world (Cauti 2014).

three days of national mourning following this disaster, reflecting the popular feeling of intense grief.[6]

When researchers and journalists describe Brazil, they often use the term "*Complexo de vira-lata*" (the mongrel complex),[7] which comes from soccer events. The phrase was coined after the Brazilian defeat in the 1950 World Cup, which happened inside the iconic stadium Maracanã[8] in Rio de Janeiro. The defeat, better known as the *Maracanaço*, is said by some to be the "Brazilian Hiroshima" (Caracciolo 2014).[9] Sporting victories and defeats describe the course of Brazilian history, which helps explain why one defeat has been sufficient to generate a deep sentiment of inferiority for generations (Cauti 2014). Despite later victories, even after the Brazilian national team proceeded to win five world soccer titles, the sense of inferiority stemming from the 1950 defeat had penetrated Brazilian society, and it is still recognizable and present.[10] Wisnik sarcastically summarizes the way in which soccer has become a fundamental value in Brazilian culture, saying soccer is "capable of catalyzing a collective experience and giving it a focus" (Wisnik 2006). Carlo Cauti (2014) recognizes the mongrel complex in Brazil's feeling of inferiority, primarily regarding more highly developed Western countries.

The national feeling is very strong, particularly because it was fed and structured during the dictatorship, and it is still present. The Brazilian dictatorship (1930–1945 and 1964–1985) and the political turmoil associated with it remain open chapters

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[6] Romero, S. and Casey, N. "Chapecoense Soccer Team's Plane Crashes, Leaving Brazil Devastated." New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/29/world/americas/plane-carrying-brazilian-soccer-team-crashes-in-colombia.html?_r=0 (accessed May 30, 2017).

[7] Nelson Rodriguez coined the term.

[8] The name *Maracanã* comes from a river in the stadium area; see Appendix 1. The official name is Estádio Jornalista Mario Filho.

[9] The comparison is over-exaggerated by Caracciolo to highlight the power of such sporting defeat.

[10] Newspapers emphasized the defeat of the *seleçao*—the national football team—by Germany 0–7 during the 2014 World Cup, but although some parallels exist, the context and the expectations were different from the past.

in Brazil; this political history is also partially connected to the developments regarding the Maracanã Stadium (Skidmore 2010). Historically, the majority of the population does not have extensive knowledge about politics or the concept of nationhood. Due to the politics of the center-left wing,[11] the purchasing power of Brazil's middle class has grown in recent years; however, this economic growth has tended to contribute to the mindset of individuals as consumers instead of citizens. As a result, the personal accumulation of wealth and capital grew at a rapid pace, but scholarly and educational development did not see comparable results.[12] The popular sentiment among Brazilians has revealed an interest in developing national prominence among powerful countries on the world stage. However, as Cauti (2014) observes, few people possess the analytical instruments to understand theoretical political-economic concepts. The younger generations, which are highly educated, are changing this trend.

6.2. Rio de Janeiro, Soccer, and Belonging

In Rio de Janeiro, there are several popular sports and sporting facilities. The horseracing club can host 80,000 people, the Nelson Piquet International Autodrome accommodates 60,000 spectators, and the Sambadrome Marquês de Sapucaí has a capacity for 100,000. There are also stadiums for tennis, softball, and other sports that have been built over the years, especially for the Pan American Games, that were recently renovated for the Olympic games of 2016. Furthermore, temporary structures and arenas have been built on the Copacabana beach to host beach volleyball circuits, international beach soccer tournaments, and mega concerts. Even though

[11] It is the same political area that had nominally led the country for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, with Presidents Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff.
[12] See: Rohter 2012; Roett 2010; Guimarães 1991; Falk and Fleischer 1988.

soccer stadiums are the city's strongest defining characteristic, it is difficult to determine the exact number of soccer facilities. "Only" thirty stadiums are familiar to *cariocas* (residents of Rio de Janeiro); although there are many other soccer facilities, they are not known to the general public (Gaffney 2008).

Soccer stadiums and informal soccer spaces characterize Rio's geography. Within a radius of four kilometers in central Rio de Janeiro, one finds the city's four most iconic and important stadiums. *Futebol* is deeply embedded in Brazilian culture.[13] "The stadium is the apex of the soccer world, and is where Brazilians ritually gather to celebrate, bemoan, and perform" (Gaffney 2008, p.82). The histories of clubs and the profusion of stadiums narrate the trajectory of changes in Brazilian culture, societal evolution, ethnic segregation, and differentiation by social class. In Rio de Janeiro, soccer stadiums and clubs serve as symbols of the community. For example, in popular industrial districts, such as São Cristóvão; in durkheimian terms, soccer teams and stadiums are collective representations. In the wealthy neighborhoods found in the southern part of the city, one finds beaches, shopping malls, and tourist facilities, but not stadiums. From a sociological point of view, this distinction reflects the identities of the place and its population. The stadium replicates and reproduces social spaces and ideologies, but, especially in Rio, it also acts as a mirror of the social, cultural, and political contexts (Da Matta 2006, Lever 1983). "The ritualized confrontation between teams (and their fans)" (Gaffney 2010, p.140) is more than a testimonial of sporting faith. After more than a century of development, such devotion reflects a sense of belonging: to a place, to a type of work, to a class, to an ethnicity. In Brazil, the belonging one feels toward a team is akin to the sense of belonging of a citizen toward the nation or the faithful toward a religion. The supporters affirm their cheer preference as if it were part of their

[13] For more information about the prevalence of soccer in Brazil, see Appendix E.

Figure 4. Gaffney, Soccer stadiums in twenty century Rio de Janeiro. In Gaffney, *Temples of_the Earthbound Gods Stadiums in the Cultural Landscapes of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires*, 2008.

inherent nature: *"Eu sou Botafuguense, eu sou Vascaíno"* ("I am a Botafogo's supporter, I am a Vasco de Gama supporter," said as if they were cities of provenance instead clubs). Another popular saying refers to this common way of determining identity in Rio de Janeiro: *"You can change your job, your wife, your house, even your gender, but you can never change your team."*

The history of the conception and construction of the Maracanã Stadium reveals the characteristics of Brazilian society, its structure, identity, dynamics, and ideologies. The stadium epitomizes the country's conflicts, contradictions, rituals, and traditions. Governments, at the local and national levels, use soccer rhetoric as a tool to sway public sentiment. This sort of argument becomes more evident in Rio de Janeiro, where Brazil's defining features (beaches, nature, culture, football, *favelas*, and extreme wealth) are concentrated in an urban environment. The profuse presence of soccer fields characterizes the urban landscape as well as the sea, the hills, and the contrast between *favelas* and estates. Since the late nineteenth century, politicians have used soccer as a panacea to solve social problems. The internationalization of clubs involved a huge amount of money, creating new and more complicated nets of corruption. With that, the idea of the stadium began to embody single interests instead of social purposes. Nevertheless, the association between soccer and nation endures. The international successes of the *seleçao* and of Brazilian players strengthen children's belief that soccer is a way to escape poverty. If the cultural centrality of sport and stadium does not change the socio-economic structure, the successes of a few of the poor allow the economic polarization: *"Brazil will continue to produce world-class soccer players because the poor will continue to strive to escape poverty through it"* (Gaffney 2008, p.117). Sporting clubs are linked to the geography of the city and to its history. In the past, the location of the soccer clubs revealed the social composition of the teams; nowadays, majors clubs are enterprises similar to European teams. In addition, some NGOs run programs that use sports to enhance employment prospects for the youth of Rio's *favelas* (Spaaij 2014).

6.2.1. *Torcidas Organizadas*

Brazil's *torcidas organizadas* (organized fan clubs) are groups of soccer fans that were created in the 1960s. They were a nationwide phenomenon that expressed the political effervescence of youth; this explains why several groups have the word "young" in their names. The groups were identified both as expressions of faith in a soccer team, and as expressions of protest (against other teams, politics, laws, and more).

The *torcidas* are another indication of the contradictions and contrasts in Brazilian society. As described by Alvito (2013), these groups simultaneously show two sides of one coin. On one side, they act as a sort of fight club, in which young people are initiated to the practices of the group, including violence. On the other side, the groups' organized cheering is at the heart of the party atmosphere created inside the soccer stadium. Some authors (Alvito 2013; Murad 2007; Toledo 1996) report that people engaging in violence make up only about 5% of the total crowd, and that it is unfair to reduce the phenomenon to a perception of the *torcidas* as violent groups. Da Câmara Teixeira (2003) explains that these groups of youths are united by their passion for a team, as well as by a sense of belonging, loyalty, dedication, and total surrender to the group of fans. Cheering that turns violent is partially influenced by the social situation, as a response to the deterioration of urban life. Social problems are reflected in the violence among different groups of fans, especially in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Intense local rivalries often result in groups whose members provoke urban violence. The perception of urban insecurity has now created an "architecture of fear" at stadiums (which now have double gates and private security), and the media has portrayed soccer fans as violent and aggressive people (Caldeira 2000; Alabarces 2003).

When *torcidas* do engage in violent acts, they are generally aimed at the cheering of the opposing fans, and are considered a "moral obligation." Within the group, the victory of their team is not the only goal, as the sociologist Damo (2002) says:

> "Neither is the victory, pure and simple, what interests soccer fans. What captivates them is the drama inherent to the possibility of winning and losing alongside the team linked to the club, which represents an affective community."

The love for this sport is widely considered to be a social mask, and such "love" is often expressed through violence. In Brazil's soccer *torcidas*, José Miguel Wisnik identifies a strong male symbolism; the *torcidas* are composed of a large number of young males. In addition, Murad (2007) relates the violence to the "the high degree of illegality existent in the Brazilian society."

The joyful aspect of the *torcidas cariocas*—*torcidas* that are based in Rio de Janeiro—is well-known, and creates a carnival atmosphere that is unique to the cheering of Brazilian soccer fans. The match becomes something more than a sporting event. Although drums and other percussion instruments are, theoretically, not allowed inside the stadiums, *torcidas* sing traditional Brazilian music for the entire match, while enormous flags and colorful choreography enrich the cheering. Singing is considered a supporting action, and the songs never stop—even when the opponent scores a goal—as if the team could not play without the support of its fans. The culture of the *torcida* is part of everyday life. People know the mottos and songs of the soccer teams, even people who do not actively cheer at games.

The presence of these groups inside Brazilian stadiums is intrinsic to the country's soccer culture, and both the peaceful and violent sides of cheering characterize the experience. Without considering the violence, the spectacle offered by *torcideros* (members of *torcidas*) is part of the match itself. Gaffney (2013) points out that "*the conjunction between the game on the field*

Figure 5. Torcida of the team Fluminense (Rio de Janeiro)

Figure 6. Torcida of the team Flamengo (Rio de Janeiro)

Figure 7. Conflict between *torcederos* and the police.

and the performances in the stands created a participatory and creative moment, a spatial and social conjuncture." The spectacle has made the experience much more than a simple soccer match, and it has no equal around the world.

6.3. The Stadium: Typology and Evolution

The word "*stadium*" comes from the Greek "*stadion,*" which was a unit of measure.[14] The term was extended to the areas, rarely to the structures, that hosted races and religious athletic tournaments, such as the Olympics. Subsequently, the term extended to Roman amphitheaters. Initially wooden structures, amphitheaters were later built in stone or concrete.

Politics, religion, urban life, and social control were linked to these structures. Like the stadiums of today, Roman amphitheaters were urban public places with a relevant role in the city. They were found all over the Roman provinces, and, like other Roman buildings, they would become references for future architectural and engineering projects. On the other side of the world, similar rituals and religious, political, and social elements characterized Meso-American ball courts. Sports played an important role in the region's pre-Columbian societies, too. Yet, architecturally, these ball-playing fields were different from the classical Roman examples (Ingersoll 2013, Kostof 1995).

With the end of the Roman Empire, arenas and stadiums in Western Europe ceased to be used as such. They began new lives, being used, for example, as houses or fortresses, or they

[14] Zetlin, Lev, *Stadium*, 2017. https://www.britannica.com/technology/stadium (accessed June 20, 2017); *Stadio*, Enciclopedia dell'Architettura, leGarzantine, 2008.

Figure 8. Nimes (France) Roman Amphitheater.

Figure 9. Leitch , Aston Villa Stadium, Birmingham, 1922.

were abandoned. Sports were still practiced, but in squares, open fields, or covered halls.[15]

The emergence of the modern stadium was linked to the Industrial Revolution in the United Kingdom and to the development of *folk football*, which became a feature of urban industrial cultures in the nineteenth century. The growing popularity of this sport, among both players and the public, led to the construction of proper places to play (initially, just a "leveling of the field"). Following the UK, soccer grew in popularity throughout the British Empire and Europe. The stadium became an urban element, and began to house matches of several sports (soccer, rugby, track and field, etc.) (Inglis 2005, 1990, 1989). In the late nineteenth century, playing fields were actual open fields, with no boundaries between players and spectators. As sports became more organized and competitive, the need grew for architectural divisions and boundaries. The first complex stadium was built by Archibald Leitch, who designed the first double and triple tiers (Inglis 2005). The fields' dimensions were standard, while the capacity depended on the materials, the economic resources, and the architectural know-how of the designers. A builder's point of reference was the Roman amphitheater, but the models were shaped differently in different parts of the world. The evolution of the stadium follows that of technical, social, urban, political, and economic change. The wealth of some cities, or of a part of them, allowed for the construction of new stadiums, and with them, for the modification of entire sectors of the urban environment (Guttman, 2004, 1978, Sullivan 1979).

Stadium design has evolved from the simple delimitation of space to contemporary sculptural dimensions. As with museums, soccer stadiums are tools of globalization (providing space for an English sport that has been exported all over the

[15] Some of those sporting traditions reverberate today. For example, the "Storico Fiorentino" (historical Florentine football) is played in Santa Croce square (see also chapter 5).


Figure 10. Werner March, Olympia Stadion, Berlin, 1936.


Figure 10. Mosaic of Stadia from the world. Credit: Archdaily.

world). Stadiums' exterior shapes are now very similar to one another, and their geographic character, when it exists, is determined by just a few elements (Inglis 1990, 1987). Famous architects and international architectural languages guide stadium design (Biraghi 2008, Geraint, Sheard and Vickery 2007). High-level economic interests create multifunctional areas in and around the stadium, such as malls, and the violence of soccer hooligans determine the need for new internal and external security measures. Some stadiums are specialized for particular sports, while others can accommodate several disciplines. Multi-sport stadiums are usually bigger than soccer stadiums, to allow space for the various athletic facilities, and can be somewhat different from the English model.[16] Like many big arenas, they are also often used for various non-sporting purposes, such as concerts, political assemblies, emergency shelters, and special events.

The main elements of a stadium are the soccer field and the bleachers. Large structures that host international tournaments must now be all-seater stadiums; this is mandatory according to the international safety rules set forth by the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA).[17] The space is divided into two main parts: the private section, which is dedicated to the team and to the stadium staff, and the public section. The organization of the latter depends on the owner, the goal of the stadium, and its location. If the stadium is private, following the US model, it may include commercial activities and malls. Traditional European stadiums do not have accessory facilities, like shopping malls and private parking lots.[18] Overall, large parking and a new street furniture are necessary, as is

[16] The evolution of modern stadium models is traced by Bale (1993), Bale et al. (1993), and Bale & Moen (1995).
[17] "FIFA Stadium Safety and Security Regulations." FIFA. http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/tournament/competition/51/53/98/safetyregulations_e.pdf (accessed May 30, 2017).
[18] The trend is slowly changing, with the emergence of new private arenas.

quality urban planning for the surrounding areas. A good stadium project must pay careful attention to details, from the urban level to the small scale.

Each stadium has a cultural, social, and physical presence that strongly impacts the surrounding area, and is likewise a product of historical processes. Stadiums influence their urban and cultural contexts, and often become landmarks for specific areas. At the same time, they are separated from their surroundings, since they constitute the "stage" on which exceptional events are performed (per the concepts of ritual and totemism; see Chapter 4). Stadiums are cultural products that may become monuments and powerful iconic elements, in some cases. This aspect makes them an important symbol of society. Politicians may also use the image of a stadium as a tool. The World Cup in South Africa, for example, linked stadium construction to economic development projects, just as Brazil used it to show its modernity on the occasions of both the 1950 and the 2014 World Cups. The possibility of gathering masses of people, and of showing both unity and power within one symbolic image, has made this typology a strong political instrument. The downside is that stadiums have also provided "favorite stages" for dictatorship events.

6.4. Rituals

> "The rituals of the stadium are familiar: face paint, lucky clothes, consumption of red meat and alcohol, souvenirs, programs, team songs, national anthems, wild gesticulation, yelling at the referee." (Gaffney 2008, p.2)

For Durkheim (1924), primitive communities recognize themselves and practice rituals in places that are not commonly perceived as religious. Using the anthropologist's interpretation, totemism might be used to decode the rituals enacted inside soccer stadiums during games. These collective forms of representation are read as being separate from everyday life and, as such, they assume a different value. Soccer fans' participation and cheering become secular rituals, in which a large audience recognizes itself and participates as a whole.

As anticipated in the first part of the research, sociologists and anthropologists analyze the game and the place where it is played. In particular, Callois (1939), arguing about Huizinga's book, *Homo Ludens*, considers the game to be "superficial pure." He believes that the game is a primary activity that should be accepted and defined in everyday life. Callois asserts that the stadium, the gaming table, and the court are spaces for playing, by definition and shape. He defines them as sacred spaces with clear rules. The game is a temporary world, separated from normal life. Callois tries to identify and define the ludic and the sacred. The playing and the sacred have common elements; for example, intense religious emotions are accompanied by fictional representations. Everybody knows that they are not true, yet people do not interpret them as deceitful or comic acts. Callois recognizes the sacred origins of several traditional games, as in the Maoris' version of football, where the ball represents the sun. He affirms Huizinga's general version, but disagrees on Huizinga's perfect comparison between worship and play. In fact, play is such because of the rules that regulate it, while the sacred uses rites as a tool of knowledge. Human beings love games because games allow them to separate themselves from reality. They look for temporary, defined, ludic activities, for which they know the rules and dangers of involvement. The sacred has no such defined characteristics. Sports and religion characterized ancient Greek society. Centuries later, their symbols and values have become tokens for interpretation (not always coherently) to justify and promote sporting events like the modern Olympic Games (Catoni 1996).

The sociologist Javier Lever uses soccer as a key element to interpret the social world of the *Cidade Maravilhosa* (a nickname for Rio, meaning "the Marvelous City"). He recognizes that soccer teams are key elements to understanding

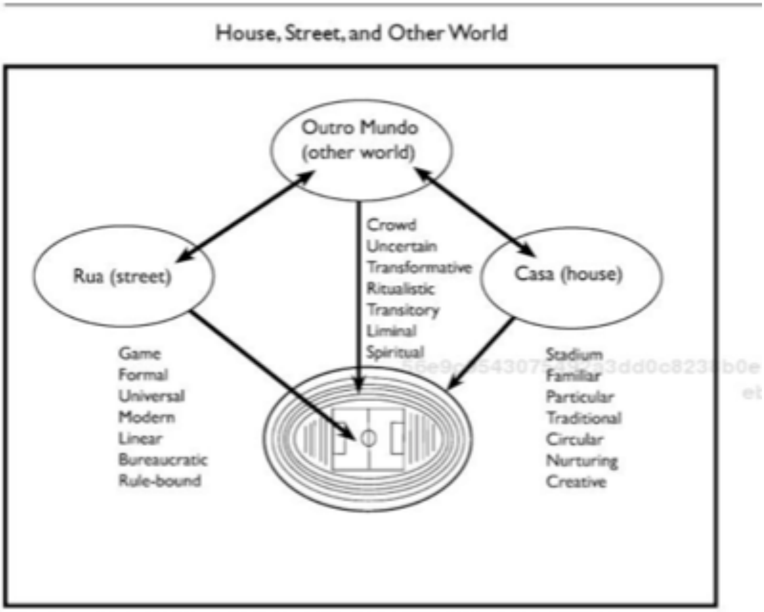

Figure 11. Gaffney, "House, street, and other world. Gaffney's diagram relating DaMatta's view of Brazilian space to the stadium. The arrows indicate to which part of the stadium each element pertains. *Rua* is the rule-bound field of play. *Outro mundo* is the transformative stands. *Casa* id the stadium itself." From Gaffney 2008**.**

the social divisions within the city. Moreover, society's composition is reflected in the space of the stadium. Anthropologist Roberto da Matta (2006) explains the links between space and society, through the stadium, as well as the links between the stadium and the city's geography. He divides Brazilian society into three spatial sectors—the house, the street, and the "other world"—and correlates this tripartition with the Holy Trinity of the Catholic tradition. Da Matta suggests that the *"casas"* (houses) of the team are analogous to homes and thus to families, with an accompanying sense of belonging, strong loyalties, traditions, and even revenge and killings. At the same time, it is also the *"rua,"* the street, or the public space where social hierarchies, political interests, economic disparities, and different ethnicities are in conflict. The stadium is likewise the "*outro mundo,"* or the other world: the place of superstition and magic beliefs (syncretism, or the *Candomblé* tradition in northeastern Brazil), transgression, and personal and collective transformation. The stadium is even seen as a "truly Catholic space" where life's usual conditions and daily routine have temporarily disappeared. According to this vision, the Brazilian stadium is a fundamental element of the country's geography, history, and culture. According to Gaffney (2008):

> "At the local level, stadiums are monuments, places for community interaction, repositories of collective memory, loci of strong identities, sites for ritualized conflict, political battlefields, and nodes in global systems of sport," (p.4).

The Maracanã is largely considered to be the spiritual home of world soccer, and its most important shrine. It is the world's biggest stage for soccer, in the world's most successful soccer nation. The Maracanã's fame is due to the passion of the crowds it draws, as well as for its history and sense of place. Gaffney asserts that, just like a religious sanctuary, there are names here for the saints: Garricha, Falcao, Zico, Romario, and Pelé. Considering the stadium's fame and value, some Brazilians and international soccer fanatics consider visiting it to be a pilgrimage. Various authors (Vikan 2014; Olsen 2006; Shackley 2005; Margry 1996; Urry 1995) describe this kind of secular pilgrimage, which is associated with tourism for its practical implications as well as with sacred and ritual practices for their meaning and personal involvement. As a composite issue, several disciplines analyze these phenomena, including sociology, anthropology, geography, tourism, and economics.

Maracanã Stadium is Rio de Janeiro's third greatest tourist attraction, after the Christ the Redeemer statue at Sugarloaf Mountain and the beaches. The stadium appears on t-shirts, postcards, souvenirs, and more, and is one of the most famous and well-known sites in all of Brazil. This means that a further ritual takes place within the stadium: the touristic ritual.

We can observe two main visitors' behaviors that differentiate tourists from soccer fans. During the daily visit, excitement, number of shots (innumerable "selfies"), and several soccer-oriented questions to the guides identify fans. During the matches, visitors take pictures to the *torcederos*, while supporters are more focused on the match and on songs. In the mass of spectators, tourists are particularly recognizable during the time breaking and at the end of the match. They appear visually disoriented and curios.

6.5. Maracanã Stadium

6.5.1. The Project

The idea of a new, important national stadium was conceived during the 1930s.[19] Rio did not yet have a big public soccer arena. After several rounds of approvals, project

[19] For more information about the popularity of soccer in Brazil, see Appendix 1.

proposals, blockages, and government processes, the final project was completed for the occasion of the 1950 World Cup (Rimet Trophy).[20]

During the 1940s, competitions were carried out and commissions were formed, yet none of the proposals was accepted. Due to time restrictions, the stadium committee decided to set up a mixed working group, comprising some of the professionals who had taken part in the previous competitions. They were forced to follow 24 directives and had 45 days to complete the task. The architects Galvão, Bastos, Carneiro, and Azevedo, with the support of assistants and engineers, signed the original plan. According to the committee's instructions, the stadium would have an elliptical shape, be 317 meters long at its longer axis, be oriented 30° northeast, and would measure 279 meters at its shorter axis. Niemeyer's proposal suggested a similar size and position. The stadium's original design was conceived to reflect a democratic space,21 with its elliptical shape and ramps inviting people to fluidly approach the terraces.

Along with government funding, the operation was initially financed by pre-selling 30,000 private seats. On January 20, 1948, the foundation stone was laid. Subsequently, during the London Olympics, FIFA ratified the shift of the World Cup from 1949 to 1950. As with every big stadium, there were differences between the sectors (prize, view, comfort); however, there were relatively few such differences, considering the stadium's capacity. The cross-section recalled Nervi and Valle's stadium in Rome, which was articulated in three tiers. The original structures of the rings were divided into levels and sectors: the *palco de honor* (honor stands), *arquibancadas* (large stands), *cadeiras cobertas* (covered seats), and *geral* (or gerao, general section).

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[20] For more information about the stadium's phases of construction, see Appendix E and F.

[21] Until the 1990s, fans could freely walk around the "bowl" of the stadium and mix with one another.

Figure 13. Niemayer's design project for the new stadium competition.

> "The first one at the ground level was called the gerao. It accommodated officially up to\ 30,000 spectators who stood in the space between the first step of the stands and the guardrail surrounding the pitch. The second tier held 30,000 seats, comprehending the official grandstand, the press stand, the sports stand, and 300 individual boxes. The third tier provided 90,000 seats on the stands overhanging the lower seats, with a maximum distance from the pitch of 150 meters."

The Maracanã's capacity of 150,000 spectators made it the biggest stadium in the world. The majority of its seats was in the *arquibancadas*, stands arranged in a simple gradation and covered by a cantilevered roof. Since there were no assigned seats, people sat on the bare concrete bleachers. The *geral* was the distinguishing feature of the Maracanã: a space located under the *arquibancada,* at ground level, and separated from the field by a 3-meter-wide moat. There was only partial visibility from the *geral*; to watch the match, one had to stand on the low steps that led down to the field. The *geral,* officially a space for 25,000 people, was the cheapest space in the stadium and was normally occupied by those who could not afford seats. In this space, mainly used by men, fans could follow their teams in a highly participatory way: by listening to the pre-match commentary or to the yells coming from the dressing rooms, as well as by being involved in, and crushed by, the *torcidas organizadas*. An awning partially covered the stands, with a tier of mercury vapor lamps above it, along the two sides of the pitch. Four main entrances corresponded to the longer and shorter sides. The public accessed the high stands via two huge ramps, located on the stadium's shorter sides. Each ramp branched off into the galleries of the second, third, and sixth levels. The ramps represented, and still represent, the monumental part of the architectural composition. The modernist articulation of the pillars had both a structural and a decorative function (map and foto-17-18).

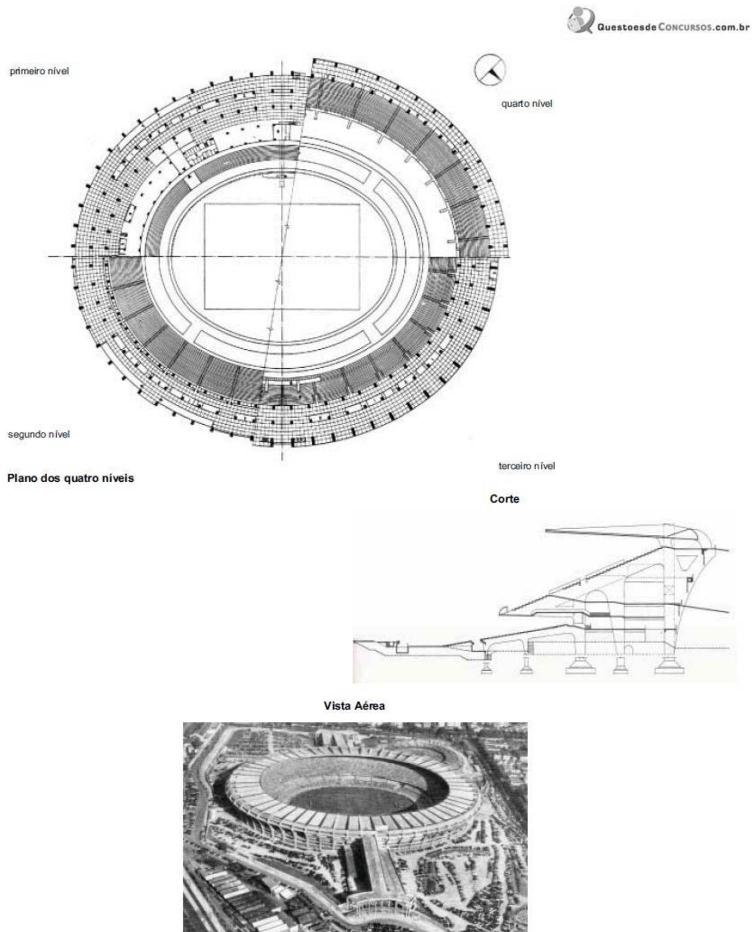

Figure 14. Project of the Maracanã, by the architects Galvão, Bastos, Carneiro, and Azevedo and their collaborators.

The stadium was inaugurated on June 16, 1950 with a match between representative teams from Rio de Janeiro and São Paolo. The "*paulista*" (São Paolo) team won.

6.5.2. The Great Expectation and the *Maracanaço*

After World War II, Brazil was a prosperous country that had plans to take on a leadership role in South America, and to gain international importance. In the minds of Brazil's rulers, the World Cup represented an opportunity to show the country's modernity and progress to the world. As history repeats itself, there was a large debate about the possibility of constructing a new stadium.[22] In 1946, after the Rio Municipality's decision to build a new stadium, FIFA announced Brazil would host the first post-war World Cup. The reasons for building the stadium considered: nationalistic rhetoric, ideologies, sporting discourse, and, above all, Rio's rivalry with São Paolo. At the time, São Paolo's municipal Pacaembu Stadium was the largest and most important stadium in Brazil. Prestige and pride became the strongest motivations for building the new stadium: the capital of a country must have a suitable stadium and a proper public space for recreation. The Brazilian Sports Federation endorsed the initiative, using the old rhetoric of social integration and

[22] Those against the construction considered it wiser to use the money for public infrastructure (hospitals, schools, etc.) instead of stadiums.

Figure 15. The Maracanã during the 1950 World Cup: the stadium was not finished yet.

Figure 16. A match inside the unaccomplished Maracanã.

national sentiment. Gaffney (2008) affirms that, even before laying the foundation stone, the *cariocas*[23] considered the future stadium to be destined for both symbolic relevance and a functional role in Brazilians' lives. The municipal stadium was intended as a secular palace, where "*the common man could gather with political and social elites to celebrate the achievements of their sporting idols*" (p.70).

The journalist Mario Filho described the new stadium as an "engineering marvel," lauding the project and the massive work being done. The goal was to construct the largest and most modern stadium of its time, as a demonstration of the Brazilian capacities for order, progress, and industry. To finalize the event, the next step would have been the victory of winning the Jules Rimet Trophy (which was, at the time, the name of the World Cup Trophy) inside the Maracanã. The stadium opened on June 16, 1950, with celebrations and honors, although the last "details" (toilets, a part of the roof, seats, and services) were not finished until the 1960s. Mario Filho lauded Brazilian labor, the Brazilian government's capacity, and the cleverness of the stadium's architecture, engineering, and construction. The inaugural ceremonies resonated deeply in the national media. No attention was paid to the long delays, to the incapacity for managing and organizing the work, or to the many worker deaths.[24] According to Gaffney (2008):

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[23] *Cariocas* are the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro. The inhabitants of San Paolo are called *paulistanos*.

[24] It seems that at least 100 workers died, and some of them were entombed in the stadium concrete. No official data is recorded on the topic. Sadly, such silence characterizes construction work. One recent famous case of deaths, construction, and responsibilities was Zaha Hadid's Qatar Stadium. The architect declared that it was not her responsibility, but Qatar's. Riach, James. "Zaha Hadid Defends Qatar World Cup role following migrant worker deaths." The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/25/zaha-hadid-qatar-world-cup-migrant-worker-deaths (accessed May 30, 2017).

Figure 17. Photogram of the goal scored by Ghiggia (Uruguay); Uruguay-Brazil 2-1.

Sexta-feira, 21 de Julho de 1950 MUNDO ESPORTIVO — 7 —

DRAMA, TRAGEDIA E RIDICULO!

REDUZIDAS A PO' AS MAIS LIDIMAS ESPERANÇAS — FLAVIO COSTA, SINAL DOS TEMPOS — MAU CRITERIO NA CONVOCAÇAO — MANIA DOS "MEDALHOES" — INTERFERENCIA PERNICIOSA — VOLUPIA DE SUPERIORIDADE — NCOMPETENCIA — ASA NEGRA, MANDINGA E PE' DE COELHO — MAL NECESSARIO

ESCREVEU
ODILON C. BRAZ

Figure 18. Mundo Esportivo, article the day after the Brazilian defeat.

> "The stadium was also considered to represent the present and the future of Brazil, helping to realize the development of a democratic society. The elliptical form of the stadium was thought to unite rich and poor, black, mulatto, and white in a common experience, a shared emotion that would be self-reflective and self-sustaining. As a public monument that sought to embody the national spirit, the Maracanã was embodiment of a dream and represented the possibility of a better future for all Brazilians "(p.72).

As mentioned above, Brazil had great expectations for the tournament. The Brazilian team was considered the best in the world: first, because the team's abilities had grown appreciably, as shown in international matches against other South American teams; and second, because of the suspension of the European leagues during the war.

July 16, 1950, the day of the Brazil-Uruguay tournament final, would become one of the most important dates in Brazilian history. The match drew 200,000 people into the Maracanã, ten percent of Rio's total population. Many of the other residents participated by listening to the live radio broadcast on the streets of Rio, as well as in every other Brazilian city. Records of that day report there was a carnival atmosphere in the stadium, and that the Brazilian fans celebrated as though they had already won before the starting whistle. Brazil needed only a pair of goals to win.[25] It was the best team in the tournament, and had already defeated Uruguay, 4-1, in one of the previous matches. Brazil's soon-to-be victory was already being celebrated since the day before the final match, including medals, newspaper headlines, official comments, etc. The Brazilian supporters were so confident in their victory that they offered to paint the drab concrete of Maracanã with the national colors of the winning

[25] The format was a *round-robin tournament* (or an all-play-all tournament, or an Italian-style tournament). Today, the format used involves two phases: qualifications and a single-elimination tournament.

nation. The thousands of documents describing that day[26] all tell of how the winning atmosphere was deleted by the goal scored by Uruguay in the ninetieth minute—and of the incredible silence in the stadium. The defeat at the Maracanã, called the *Maracanaço*, is an event that, for many, is the confirmation of Brazil's inferiority complex (Caracciolo 2014; Cauti 2014; Petroni & Sbetti 2014). The writer Nelson Rodriguez coined this term:

> "By "Mongrel Complex" I mean the inferiority in which Brazilians put themselves, voluntarily, in comparison to the rest of the world. Brazilians are the reverse Narcissus, who spit in their own image. Here is the truth: we can't find personal or historical pretexts for self-esteem."

Surprisingly, after the conclusion of the match there were no violent reactions.[27] The defeat inside the space considered the locus of Brazilian national achievement, the image of social integration, and the symbol of the industrial development weighed heavily. Brazil did not lose as a team but lost as a nation. Three days of national mourning followed the defeat; from this sentiment of loss and inferiority was born the mongrel concept. The exterior of the stadium was painted light blue: Uruguay's nickname is *La Celeste* (The Sky Blue One).

6.5.3. Renovations: from the 1950s to the 2000s

> "It could be said that Brazilian cultural memory in the twentieth century is demarcated, more than anything else, by World Cup tournaments." (Wisnik 2006, p.198)

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[26] See: Pereira 2014; Galeano 1997; Documentary: Barbosa 1988.

[27] *"To upset the largest amount of Brazilians as possible without loss of life, there is probably no more efficient way than creating the largest stadium in the world, filling it to overflowing, and then losing, in the final minutes, to neighbors you had recently beaten, at a sport that is believed to best represent the nation"* Bellos 2014.

In 1950, when the World Cup began, the stadium was still incomplete. The construction was considered finished only in 1965; the stadium was officially named Estádio Jornalista Mario Filho in 1966.

The surrounding sports complex was completed over the years. The Gilberto Cardoso Multisport Gymnasium (also known as the Maracanãzinho, or "Little Maracanã) was designed by Bastos, Carneiro, Galvão, and Azevedo. Work began in 1952 and the gymnasium opened in 1954, with 13,600 spectator seats. It was restored in 1970, following a fire. The Célio de Barros Athletics Stadium held 9,000 spectators, with a new straight-grandstand design, and was opened in 1974. The Julio Delamare Aquatic Park was designed by the architects Rubens Cozzo, Ricardo Labre, and Cândido Lemos. It holds 5,700 spectators and also has straight stands. It opened in 1978.

From 1960 to 1980, the popularity of soccer grew, and politicians adopted President Vargas' strategy[28] of using the stadiums and soccer as political tools (Helal et al. 2001). Large stadiums were built all over Brazil, including outside Rio and São Paulo. They all had huge spectator capacity, public transportation services, and sectors with low-cost tickets, which appealed the working class. Hollanda (2009) suggests that it "*was within these spaces that a complex culture with rich tradition consolidated into something that was uniquely and identifiably as Brazilian.*" In 1970, Brazil confirmed its international image as "the soccer country," winning its third World Cup.

A stand collapsed in 1992, killing three spectators. The stadium was then renovated. The first major renovation started in 1997, in order to meet FIFA standards so that Brazil could host the First Club World Championship in 2000. The first major changes to the stadium occurred in 1998. To use the arena for international matches, according to FIFA statutes, the *Superintendência de Desportos do Estado do Rio de Janeiro,*

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[28] See Appendix E.

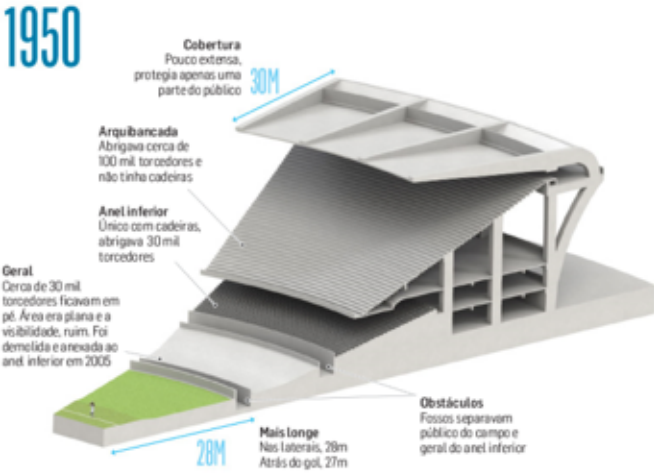

Figure 19. Axonometric cross section of the Maracanã in 1950. Credit: Eduardo Asta.

Figure 20. Exterior of the stadium: the colors of the Uruguayan flag are blue and white, 1990s.

SUDERJ (Superintendence of Stadium Sports in Rio de Janeiro), reduced the capacity of the stadium from 175,000 to 103,000, placing plastic seats in the *arquibancada*. Furthermore, when the *seleçao* played, the *geral* had to be closed because of FIFA regulations. These measures introduced a more accurate way to control fans, now more easily recognizable since personal tickets for assigned seats were introduced. To raise money, the SUDERJ installed luxury boxes, causing poor air circulation in the stalls. The poor conditions for watching the match drove *carioca* fans to ask that FIFA matches not be played in the Maracanã.

Cable and satellite television changed the fan turnout for the games; in the 1990s, attendance at the stadiums began to decline. The ability to watch the match while avoiding violence was very appealing to many fans. However, the violence itself did not stop. To counteract the *torcidas*, the police militarized the stadium space, and the appeal of the live spectacle decreased even more. A further deterrent was the decision, made together with Globo Media,[29] to begin the games after the *telenovelas* (the soap operas), at 10 p.m. on weekdays (Gaffney 2010).

The need for security modifications initiated a debate about registering the stadium with the National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN). The decision was not rooted in the need for preservation, but rather was due to the stadium's historical and cultural value. Apart from its status as a monument, the building held little relevance in terms of either engineering or architecture. According to IPHAN, Maracanã Stadium had:

> "[T]he right place in the memory of the nation from the historical point of view, without being noteworthy in artistic terms, however, since it lacks the functional and plastic qualities that would allow it to be immediately recognizable as an exceptional building."

[29] Globo Media is a Brazilian state TV channel.

Figure 21. Aerial view of the sporting center, 1990s,

Figure 22. The stadium after and before the refurbishment of 1992.

In 2000, the stadium was registered with IPHAN. It was also entered into the list of Archeological, Ethnographic, and Landscaping Heritage. According to IPHAN, listing it would not prevent intervention aimed at "modernizing and improving the quality of service on offer." The possible interventions must respect "the essence of the building and be conformed to the precepts for its preservation as national artistic and historical heritage." Finally, in 2002, the Rio de Janeiro City Council included it as a registered municipal building. In the meantime, the modification project plans satisfied the international requirements, so the renovations began. While its capacity was reduced to 128,000, Maracanã was still the "biggest stadium in the world," albeit now with more comfort, safety, and revenue.

In preparation for the Pan American Games, in 2004, there was a second renovation of the stadium. This one was accompanied by a series of corruption scandals and management failures. The main changes were the lowering of the playing field by 1.2 meters and the elimination of the *geral*, with the installation of 18,000 plastic seats. To a certain extent, the alterations could be considered reversible, but the stadium's capacity fell to 89,000 spectators. Two new entrances were also added, along with 60 closed-circuit security cameras, new bathrooms, and more parking spaces (all FIFA requirements). To prevent public protests, the state governor promised to maintain the same prices. In 2004, normal entrance cost 3 reais (0.7 euros). However, when the stadium reopened, the redesigned seats cost ten to twenty times more than the previous basic price. As discussed, viewing conditions in the *geral* were notably poor, there were no public restrooms, and fights between the *torcidas* and the police were common. One justification for the architectural renovation was thus linked to social change. SUDERJ explained that Brazilian fans expected a different level of comfort, and that certain sectors of the population, such as women, children, and the elderly, did not go to the *geral*, primarily since their safety could not be guaranteed. Pay-per-

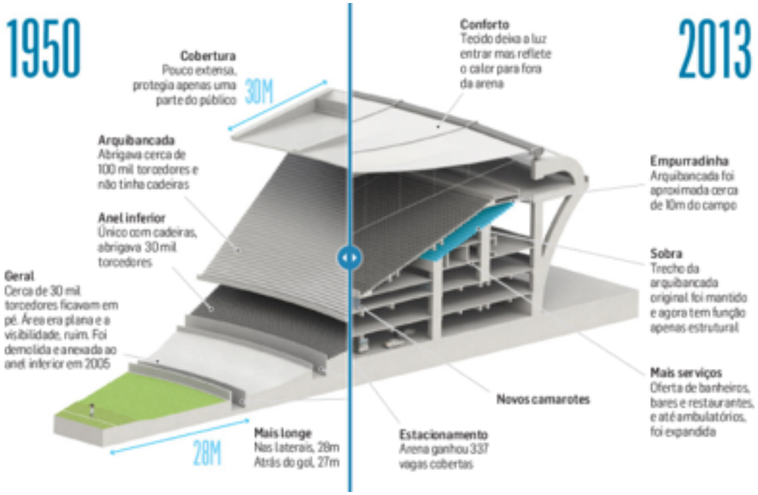

Figure 23. Comparison between the original structure and current aspect. Credit: Eduardo Asta.

view services and cable TV were safer alternatives (Armillotta 2014). While refurbishing work was going on, the option of presenting Rio's candidacy for the 2014 World Cup emerged. In 2007, after inspection by FIFA delegates, FIFA officially named Brazil as the host nation for the 2014 World Cup. In 2009, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) also announced Rio as the host of the XXXI Summer Olympics.

From 2005 to 2007, substantial work was done on the infrastructure and facilities around the stadium. The Maracanã was the second most visited place in Rio, after the *Cristo Redentor* (the statue of Christ the Redeemer that overlooks Rio) and ahead of *Pão de Açucar* (Sugarloaf Mountain). Despite this, the stadium's potential for tourism was not being exploited. Once again, since the stadium did not satisfy the FIFA requirements, the SUDERJ hired a consultant group to avoid the possibility of demolition. The goal was to find the least expensive solution to save the Maracanã, such as adding safety measures, exits, evacuation plans, and visibility. Two architectural firms worked to find a solution. The ensuing study stressed the need for further development and changes to the urban infrastructure. The new municipal council considered the suggested modifications, which included an option for the demolition and reconstruction of the nearby facilities. The proposal was to preserve the stadium's exterior, while remaking the interior. Demolishing the recent modifications (2000 and 2007) was justified by the new FIFA standards.

6.5.4. Restyle or Die. The International Challenges, the 2014 World Cup, and the 2016 Olympics

In 2010 the *Empresa de Obras Publicas* (EMOP, Rio de Janeiro's public works company) contracted with Fernandos Arquitectos Associados, a São Paolo architectural firm, to develop the executive project. The released renderings show the changes to the neighboring area (parking area) and temporary structures. Inside the stadium, VIP and "Very VIP" boxes were planned, as well as a new roof built of polycarbonate and glass fiber membrane. The first project was rejected by FIFA. Deficiencies were identified in the slope of the lower stands, the hospitality area, the access routes, and the circulation paths. To adhere to the FIFA requirements, the stands were given a continuous curved profile, similar to Niemeyer's project,[30] and they had to conform to the international standards of one meter in height, with a distance of four to five meters from the pitch.

The stadium's interior was changed completely. The final proposal was accepted in July 2010, and the huge work of demolition started in September. During the same period, the State of Rio de Janeiro allowed some areas belonging to the

[30] See appendix G.

"old Maracanã: made to last; new Maracanã: made for cash."
Figure 24. Comic strip Credit: Genido.

"Gold, silver, and bronze are finished. But the lead continues!"
Figure 25. Comic strip 2016. Credit: Latuff.

Brazilian army to be converted into public space and a FIFA operation base. The Office of Burle Marx designed the project.

The Maracanã sums up many of Brazil's contradictions (Cauti 2014). For example, efforts to change the structure of the stadium to ensure modernity and order have been denied by soccer's corrupt controlling interests, or the stadium is left without maintenance for years even though it is considered an icon. To prevent its closure, the latest architectural changes seek to reach FIFA objectives through radical changes, particularly by sacrificing the stadium's democratic symbol: the *geral*. The other options were to leave the stadium as an empty historical place (a monument, like the Pacaembu Stadium in São Paolo), or its demolition. Brazilian general opinion is divided: those who accepted the internal redesign for the sake of the stadium's preservation, and those who see the end of the *geral* as the traditional public space in favor of economic logic. Although official documents have not reported the cost of the intervention, the media has recorded the phases of the work, the scheduling, and the costs. The demolition and reconstruction of part of the stadium cost 1 billion reais (almost 300 million euros). While this solution avoided the possibility of complete demolition or musealization,[31] the huge costs clash with the conditions of poverty in the nearby *favelas*. In this respect, the major construction and reconstruction work undertaken for the World Cup has been dramatically contested; moreover, the Maracanã was not an isolated case.[32] The large expenditures on the World Cup and the Olympics were broadly questioned on several occasions, especially during the protests

[31] The Pacaembu Stadium in São Paolo is now a monument and host museum. The end of sporting activities there was affected by the presence of private stadiums. Each of the city's big soccer clubs has its own arena. From time to time, Pacaembu Stadium hosts special events.

[32] Other stadiums were contested, such as the new one in Brasilia (Brooks, Bradley, 2014 http://www.businessinsider.com/brazils-world-cup-problems-with-corruption-2014-5?IR=T) (accessed May 30, 2017).

Figure 26. A view of the stadium surrounded by the favelas.

Figure 27. Transportation services in the Maracanã area.

that took place in 2013. Once again, this image reflects the deep contrasts in Brazilian society. The protests were carried out by members of the country's new middle class, asking for more guarantees and services instead of games. The stadiums were financed with public money and controlled by private interests; thus, they are perceived as an element of consumption, isolated from the cultural and social context.

The two international hosting appointments—especially for the Olympics—reverberated throughout the entire metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro. Architectural interventions and urban renovation projects had been realized in several points of the city. The projects had been shown worldwide through sports images. They were depicted by consecutive governments (Lula da Silva first, and Dilma Rousseff later) as opportunities to show Brazil's capacities and strength to the world. It was the same narrative that was used in back 1950. However, the global context in the 2010s was radically different from that of the 1950's.

6.6. Analysis of the Site

6.6.1. The Urban Setting

When the stadium was planned, the Boa Vista area was quite empty and Rio was not yet a metropolis. Infrastructure and mobility were different, and urban planning followed other directives than those of today. Today, the urban landscape has changed dramatically. The area is saturated, and only superficial interventions have been enacted.

The stadium is located between the mountains and the railroad tracks, which recent renovations have improved along with the roads. Infrastructures and facilities are mostly conceived for automobiles, since Brazilians have a strong automobile culture. Tourists primarily use train, taxi, and subway services during the day. As noted, one can reach the stadium by car, train, subway, and bus. Thanks to its strategic

Figure 28. Axonometric scheme of the stadium accesses. Credit: Ferandos Arquitectos,

Figure 29. Gaffney, Management and organization of the Maracanã. From Gaffney 2008.

position, it is easy to travel to and from the stadium area, even for non-*cariocas*. The stadium is served by a good access road and the parking area, also demanded by FIFA, has been considerably improved (15,000 cars). There are also private bus services, available both for touristic purposes and for soccer matches. Tour operators and agencies usually offer special-fare tickets to their customers, whether for soccer matches or for tours. If one arrives by subway, then the station is just one minute away from the north gate, on foot, and is linked by a footbridge that crosses the highway. The subway station serves the stadium, a university, and the surrounding sporting facilities.

Schools, research institutes, and bourgeois residential neighborhoods surround the stadium, although three nearby *favelas* are also clearly visible. The *favelas'* presence is an embarrassment for Rio's administration, since these nearby slums counteract the claims of development and modernity that Brazil strives to share with the world.[33]

6.6.2. Actors, Management, and Users

The main purpose of the stadium is hosting football matches. The presence of several management bodies, institutions, and football societies complicates the management and use of the space. The most visible such parties are the soccer teams. It is the home stadium for two of Rio de Janeiro's four teams—Flamengo and Fluminense—while the Vasco da Gama and Botafogo clubs have their own pitch. Important matches,

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[33] For information about the demolition of the nearby *favela*, *favela do metro*, on the occasion of the World Cup:

- "The World Cup Is Underway. What Has Become of Favela do Metrô?" Rio On Watch. http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=16094
- Phillips, Tom. "Rio World Cup Demolitions Leave Favela Families Trapped In Ghost Town." The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/26/favela-ghost-town-rio-world-cup (accessed May 30, 2017).

like the confrontation between Vasco and Palmeiras,[34] are played there, too. Thus, all of Rio de Janeiro's inhabitants, no matter what soccer faith they follow, feel the Maracanã to be their team's stadium. Most international competitions take place here as well.[35] The stadium provides the stage for non-sporting events, including public events such as the Pope's visits, inaugural ceremonies, and mega-concerts (i.e., Madonna, Kiss, The Police, etc.).

In addition to entertainment, the stadium is used for tourism. Tourist access happens during different hours than matches or events, since such visits are limited to certain hours or when the stadium is otherwise closed. The website invites visitors to check the entrance timetable.[36] An external company (contractor) manages visitor services, while other companies run the cafeterias, shops, etc. The overlapping of several organizations (teams, services, FIFA, etc.) determines the overall management of the stadium. However, the State of Rio de Janeiro is its owner and is responsible for the structure.

Different uses imply different users. Although one might hypothesize a simple "double life" for the stadium, that of sports (players, staff, and supporters) and of tourism (tourists and pilgrims), such a simplification is not true. Tourism marketing leverages the popularity of the stadium to sell match tickets to individual tourists, or to local and international tourist agencies. This means that, at matches, a large percentage of the public comprises tourists, whether on their own or as part of a group. The presence of groups of tourists during the match affects the stadium's use.

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[34] Palmeiras is a team from São Paolo.
[35] Although several additional stadiums have been built or renovated in Brazil since the World Cup, the *carioca* stadium is the symbol of Brazilian soccer and is thus preferred over other arenas. The celebratory book *Maracanã 60 Years* by Bueno (2010) illustrates the various uses of the arena before its renovation.
[36]Online, tourist packages offer different services and prices, and invite people to book in advance.

Fans recommend the place as a destination to visit, a must-see. The *O Globo* newspaper summed up the situation by saying that "the relationship of the fans to the Maracanã is a mixture of pride and fear." Brady (2005) considers the stadium a safe place (social role, presence of police, employment, etc.). However, Gaffney (2008) states that "*getting there and away is a different story.*"

6.6.3. Architectural Solutions

The Maracanã Stadium architecture is neither unusual nor interesting. Its main features are linked to the collective imagination and to its memory. The most famous images of the stadium are the same that identify Rio itself, all in one: the statue of Christ the Redeemer, the luxuriant vegetation, and the big ring of the Maracanã. Comas (2011) notes that the gigantic scale of the stadium is aimed at intensifying the State autocracy. Comas uses Rem Koolhaas' argument for the contemporary use of bigness and gigantism, identifying the Maracanã as the first form (Koolhass 1995). The area is segmented, and although their shapes are similar, the other sporting facilities are merely juxtaposed, showing a poorly integrated composition design. The new renovations do not involve the residual spaces and intensify the boundaries between poor and wealthy areas.

The official statement of Fernandos Arquitectos, the architectural firm that handled the stadium's renovation, says: "Maracanã Stadium's modernization project preserves the historical identity of the stadium and upgrades it in infrastructure and comfort".[37] Along with the project description, the firm highlights the importance of working in a symbolic place such as the Maracanã, and explains that the need for it to survive implied many internal changes, despite efforts to maintain its original character; only the exoskeleton has been

[37] According to the studio, this is its most successful project. The firm replied to the author's request for information with written and graphic material.

maintained. The main goals of Fernandos Arquitectos were to comply with the correct standards (FIFA's standards) for visibility, comfort, and safety. This implied the creation of new stands, new toilet and bar services, and new interior organization.

The main structural effort is the new roof that was substituted for the original cantilevered shelter. The new covering is the most significant element of the operation. It utilizes new engineering technologies and sustainable solutions (see appendix E), covering 160,000 square meters instead of 86. In terms of sustainability, the building is a success. The building received the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification.[38] For the LEED, its most relevant elements were the presence of a drainage system on the roof that allows for the reuse of rainwater, as well as the photovoltaic panels, also located on the roof.

Observing the two axonometric cross-sections, we notice how the interiors have changed. The *geral* and the pit have been eliminated, and the distance from the field has been reduced. The inclination of the stands is calculated both to achieve the correct visibility and to guarantee safety. The East and West sectors demonstrate, as stated by the architect, "a vision firmly focused on business." In fact, there are rentable rooms, each named for a sponsor, that are available both for viewing matches and for private events (work meetings, anniversaries, etc.). The stadium is a municipal property, but it is run by private enterprises that want guaranteed incomes. The interior looks like any other stadium in the world, except that its seats are painted the colors of the Brazilian flag (yellow, blue, white, and the green of the field).

The new structures, facilities, and services do not lend character or uniqueness to the spaces inside the stadium. As if

[38] LEED is a certification, developed by the Green Building Council of America, that provides a set of sustainable standards to be observed in construction projects.

we were in an airport, the colors, details, and furniture all speak an international language. This internationalization can be seen even in the food served in the cafeteria: hot dogs, popcorn, chips, hamburgers, and international beers.[39]

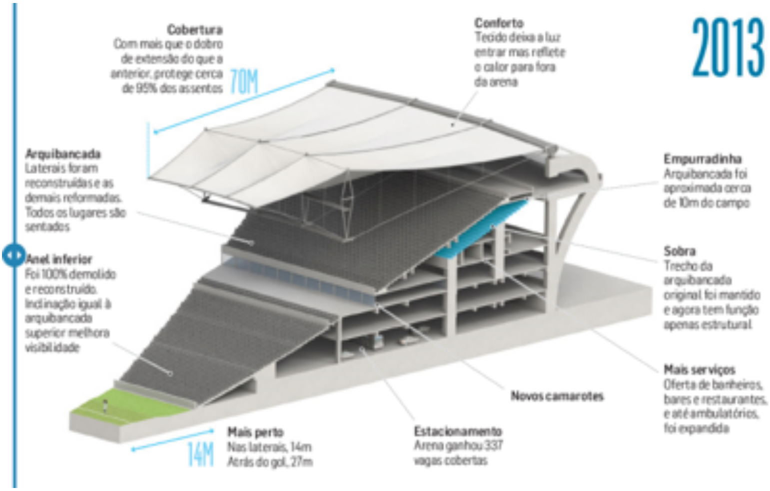

Figure 30. Axonometric cross section of the new Maracanã. Credit: Eduardo Asta.

[39] It is also possible to buy a ticket that includes a restaurant meal, obviously at a higher cost.

Figure 31. Views of the stadium, 1990's.

Figure 32. Views of the stadium, 2014. Credit: Fernados Arquitectos,

6.6.4. The Visit

Whether visitors are tourists or pilgrims, the stadium visit begins with the purchase of a ticket. It might be done on site, or on the Internet. On site, the ticketing kiosks are located near the north entrance, the one closest to the subway station. Once the visitors have tickets, they enter the gate, pass through the shop, and cross the control gate. In the hall, depending on the kind of ticket, there are two options: the guided or the free tour. The different types of visitors are identified by differently colored paper bracelets.

Memorabilia is displayed in the meeting room: the golden shoes of Pelé and the celebratory goal, a piece of the net, soccer players' shirts, etc. It is not a museum or a gallery; rather, it is a celebration of the past glories that characterize the stadium. This hall is a sort of introductory room, where memorabilia aim to summarize the history of the stadium.

Visitors who choose the free self-tour may walk around in the specified area; no flyers, application software, or guidebooks are available. The guided tour starts in the hall. The accessible area is the portion nearest the north gate (to both guided and non-guided visitors). After an introduction, the tour begins with the changing room, the warm-up room, and then the playing field. The tour aims to offer its visitors the experience of moving through the same sequence that the players follow before a match. All the rooms are described; however, no mention is made of the old stadium, not even when the tour passes next to a large model depicting it. After the field, visitors ascend to the press stands, the VIP boxes and stands, and the general seating areas. The tour then ends at the ground-level press rooms. Some of these spaces may be closed to visitors, depending on the stadium's schedule. The guided tours are offered in several languages (Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French). The descriptions focus on the new building, and all information is limited to its recent history. No flyers, multimedia, or explanatory signs are available in these spaces. This means that non-guided tours lack information. During visiting hours, the café service is located in the hall, and to exit, one must pass again through the shop. The shop mostly offers merchandise for the local soccer teams, the *seleçao*, and souvenirs of Rio. Overall, the emphasis of the touristic/pilgrim visit focuses on the architectural power of the structure (the dimensions) and on its living legend, which is not narrated inside but is merely suggested. Therefore, the experience of the stadium is the same both for tourists and pilgrims.

The other kind of visit takes place during matches or other entertainment events. In this way, it is no different from any other stadium in the world. The ticket is checked at the gate, including the sector and the seat that are listed on it. Thus, the only job is to reach one's seat. Once again, the stadium's dimensions, the game, and the *torcida* characterize the Maracanã. Tourist groups may or may not find seats together. This implies that, at the beginning and end of the matches, there are groups of people standing, concentrated in some areas, and waiting for one another. Naturally, this might create a bottleneck in some areas. Guided tours are not allowed at these times, and the guides in these cases are tasked only with accompanying fans. Independent visitors act like fans. Pilgrims, during the match, are obviously fans and are, with players, among the main actors of the event.

6.7. Issues, Potentialities, and Perspectives

Issues. The prominent position of the Maracanã in the city's touristic panorama and its symbolic stature imply the need for ad hoc solutions for visitors, pilgrims, and users. The stadium's critical issues are related to its double life, involving sports and tourism, the borders of which are not clearly defined.

- The structure does not allow the partial musealization of the spaces with permanent exhibitions, like the

Paceambu in São Paolo or other European examples (Santiago Bernabéu in Madrid, or Camp Nou in Barcelona). Right now, there are no devices that might aid the visit.

- The lack of information about the past and the history of the stadium is a major deficiency.
- There is no differentiation between pilgrims and tourists. This is a pro for the visit to the space, since everybody visits the same things. At the same time, however, the information provided is the same for all: *cariocas,* other Brazilians, the teams' supporters, general soccer aficionados, and general tourists.
- A project for a separate museum was expected in 2014 but was never realized. It was planned for the stadium area. However, the Brazilian soccer federation built the *Museu do Seleçao Brasileira* (Brazilian National Museum)[40] on the other side of the city.
- Crowd control issues are linked to the match time, when groups of tourists mix with spectators.
- Prior to the construction of the stadium, the presence of several public bodies was already slowing and complicating the decision-making process.
- The recent renovations and improvements do not consider the city's civil emergencies. The soccer clubs remained indifferent to the social situation (Helal et al. 2001) and are considered opaque institutions, aimed at garnering power and raising money. The controversial behavior of the *Confederação Brasileira de Futebol* (the Brazilian Football Confederation, or CBF), clubs, and public institutions persisted for years.

[40] Museo Seleçao Brasileira. http://www.museuselecaobrasileira.com.br/ (accessed May 30, 2017).

- Scandals, mismanagement, and high prices foster the locals’ disaffection from the stadium and matches (Durão 2010).

Potentialities. Maracanã’s fame is a potentiality that has never been explored: the name constitutes a brand per se. The presence of the name as a sponsor of activities and events is an additional potentiality.

The private company[41] that manages the touristic visits provides only very basic services. Tourist activity is therefore based only on the fact that the name “Maracanã” brings visitors and profits, via the presence of the World Cup and of the Olympics.

The stadium’s strategic position within the city is a helpful element for organizing touristic, entertainment, social, and cultural activities.

Perspectives. Can contemporary museum practices merge with places that are not museums but that are perceived as if they were? Can museographic solutions solve, entirely or partially, incongruities between touristic and sporting rituals? Can they help with social issues?

- One of the main goals should be to fill in the gaps in information about the history of the stadium, the reasons for its fame, and its meaning.
    - Which narrative should be told? Who are the listeners? Who should be in charge of telling it?
    - Once the narrative and strategy are defined (with a long-term plan), which solutions are the most suitable? There are several options (movable information panels, brochures, apps, maps, interactive devices, traditional temporary

[41] The enterprise that manages the tours never replied to my requests of information. To my knowledge, no research exists about touristic plans and projects at Maracaña.

exhibitions or permanent installations, etc.), which link to the "museographic" project. Where should these possible installations and devices be placed?

- Tourism and sports might be integrated, and they might support each other. The goal is to avoid the overall musealization of the stadium and maintain each ritual. This point is linked to the prior one.
- The missed opportunity during the stadium renovations might be fulfilled through later social activities. The stadium has the potential to become a socio-cultural hub for the nearby *favela* communities. Solutions might be found in concert with governments, humanitarian associations, architects, and stadium managers. Other possible actors include the clubs (which have money), networks, visibility, and structured organizations.

  Although different in its architecture, purposes, and goals, Lina Bo Bardi's SESC Pompéia in São Paolo might be one reference. Social studies (Shapiro 2012, Ahlfed 2011, 2010) show that sports in general—and soccer in particular—can give a vital boost to the social status of an urban community. The meaning of Maracanã, not to mention its brand, may represent a fostering element to sustain social initiatives.
- Different types of initiatives may renew people's affinity for the stadium, and to its life. Bottom-up initiatives or international agreements (university networks between Brazil and foreign universities) might be ways to achieve this. Realistically, this last option would be difficult to realize. The intricate bureaucracy and the presence of several interests are difficult obstacles to overcome.

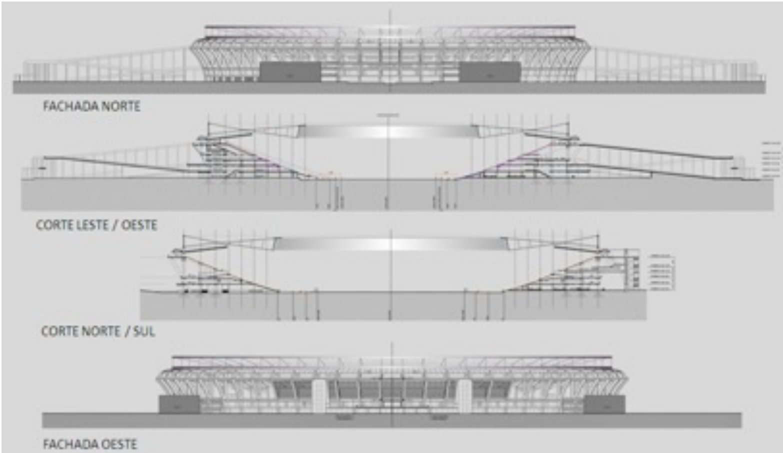

Figure 33. Prospects and cross-sections of the new stadium. Credit: Fernados Arquitectos,


Figure 34. Illustration of the visiting area and services (see folio 4).

Figure 35. Cross section of the stadium - visiting area (see folio 5).

Figure 36. Image of the gallery. Credit: Fernados Arquitectos.

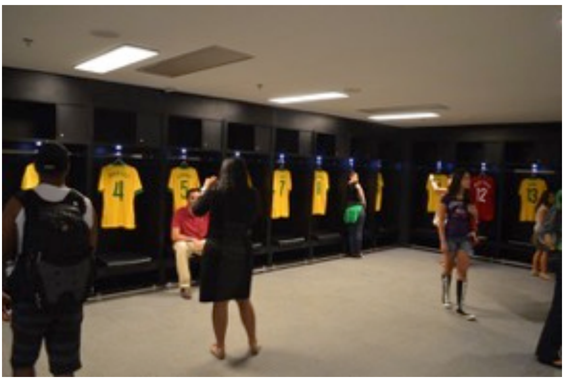

Figure 37. View of the locker room. Credit: Fernados Arquitectos.

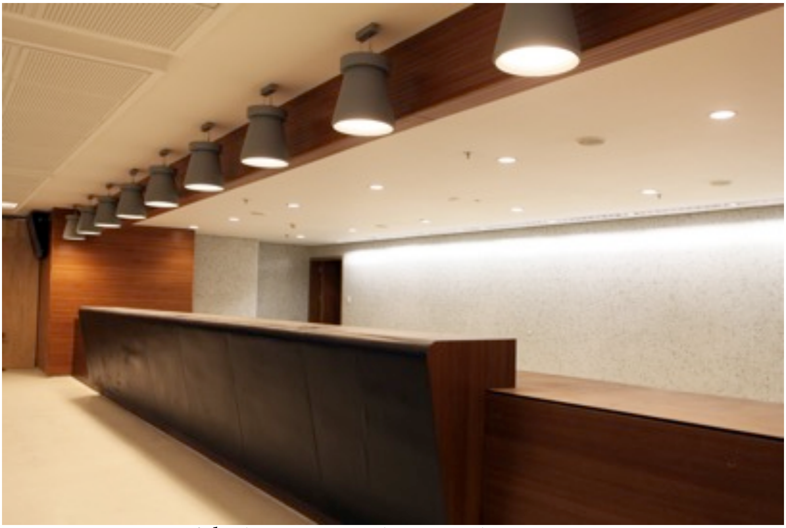

Figure 38. Views of the bar area. Credit: Fernados Arquitectos.

Figure 39. Views of the hall. Credit: Fernados Arquitectos.

Figure 1. The Ground Zero area: the memorial square and the new WTC under construction. Photo by Chiaramonte.

Chapter 7.
The National 9/11 Memorial and Museum, New York City, USA

7.1. The World Trade Center: The History of a Symbol

The World Trade Center, also known as the Twin Towers, represented solidity, wealth, and strength. As a landmark, people from all over the world knew the Towers as the most recognizable part the skyline of Lower Manhattan. Among New Yorkers, the skyscrapers never reached the popularity of the Empire State Building, the Chrysler Building, or Rockefeller Center (Goldberger 2004).

The first proposal for construction goes back to the 1940s. At that time, Wall Street in Lower Manhattan had become the core of the financial district, even though it was difficult to reach. Companies had begun to move to Midtown (the skyscrapers listed above are there), especially after WWII, as the city evolved; proximity to Wall Street was not as important for business as it had been.

In the late 1950s, David Rockefeller, vice president of Chase Manhattan Bank, tried to redevelop the area by

Figure 2. Lower Manhattan from the Liberty Island before the September 11, 2001.

Figure 3. Original site proposal for the WTC location and definitive location.

constructing the bank's new headquarters there. He commissioned Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM) to design the skyscraper. One Chase Manhattan Plaza represented hope for the financial center's rebirth, but it failed. There, the real estate situation was critical. The area lost commercial and industrial facilities on the river side; there was a lack of housing, stores, cultural centers, and entertainment services, and one building alone was not enough to reverse such a trend.

Subsequently, the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association, directed by Rockefeller, asked SOM for a development plan. The latter proposed a project similar to an idea that came out in the 1940s: a new center connected to both the rest of Manhattan and to New Jersey. Indeed, the most relevant player became the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. The Port Authority (PA) is a bi-state agency in charge of bridges, tunnels, and airports in the Manhattan area. It has great engineering expertise and the capacity for managing big projects. It was the perfect candidate for Rockefeller's plans and finances. After lengthy negotiations, the Port Authority (and the governors of New York and New Jersey) signed the deal.[1] The Port Authority became the owner of the renewed downtown area, the subway, and the subway station. The new subway line was named PATH: Port Authority Trans-Hudson.

The agreement with the Port Authority determined a shift in the location, from east to west Lower Manhattan. SOM pulled out, and the Port Authority put Guy Tozzoli in charge of the project. Architect Minoru Yamasaki[2] was chosen as the designer. The main goal of the plan was to allocate 930,000

[1] The governor of New York was Rockefeller's brother, Nelson; New Jersey's governor was Robert Meyner. The executive director of the Port Authority was Austin Tobin. Goldberger (2004) describes him as "a man who was as quietly eager for power as legendary city shaper Robert Moses."

[2] Minoru Yamasaki is a modernist architect. At that time, he was famous for his medium-high buildings with neo-gothic details.

Figure 4. The group of architects and engineers with the architectural model of the WTC (on the left Yamasaki).

Figure 5. Site Plan of the World Trade Center.

square meters[3] for office space. The planners designed only the World Trade Center buildings, believing the buildings themselves would solve the area's problems. They did not foresee a project plan for the development of the entire Lower Manhattan area (urban plan, housing, transportation facilities, services, etc.).[4] Yamasaki's principal task was to provide an architectural model that included the needed square meters. His first proposal for two towers did not meet the specifications. Both Guy Tozzoli and the director of the Port Authority, Austin Tobin, liked the project and suggested making the buildings taller, to enlarge the space and exceed the Empire State Building in size. In the 1960s, it was already known that such skyscrapers involve complexities (structure, material, foundations, elevators, and more) and are not profitable from an economic point of view.[5]

The towers were completed in the early 1970s. The World Trade Center (WTC) appeared as a super block. It changed the original city grid and major connecting streets. The new construction did not work as a piece of the city and did not respect the urban context, a main weakness of the master plan. It turned its back on the traditional form of that area and the shopping mall positioned underground.

The construction received international media coverage because of its height. Unfortunately, the towers' record as the tallest buildings in the world lasted only for a short time, until the Sears Tower in Chicago took that title. Super-tall buildings were not profitable, and most American investors lost interest in building similar structures simply for the status. Starting in the

[3] Ten million square feet.
[4] As Goldberg notes, the Port Authority was repeating Chase's mistakes.
[5] Tall buildings are complex engineering and architectural structures. The taller the building the higher the costs. The structures, the elevators, and the service spaces mean the loss of commercial space and lower gains for the builders.

1990s, Asian countries began to break records with super buildings, mirroring their economic wealth and power.[6]

Excavation materials from construction of the towers were used to create Battery Park. The project was entrusted to Cesar Pelli, and it boosted development of the area. In the mid-1990s, 50 years after Rockefeller's vision, the area experienced the desired boom; offices were almost filled up, and the Port Authority started repaying its debts.

The first terrorist attack occurred in 1993. The damage to the structures was not serious, and fortunately, there were few victims. A truck bomb was placed in the underground parking lot of the North Tower (Tower 1), packed with 680 kg of explosives. The plan failed. The explosion was intended to cause the collapse of Tower 1 onto Tower 2, resulting in thousands of deaths. Instead, it caused but minor damage to the structure. Six people died, and thousands were wounded. The attack solidified the towers as an American symbol. It is interesting to note that the architectural firm in charge of the repairs was Davis Brody Bond Architects, later involved in the design of the National September 11 Memorial & Museum.

In 2001, the Port Authority concluded a transaction with real estate developer Larry Silverstein. He signed a lease for the entire WTC complex.[7] Knowing the weaknesses of the area, Silverstein, who built WTC 7 in 1980, hired David Child of SOM for a strategic redevelopment plan. The goal was to change the orientation of the center outward. In other words, instead of being closed in on itself like a fortress, the center would draw

[6] In 1996, the Petronas Towers in Malaysia took the record from Chicago. Later on, Arabian countries took the title, and today, New York holds it again.

[7] During the 1990s, the center was still struggling after the New York financial crisis of 1987. The then-governor of New York, George Pataki, proposed selling the WTC as part of his cost-cutting strategy. Instead of selling, the PA decided to open a 99-year lease to competitive bidding.

people inside and would open toward the exterior. However, because of the attacks, the project was never carried out.[8]

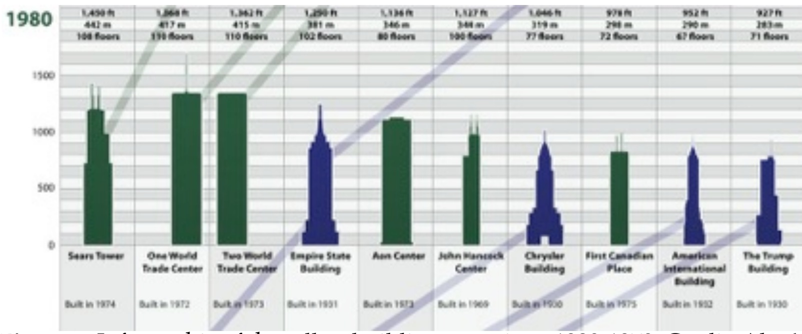

Figure 6. Infographic of the tallest building over time, 1980-1970. Credit: Alan's Factory.

7.2. Image and Representation

Even if they were not popular among New Yorkers, the Twin Towers became a symbol of the city. Like the bell tower in European villages, the towers were orientation points, visible from several places in Manhattan, and the most recognizable part of the city skyline. A number of high-profile events occurred at the towers over the years.[9]

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[8] This research does not concern the dynamics of attacks, theories, and investigations. We refer the reader to specific literature (Facts: National Commission On Terrorist Attacks 2010; The story according to the museum curators: Greenwald 2016; The connection with fundamentalism: Wright 2007; For young generation: Brown 2011; Conspiracy: Dunbar and Reagan 2011; Popular culture: Quay and Damico 2010).

[9] In 1976, the so-called sky-high restaurant, The restaurant was located on the 106th and 107th floor of WTC 1, *Windows on the World*, opened to the public. The towers were the stage for two incredible performances. In 1974, Philippe Petit walked between the towers. Then, in 1977, George Willig climbed WTC 2 (See Petit 2015 and the videos on YouTube are innumerable); Movies, TV shows, music videos, and advertising images boosted the towers' popularity: Superman flying between the towers, Dino de Laurentis' King Kong remake,

Figure 7. Petit during the walk between the Twin Towers (1974). Credit: APT.

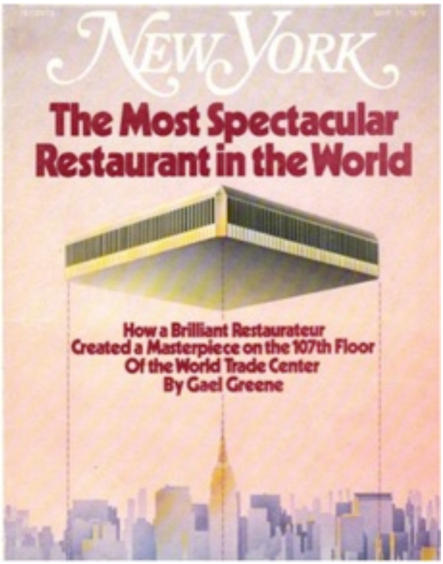

Figure 8. The cover of the *New York* (May 31, 1976) celebrating the opening of the sky-restaurant on WTC1.

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the popular TV shows of the 90s (such as Friends or Sex and the City), whose openings were often images of the Lower Manhattan skyline, several covers of the New Yorker, TV commercials, etc.)

Today, the most powerful images of the towers are those of the attacks. They were recorded by both official media outlets and amateurs. People all around the world followed it live, and the shock was palpable everywhere. Excluding younger generations, just about everyone remembers that day. As explained by Jan Ramirez, the Chief Curator of the National September 11 Memorial & Museum, it was the first time that, directly or indirectly, a shared tragedy became part of the personal experience of a huge number of people. Certainly, September 11, 2001, changed the Western world. Besides new safety rules and flight procedures, a common Western belief changed; images of the smoking towers marked the end of the illusion of the United States as an untouchable country.

Several pictures (of 9/11 and the following days) became testimonies to the tragedy. Hariman and Lucates (2007) analyzed these pictures from a photojournalistic point of view. In particular, they explored the reasons why the image of three firefighters raising America's flag[10] became an icon. Throughout history, images have been powerful vehicles of strategic narratives, like those with a political focus.[11] Flags and uniforms, for example, show the unity of a nation; the work at Ground Zero and the installation of two light towers were designed to display the city's resilience and the people's ability to rise up from tragedy. Furthermore, a specific rhetoric was necessary to sustain the subsequent war actions against Afghanistan first, and Iraq later. It is not surprising that the city that first branded itself (Greenberg 2003) and is famous around the world would receive such attention. Media coverage multiplied those images.[12] Each

[10] The image is representative in America because of its similarities with an iconic image of the Second World War: "Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima," by Joe Rosenthal.

[11] The use of images as a political tool has ancient roots. Communication in ancient Greek was partially entrusted to images, so the relationship between politics and mimesis was a crucial issue. See Catoni (2005).

[12] While social networks were not as popular at the time of the attacks as they are today, new trends in communication were starting.

Figure 9. *Raising the flag at Ground Zero*. Credit: *The Record*.

Figure 10. *The Falling Man.* Credit: Drew.

year, on the anniversary of the attacks, iconic images appear on screens and in newspapers. In addition to the solemn ceremony of the 15th anniversary, September 11, 2016, was characterized by the social networks that renewed the diffusion of old images in a few hours. The live broadcast from the Memorial allowed virtual participation. On the 15th anniversary, the iconic image changed. The photograph later entitled "The Falling Man" marked a different narrative than 15 years before.

7.3. Memorials

As expressed by intellectuals and philosophers (Proust 1927, Bergson 1912, Freud 1900), remembering is a need of human nature. In examining various interpretations of *lieux de mémoire* (memory space), we concentrate on memorials. As Pierre Nora states (1989):

> "Lieux de mémoire are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, at once immediately available in concrete sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract elaboration. Indeed, they are lieux in three senses of the word–material, symbolic, and functional. Even an apparently purely material site, like an archive, becomes a lieu de memoire only if the imagination invests it with a symbolic aura."

Memorials are part of the American tradition. Doss (2010) speaks about *memorial mania*, observing a sort of American passion for these kinds of monuments, while Senie (2016) describes this urgency as a kind of problem, caused mostly by a lack of traditions. The city that embodies memorial mania is Washington, D.C. Huyssen (2003) describes it as a "triumphal return" to commemoration. Various dimensions and shapes characterize commemoration places (plaques, sculptures, big constructions), as well as the distinction between memorial and monument.[13]

In general, memorials embody various values, events, reasons, and historical facts; this implies a choice about what is worth being remembered (Doss 2010). Temporary and spontaneous memorials are not contemplated in this research. After tragedies, such manifestations of grief arise spontaneously. Mourning is expressed by gifts, flowers, notes, and stuffed animals that are sometimes preserved and displayed in exhibitions (such as the 9/11 Memorial).

From an architectural point of view, Kimmelman (2002) affirms that the best way of commemorating is through minimalistic intervention.[14] As Doss notes, minimalist and essential design in the USA characterizes newly constructed memorials, such as Michael Arad's "Reflecting Absence," a 9/11 memorial, the Oklahoma City National Memorial, Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the New England Holocaust Memorial, designed by Stanley Saitowitz, and the Space Mirror Memorial, designed by Wes Jones. A similar desire for commemoration characterizes Europe too, as Berlin's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, designed by Peter Eisenman,[15] shows.

Prior to the 9/11 Memorial, the most famous American memorial was the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (mentioned above), designed by Maya Lin and built in Washington D.C. in 1982. It consists of two black granite walls set into the ground. The names of the dead are etched into the granite stones, creating a reflection of visitors' faces on names. Given the

[13] For a discussion of the similarities and differences between memorial and monument see: Doss 2010, Sturken 1991, Zelinsky 1988. The two terms are often interchangeable; see Lin 2016; Dannat 2002 (on Freed); Mumford 1945.

[14] "Minimalism has become the unofficial language of contemporary commemoration." Kimmelman 2002.

[15] There is a debate about the use of this style. Some people support this current artistic style as the most appropriate, while others critique the theatricality. Doss 2010.

controversial opinions about the Vietnam War, it is not defined as a "war memorial" (as requested by competition guidelines). The simplicity of Lin's design stands in opposition to the neoclassicist memorials and monuments on the National Mall in Washington. The same architect designed the Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery, Alabama. She was later a member of the commission that chose Arad's project for the 9/11 Memorial. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial defines a sort of benchmark and reference, and it deeply influenced memorial projects that followed.

The American examples are "dominated by a curative or therapeutic sensibility centered on "working through trauma'" (Doss 2010). Some examples are: the Oklahoma City National Memorial, the Pentagon Memorial, and the Flight 93 National Memorial. A different kind of memorial is the temporary art installation designed by Christo and Jeanne-Claude in 2005 for Central Park in New York.[16] The installation, "The Gates," was a tribute to the city after the shock of 9/11. The artists invited visitors to have a different view and perception of the park. Despite controversial comments about the value of this artwork, the bright orange gates had the merit of attracting millions of visitors in two weeks and generating an economic boom.[17]

In Europe, statues or commemorative plaques are elements of the urban landscape, and memorial architecture can be site-specific or not. Inside the Atocha railway station in Madrid, there is a site-specific memorial, whose essential design[18] pays tribute to the victims of the terrorist attack, while the Memorial of Utøya, in Norway, reaches landscape dimensions. A cut into

[16] See: Greenberg, Jordan, Christo and Jeanne-Claude 2008.

[17] Similar polemics also arose about the *Floating Piers* of 2016. http://www.thefloatingpiers.com/#introduction (accessed May 29, 2017).

[18] The architecture is composed of two rooms, with one ceiling hole, blue walls, water, and the names of the victims.

Figure 11. Eisenman, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2003-2005, Berlin. **Figure 12.** Saitowitz, New England Holocaust Memorial, 1995, Boston.

Figure 13. Libeskind, Garden of Exile, 2001 **Figure 14**. Butzer Design Partnership, The Field of Empty Chairs, Oklahoma City, 1997.

Figure 15. Lin, Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington D. C., 1982.

Figure 16. FAM Arquitectura y Urbanismo, Atocha Station Memorial, Madrid, 2007.

Figure 17. Dahlberg, Memory Wounds (project), Utoya, Norway. **Figure 18**. Jones, Space Mirror Memorial, Florida, 1991.

Figure 19. Beckman and Kaseman, The Pentagon Memorial, Virginia, 2008.

Figure 20. Christo and Jeanne-Claude, The Gates, 2005.

Figure 21. Christo and Jeanne-Claude, The Gates, project, 2005.

the rocks signifies loss, and the names written directly on the side of the cut is a way to remember them. In Berlin, Eisenman's memorial is characterized by simple stone parallelepiped. A few meters away, in the Jewish Museum, Libeskind pays tribute to the exiled Jews with his "Garden of Exile and Emigration." They are both non-site-specific memorials.

Similar to cemeteries, the victims' names are sculpted, impressed, or inscribed on the memorial. It is a way to honor, to remember, and to unify. Especially after Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial, applying names to the pieces is the most frequently chosen technique. Despite this similarity, and even if some cemeteries commemorate particular tragic events, we do not take into consideration monumental cemeteries. As such, they must be analyzed in a separate category. Nevertheless, some architectural solutions applied in memorials stem from them, and the ways in which people behave and use memorials might recall those of cemeteries. Military cemeteries, like the American cemeteries in the North of France or the military cemetery of Re di Puglia in Italy, have strong monumental characterization and architectural elements. In a similar manner, concentration camps may include museum, memorial, and cemetery in the same area. Both military cemeteries and concentration camps are historic places that are not included in this research.

7.4. The Reconstruction Designs

7.4.1. The Contests

The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks was characterized by worldwide shock and the need for quick answers to such terrorism. Two replies followed: military action and the projects for Lower Manhattan. Several design competitions, different actors with varied interests, and global media coverage characterized the rebirth of Ground Zero. The contests received

 

AWARDS IN ARCHITECTS' COMPETITION FOR NEW TRIBUNE BUILDING

HOWELLS WINS COMPETITION FOR TRIBUNE TOWER

Figure 22. Loos, Design proposal for the Chicago Tribune Building Contest, 1922. **Figure 23.** The winners and the honored mentions published in the pages of the Chicago Tribune, 1922.

Figure 24. The temporary light installation at Ground Zero *Tribute in Light.*

proposals from all over the world. Historically, international architectural competitions see the participation of numerous architects. One of the most memorable is the Chicago Tribune competition of 1922; Ground Zero, however, is considered a unique phenomenon. The relevance of the event and the meaning of the place, combined with the easy means of communicating and sending projects, resulted in a record number of entries.[19] Several competitions took place, official and unofficial, and the related records are varied and numerous: feature stories, blogs, books, newspaper articles, essays, excerpts from social media, and more. In this ocean of information, Paul Goldberger,[20] in his book "Up from Zero" (2004), describes the story of the rebirth of the WTC, using the point of view of an architectural critic, and listing the events.

The dynamics and the relationships among people, organizations, and politics influenced development of the project and the site's configuration. The major players were the Port Authority of New York & New Jersey, Larry Silverstein, the governors of the States of New York and New Jersey, the mayors of New York City, and various associations representing the victims. The Port Authority Terminal owns the land on which the WTC was built, and Silverstein is the businessman who signed a billion-dollar contract with PATH two months before the attack.[21] Since the modal train station hosts trains to and from New Jersey, the governors of both New York and New Jersey were involved in the development plans. New York City's mayor had a major role, considering that the tragedy happened in the thick of the mayoral election. Finally, the families and

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[19] The many international entries might be considered to be products of globalization.

[20] Golberger is an American architectural critic and professor; He won the Pulitzer Prize for Distinguished Criticism (1984).

[21] Larry Silverstein completed the largest real estate transaction in New York history by acquiring the World Trade Center for $3.2 billion.

colleagues of the victims played a role in the decision-making process too, through committees and associations.[22]

As Goldberger notes,[23] each actor represented different wills and interests. The shocking events and pressure for a quick reaction determined the organization of a non-organic plan. The site, which today is one of the most visited places in the city, is the result of several separate projects. The first necessity was to recover the area; tons of iron, paper, human remains, and dust[24] covered everything.[25] Given the images of the aftermath of September 11th, the recovery was not an easy task, and it took several months.[26]

Immediately after, intense debate about the future of the site began. The main positions were for or against the construction of new skyscrapers. Goldberger (2004) states that pressure for the project was incredibly high. The first practical move was to establish the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC). LMDC's mission was to work with the public and private sectors, and with the neighboring downtown communities to develop a long-term plan. Then-Governor George Pataki and then-Mayor Rudy Giuliani created the company that sponsored the international design competition for the World Trade Center Memorial.[27]

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[22] Several associations were born in the aftermath of the event. Each of them represents particular interests or belongs to a specific group of people: firefighters, police, employees of certain enterprises, survivors, etc.

[23] Goldberger 2004.

[24] The presence of asbestos and electronic and mechanical parts made the dust dangerous for people. Furthermore, fewer than 1600 out of 2750 estimated victims were identified, meaning that the site itself became the final resting place of the non-identified victims.

[25] The area was considered highly contaminated.

[26] The timetable is determined by decisions, such as where to put the debris, the identification of the victims, the rescue of personal effects, the decision to preserve items, etc. In addition, all the administrative procedures for the work had to be considered: contract with builders, enterprises, etc.

[27] $10 billion in federal funds was invested in rebuilding and revitalizing downtown Manhattan. Source: https://www.wtc.com/about/history# (accessed May 29, 2017).

The design competition was based on the master plan developed by Beyer Blinder Belle and Parsons Brinckerhoff.[28] This competition focused on the design of the main skyscraper and the general arrangement of the area. The first round closed in July, 2002. In the meantime, recovery work proceeded. In August, 2002, the commemorative column and the site-viewing platform, with heroes' names and information panels, were installed. The place became an official attraction in the city.[29] At the same time, Silverstein (whose main concern was the loss of a huge investment) presented a proposal for the skyscraper 7 WTC.

The second phase of the competition took place in December, 2002. The panel selected eight out of 2000 proposals, and they were presented at a ceremony at the Winter Garden Atrium.[30] The semifinalists were: Fosters and Partner, Peterson Littenberg, SOM, Libeskind, United Architects (an association of firms from several parts of the world), THINK Design (an association of New York firms Shigeru Ban, Frederic Swarts, Ken Smith, and Rafael Viñoly), and the Dream Team (comprised of Richard Meier and Partners, Eisenman Architects, Gwathmey Siegel and Associates, and Steven Holl).[31] The following phase was the presentation of a shortlist composed of Libeskind and THINK.

[28] Beyer Blinder Belle is best known for its restoration of Grand Central Terminal, New York City; Parsons Brinkerhoff is a private engineering firm involved in energy, environment, and facilities engineering.

[29] As macabre as it may be, the place became a point of attraction quite soon. Initially, it was not welcomed by the families of the dead, but has since been accepted. See Goldberger 2004.

[30] The Winter Garden Atrium survived the attacks.

[31] Goldberger 2004; http://undicisettembre.blogspot.it/2013/06/la-ricostruzione-del-world-trade-center.html (accessed May 29, 2017).

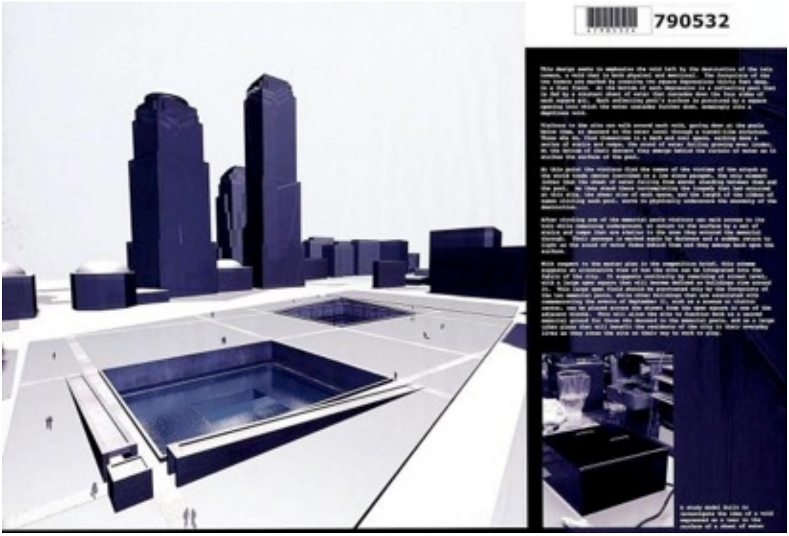

Figure 25. Arad, *Reflecting the Absence*, Competition Proposal, 2004.

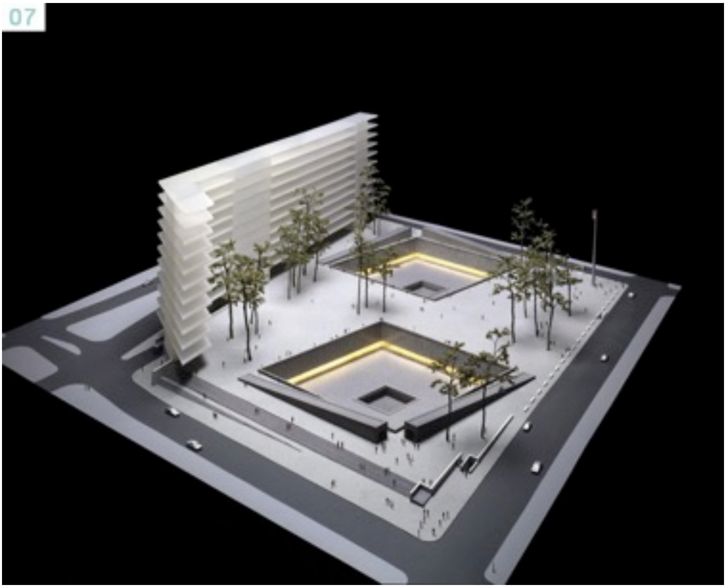

Figure 26. Arad, *Reflecting the Absence*, Competition proposal, model, 2004.

Figure 27. Arad and Walker, *Reflecting the Absence*, competition proposal, second stage, 2004.

The winner, announced in February 2003, was Daniel Libeskind’s design proposal.[32] Given Libeskind’s lack of experience with big projects and skyscrapers, he was forced to collaborate with David Childs of SOM. The final project, the One World Trade Center skyscraper, turned out to be significantly different from Libeskind's first proposal.[33]

In April 2003, LMDC launched a competition for the WTC memorial site for the victims of the 2001 and 1993 attacks; in July of that year, the Port Authority announced construction of the new transportation hub, designed by Santiago Calatrava.[34] Calatrava’s project, commissioned out of the competitions, was presented to the general public in January 2004. In the same month, the winners of the World Trade Center Memorial competition were announced.

The memorial competition saw 5,201 submissions, becoming the largest international design competition in history. All the projects had public visibility online, and among them, the jury committee selected eight finalists.[35] The next step was the development and improvement of the chosen proposal to be re-

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[32] The sequence of events toward the development of the main building is interesting but out of scope for this topic; see: Goldberger 2004.

[33] For further information, see: Goldberger 2004.

[34] “Santiago Calatrava presented the design for the WTC Transportation Hub at the Winter Garden. The design evokes the image of a bird in flight. The building will be built with steel, glass, and light. To bring an even greater sense of open air and natural light to the station's concourse, mezzanine, and platform levels, Calatrava designed the hub's ceiling to retract-an innovative concept used mostly in sports arenas. Each level inside the station was designed to be column-free to create an open, bright space. Through this Transportation Hub, pedestrians will have access to Hudson River ferry terminals, PATH trains, 13 subway lines, and possibly a direct rail link to JFK International Airport. The Hub will be positioned at the northeast corner of the WTC site at Church and Vesey Streets and is expected to form an underground connection between the World Financial Center and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's Fulton Street Transit Center” (https://www.wtc.com/about/history) (accessed May 29, 2017).

[35] Stephens 2004. Site visitors can browse each submission on the LMDC web site: http://www.wtcsitememorial.org/submissions.html (accessed May 29, 2017).

evaluated.[36] The winner was Michael Arad's "Reflecting the Absence." Criticized for a lack of green in his proposal, Arad was encouraged to join forces with landscape architect Peter Walker [37] and to be supported by Handels Architects.[38]

Other unofficial contests took place. The *New York Times* contest, for example, had the most entries. The main reasons for these unofficial contests were disappointment with the formal proposals, which were considered to be poorly designed, and the willingness to contribute.

7.4.2.Memorial or Museum?

The necessity of creating a new cultural center as part of the new WTC has been presented since the beginning; as stated by Jan Ramirez, this "felt like a necessity but without a clear idea of what it would become." [39] Highly respected people with broad knowledge of the New York cultural environment were included in the official committee in charge of the memorial. The first suggested proposal was the construction of a cultural complex, similar to the Metropolitan Opera House at Lincoln Center, then a "museum of humanity." Making a proposal about the area was perceived as urgent, but the final decision took time. Finally, under pressure from political and financial interests, the decision was made to dedicate "16 acres" to a memorial center and a museum, where the victims of the 2001 and 1993 attacks would be remembered. Without a clear project chosen, the first selection of materials for the future museum and memorial occurred ten days after 9/11. While the emergency recovery was still

[36] $130,000 was used to produce renderings, animations, elaborate drawings and models. For security reasons and to have a uniform presentation style, the same company manufactured all models.

[37] Peter Walker participated in the competition too.

[38] Recently, Arad became a partner in this firm (http://www.handelarchitects.com/) (accessed May 29, 2017).

[39] Jan Ramirez Interviewed by the author on July 20, 2016.

Figure 28. Final render of the 9/11 Memorial area.

Figure 29. Final Masterplan of the 9/11 Memorial area. Credit: Davis Brody Bond Architects.

underway, a group of curators and architects rescued some fragments for the museum.

The memorial committee started working simultaneously with the other projects. Given the high interests on the table (both financial stakes involved and strong public interest in the project), a sharp, concrete proposal was necessary. One of the most critical conditions was that the museum project had to integrate with Arad's project.[40]

Those working on the museum project put their initial efforts into raising funds. Although it complicated the fundraising, maintaining a certain political independence was one of the committee's goals.[41] Despite the committee's independent position, the initial budget was based on federal funding; however, it was not enough to start a museum. New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg proved himself to be the project's main ally. As citizen and mayor, he sustained the establishment of a "box of memories" both economically and politically. The fundraising campaign started without a concrete project.[42] The definitive plan came into being only after the sponsors imposed a deadline, while the mission and the purpose of the memorial were being determined (2004).

Two groups of architects worked on the project: Snøhetta[43] and Davis Brody Bond Architects. All aspects of the project were works in progress. Only one aspect was clear: it was not to be a traditional institution. Unlike other memorials or museums, the

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[40] The same institution now manages the two spaces: the 9/11 Memorial. http://www.911memorial.org/ (accessed May 29, 2017). The Memorial was inaugurated on September 2011 and the Museum on May 2014.

[41] In New York there are several state-dependent museums. The most well-known examples are the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of the City of New York.

[42] Meetings and social relations constituted the initial phase.

[43] Snøhetta is a Norwegian architectural firm with a small satellite office in New York. It is famous for the New National Opera of Oslo, the Alexandrina Library in Alexandria of Egypt, the Norwegian Library in Berlin, the Lillehammer Art Museum in Oslo, the Times Square requalification, and the expansion of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

event was recent, the project was site-specific, and it was an open process, the end of which was unknown. Almost two years later (2006), architects and curators decided to simplify the plan and the program. Although they were separate projects, the museum worked with the memorial by Arad because of their physical proximity and because the memorial program included management and interpretation of both the interior and exterior. As Ramirez stated,[44] the two projects, the square and the museum, cannot be considered as separate; they are integrated.

My analysis considers the two parts as a whole, stemming from the fact that they commemorate the same event, are both site-specific and are managed by the same institution.

7.5. People, Uses, and Rituals

Different types of users frequent the 9/11 Memorial. We must recall that this part of the city was reborn after the attack; it is now a tourist, commercial, and residential area.

Crowd levels in the memorial rise and fall based on the season. Spring and summer are the preferred seasons, during which there is a high concentration of non-U.S. tourists; during other parts of the year, visitors are mostly from the U.S.[45] For several reasons (the meaning of the place, the concentration of tourists, and the freedom to act), residents and workers prefer spaces other than the Memorial Plaza.[46] Instead, since the urban grid is now partially reconstructed, pedestrians benefit from it as a quick passage to reach other points of Lower Manhattan.[47] The

[44] Jan Ramirez interviewed by the author, July 20, 2016.
[45] Jan Ramirez interviewed by the author, July 20, 2016.
[46] Recently, after the redesign that involved all of Lower Manhattan, other spaces have been renewed or inaugurated: Battery Park, Hudson River Green Way, Brookfield place area, Zuccotti Park, and the City Hall Park.
[47] When the work is eventually finished, traffic circulation will be re-established. Pedestrian simulations tested the memorial's design. The pedestrian-modeling program Legion was used to simulate visitor utilization of the space, and its design was tweaked to prevent bottleneck

other pedestrian crossing route is underground. Reactivation of the PATH station, the WTC subway station, and the presence of a new shopping mall create a crowded underground space. At this point, workers mostly use the underground spaces, while tourists concentrate on the outside. This kind of use is probably a temporary situation, given that the construction work is not finished, the subway stop is not fully operational, and the directional signals are provisional. Here, commemoration and consumption alternate, and shape the spaces and uses. Generally, tourists use the square, while residents and workers use the surrounding access paths. The reasons for the latter group's behavior might relate to the search for a way to bypass the crowd or a need to avoid Ground Zero.[48]

At the 9/11 Museum & Memorial, we can group rituals into three categories: tourist, mourning/memorial, and daily behaviors (see chapter 3). Since it is a memorial, people's behavior is more controlled than in other parts of the city. Visitors act respectfully. Taking photographs is an almost obligatory part of tourism, which has been magnified by cell phones. Victims' families have criticized the practice of taking "selfies;" according to families, the happy expressions of visiting tourists clash with the sense of the place.[49]

Masses of people move randomly around the two pools and are usually scattered about the square. Some use the audio-guide or follow the guides. This kind of person visits the space in a slow, orderly way. People paying respects to the victims are not easy to identify and are less visible than tourists. Because it is a solitary act, paying one's respects gets lost in the cacophony of the tourists' chattering and moving. As it is not a normal square,

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http://www.cssnationaldialog.org/documents/NewBrunswick/CSS-National-Dialog-World-Trade-Center-.pdf (accessed May 29, 2017).

[48] To my knowledge, there is no published study on it.

[49] In this regard, the work "Yolocaust" by the artist Shahak Shapir questions people's behaviors inside memorial places. http://yolocaust.de/ (accessed May 29, 2017).

waiting and lingering are not encouraged. It is possible that the conditions mentioned above will change in the coming months or years. As the work is not yet completed, the uses and behaviors of workers and citizens may change. One possibility is that they will necessitate further modification of the built space.

Inside the museum, the atmosphere changes completely. As in a cathedral, people observe silence and behave politely.

Figure 30. Tomine, Cover of *The New Yorker*, July 2014. It sums up all the behaviors one might observe at the Memorial. Credit: The New Yorker.

Figure 31. Tributes to the victims.

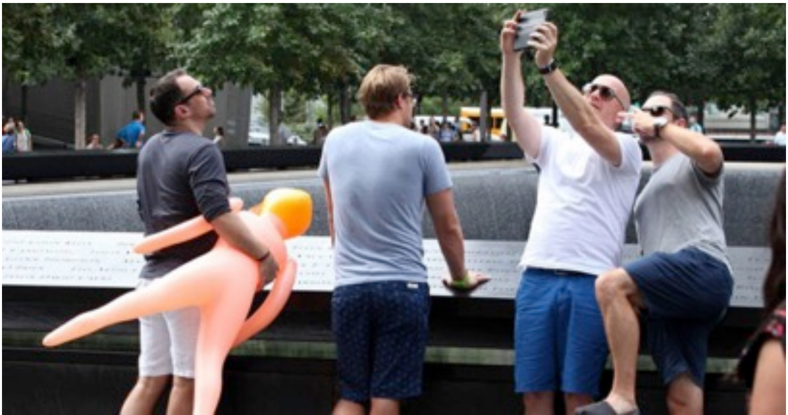

Figure 32. Offensive behaviors at the 9/11. Credit: Barcroft Media.

Figure 33. "Selfie"at the pool. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 34a. "Pokemon Go" players at the 9/11, 2016. **Figure 34b.** Screenshot of the game based on augmented reality technology, 2016.

7.6. Analysis of the Site

7.6.1. The Urban Setting

To have a general understanding of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum design plans, we must look at the surrounding area and future development ideas. Observing the Lower Manhattan city grid, one can recognize traces of the first settlements, even if none of the original pieces have survived.[50] Here, the grid is more irregular than in other parts of the city, representing a puzzle for city planners. Lower Manhattan is now more crowded than ever, with people, new buildings, and new projects. The revitalization boosts investment in an area that, as we saw, has always been problematic.

Now, tourism has flourished more than ever. The piers for the ferry to the Statue of Liberty, the National September 11 Museum & Memorial, Wall Street, and the malls make this part of the city one of the main tourist attractions. Real estate investments, both residential and commercial, mark it as an attractive place for New Yorkers, too (although not the most popular).

The renovation plan by Beyer Blinder Belle foresees the design of a Memorial Promenade, which links the Memorial to Battery Park and the underground tunnel, from the intermodal center to the Winter Garden Atrium, allowing for pedestrian connection to the ferry terminal on the Hudson River. Other interventions include Wall Street and the Seaport District, which has been renovated and connected with the future East River Blueway project.

The Memorial is served by ten subway lines, three bus lines, the PATH station, and ferries (some people can also reach

[50] About the history of New York City: Eisenstadt and Moss 2005; Burrows and Wallace 1998.

it by helicopter). The area is difficult to reach by private car, and such use is discouraged.[51]

7.6.2. The Memorial Plaza and the Museum, an Island of Silence

Sixteen acres are devoted exclusively to commemoration. The decision to maintain the square free from other buildings, except the museum entrance pavilion, was set in the early stages of the competition. The space for commercial use, for example, is limited to the borders of the area or underground. This decision caused some displeasure among those with financial interests, Silverstein in particular. Mr. Silverstein, as a developer of the WTC, determined the look around Memorial Square. With the exception of One WTC by Libeskind and Child, the architects and projects were chosen privately. The area represents a collection of star architects: David Child (WTC7), Fumihiko Maki (WTC4), Rogers Stirk Harbour & Partners (WTC3), Bjarke Ingels Group (WTC2), Santiago Calatrava (Transportation Hub), and Snøhetta (9/11 Museum Pavilion).

The redesign of the area signaled the rebirth of New York real estate. It developed slowly, and the world financial crisis stopped its rise. The city began to grow again after 2011.[52]

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[51] http://www.southstreetseaport.com/development-vision/ (accessed May 29, 2017).
http://www.ibtimes.com/new-york-skyline-2018-how-nyc-will-look-after-upcoming-skyscraper-projects-are-1723698 (accessed May 29, 2017).
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/11/04/new-york-city-in-20-years_0_n_4182025.html (accessed May 29, 2017).

[52] After years of non-growth, in 2008 interest in commercial and real estate grew. Comparing the skyline of Manhattan, one can visually notice as this changed. The changes affected both Lower and Midtown Manhattan. Financial operations and strategic initiatives caused new gentrification and renewal of certain areas of the city. This development is most noticeable in Lower Manhattan, the Meatpacking district, the west river side, and Midtown. It can also be seen looking at the names of the architects linked to the new construction.

Figure 35. Plan of the map "getting here map," available on the official web site of the 9/11 M&M. Credit: The 9/11 M&M.

Nowadays, businesses, offices, and tourist facilities surround the memorial: the Oculus is a shopping mall that contains the entrance to the PATH, the shopping tunnel connects some buildings and the Winter Garden Atrium, and the new WTC2 will be the headquarters of The Murdoch Group and a media center.

7.6.3. The Memorial Plaza

It is the intention of all the committees that the 16 acres must integrate with the city, contrary to Yamasaki's WTC, yet mark their uniqueness at the same time. The plaza is a public square, and as such, there are no physical boundaries; access is free and is permitted from any point in the surrounding area.[53] The square is one of the most important urban points in Lower Manhattan.[54] However, it is an unusual public space. First, it is a memorial with precise behavioral rules. Panels with the written behavioral code are at the entrances, near the kiosks, and on the website. Activities that are typically allowed in public squares are not allowed here; picnicking, lying on the grass, food carts, demonstrations, and political speeches are forbidden.[55] Common sense and respect are requested of visitors and citizens.

[53] At the time of writing, there are some gates to pass, since some areas are still under construction. Once it is completed, the plaza will be completely open, just like any public square.

[54] Since its construction in the 1970s, the WTC has been criticized for its non-urban character. The decision to finally make the square urban was a strategic plan that appeared as a priority since the beginning of the Ground Zero Master Plan.

[55] The First Amendment of the United States Constitution protects the right to free speech and expression. As a public place, the foundation cannot completely ban the right to manifest such expression. The solutions are side areas of the square, to be developed in the future, where those rights might be put into practice.

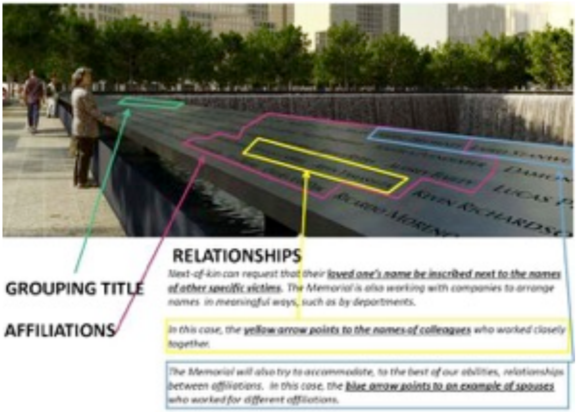

Figure 36. Disposition system of the names' victims.

Figure 37. The North Pool, PATH Terminal, and Museum Pavilion entrance side. Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

The location of the green, the presence of seats, and the layout of stairs, ramps, and banisters determine an unconventional public square. The seats consist of small granite blocks, and the green follows a contemporary design, composed of stripes of grass and white oak trees. The railheads are installed randomly in the plaza. The stairs are necessary not only to adjust to the irregular topology of the ground and different levels of height, but are also elements of the design.

There are several museum signs in the square. The movable silver information kiosks are the most visible elements. There, employees and volunteers from the 9/11 Memorial & Museum distribute audio guides, provide information, organize guided tours, sell gadgets, and gather donations. Information posts are placed around the pools or close to the pavilion entrance. The messages on the signs are rules, obligations, warnings, or suggestions, such as those encouraging touching the names on the borders.

The two pools are the focal points of the square. The sound of the waterfalls and the different temperatures create a microenvironment inside an already special place. The memorial presents some differences compared to Arad's first project.[56] The pools retrace[57] the original position of the towers, and the bronze parapets contain the names of the victims. The realized project is less expensive and more sustainable than the initial proposal. The design foresaw the interior of the pools covered with glass to let the water fall, along with unique, expensive lighting.[58] Now, the square pools are four meters in depth, and black marble covers the interior walls. Inside, water glides across the marble sheets and is recycled and reused. Among the final

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[56] Arad's first proposal was without trees and very expensive.

[57] The actual dimensions of the pools are a little smaller the original borders of the towers.

[58] The costs of realization and the costs of maintenance for the first option would have been too high. Furthermore, there could have been problems with illumination, practicality of the pools, and management of water; in addition, the area is vulnerable for water.

projects,[59] Arad's is considered the least faithful to Libeskind's master plan.[60] Although he substantially changed the star architect's initial proposal, Arad retained the idea of the void as an archaeological trace. The forced collaboration with Peter Walker enriched the landscaping side project, since Arad did not foresee trees in the design, while the collaboration with Handel Architects allowed structured management of the construction site.

The arrangement of the victims' names on the walls follows a complex curatorial project. As with other memorials, the memory of the people is through the inscription of their names. Here, the names are grouped and located according to the place where they worked or died (by all accounts), the rescue teams they belonged to (firefighters, police, and others), the proximity to colleagues and friends, or other reasons. The location was decided with the families, and a record of it is available in the museum and online. The names, cut into the bronze with water-cutting technology, are there to be touched.

People are invited to have a physical connection with the place. Flags and roses inserted into the cut-out names pay homage to the victims. Such behavior is welcomed and recalls how people conduct themselves in cemeteries.

Remembering and honoring are among the tasks of the 9/11 M&M. Names of the victims and the personal experiences of families and survivors are collected, filed, and shared in the foundation's research center. It is also a sort of support center for families and friends.[61] Rituals similar to those carried out in

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[59] About final projects see: Goldberg 2004, Stephens 2004, official site of LMDC (http://www.wtcsitememorial.org/index.html) (accessed May 29, 2017).
[60] In public interviews, Libeskind said the contrary.
[61] It is especially intended for those who cannot have back the remains of their loved ones. It is important to remember that not all the people who died there have been identified. The center assumes more value for the families of the missing victims.

cemeteries must be connected to the sad fact that not all the victims were found during the rescue.[62]

The other focal point is the Survivor Tree. A callery pear tree was discovered in the ruins, saved, and then rehabilitated by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation. It was returned to the square in 2010. It is visually separate from the green design and protected by a silver railing. The tree is a further symbol of the Memorial, and it "stands as a living reminder of resilience, survival, and rebirth."[63]

7.6.4. The Museum

Once the winning project of the memorial plaza was declared, the design of the interior and exterior proceeded concurrently. The National 9/11 Memorial & Museum managed the entire memorial area. Even though the evolution of the spaces followed different paths, they were officially identified as two distinct projects. Although treated as separate since the beginning, the square and the museum must be considered as a whole, and both curators and architects found a way to integrate them. Such integration was necessary because of their physical proximity, the shared idea of remembrance, and the meaning of the place itself. Once Arad's team defined plans for the square, the museum team, composed of curators and architects, started planning the interior space.[64]

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[62] It has been calculated that the fire and the collapse of the towers caused the disappearance of visible human remains. The only way to recognize the remains of human DNA is to analyze all the excavation waste. Such a procedure, in addition to being lengthy, expensive, and complicated, is dangerous because all the waste is highly toxic.

[63] https://www.911memorial.org/survivor-tree (accessed May 29, 2017).

[64] Having exceeded the specified timeline, they were requested to simplify and close the project. As explained by Ramirez, it is a difficult task. The proximity to the event, the difficulties in creating and selecting a "collection," defining the narration, etc. are just some of the elements which add to the complexity of the project.

Visitors can access the museum after purchasing a ticket. The idea of the ticket and a barrier was perceived as necessary from the beginning of the project. First, because of state laws, each public space in New York has a maximum capacity of people that cannot be overstepped. To maintain control over the entrances, museum administrators arranged for the tickets to have a specific scheduled entrance time.[65] Second, the museum was born as a private entity (even if partially supported by federal funds). Being politically independent implies securing revenue continually, such as through the sale of tickets.[66]

Snøhetta's building might be seen as the only recognizable trace of Libeskind's project.[67] The Norwegian firm reduced the so-called "wedge of light" to a pavilion, which is the entrance to the underground museum. The purity of the shape does not allow for the presence of shelters for waiting lines and ticket windows, except in a small portion. The hope is that it is not too sunny and does not rain or snow while visitors wait.

Although it is not the focus of the area, the view of the pavilion is overwhelmed by Calatrava's PATH station and, of course, by One WTC. The pavilion is composed of sharp and reflective surfaces and develops over two levels. The entrance and exit, café, ticketing rooms (accessible from outside), and the large lobby are all located on the ground floor,[68] while additional spaces (theater, services, education, and staff rooms) are on the first floor. As declared by Brody,[69] one of the architects that designed the interior, the welcome area, given its spaces,

[65] The number of those present is not exact because they cannot calculate the exact amount of time those already inside may stay.
[66] Private American museum's incomes comprise private donations, limited state and federal funds, and collateral initiatives.
[67] Piccarolo 2016

[69] Interviewed by the author on June 2016. Speaking of which, the architect Davis used the term "retailing architecture" to refer to the first part of the museum.

materials, and decorations, is reminiscent of international halls of museums and hotels.[70]

From the ground floor, a large staircase leads to the first lower level. Descending, one can see the first piece of the museum, the Twin Tower Trident, a remnant of the structure of the tower. As a contemporary sculpture, it introduces the core of the memorial. Like the other large pieces preserved inside, it was installed before construction was finished. The information desk and bookshop are located on the first lower level. Starting from there, the floor slopes to a ramp. Visitors pass through natural light to the dark, and there is a shift in the architectural language. The empty space is the protagonist. The gray concrete and the slurry wall provide the dominant color.

> "Visitors descend down a ramp, allowing a progressive view into the space and its enormous scale. The ramp is a nod to the history of construction ramps used at this site, one to build the original WTC complex in the 1960s and another installed during post-9/11 recovery to haul debris out of the site and provide access to victims' family members and visiting dignitaries who came to pay their respects at Ground Zero."[71]

Multimedia installations accompany the slope and provide information about 9/11 and the following days. Leaning out from the first terrace, visitors might appreciate the enormous void. Foundation Hall is a14,000-square-meter room in which the ceilings range from 12 to 18 meters. [72]

> "Visitors see a portion of the slurry wall, a surviving retaining wall of the original World Trade Center that withstood the devastation of 9/11. Against this backdrop, the Last Column

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[70] Steel and glass, wood, and concrete.
[71] https://www.911memorial.org/ramp (accessed May 29, 2017).
[72] Original: 40 to 60 feet and nearly 15,000 square feet

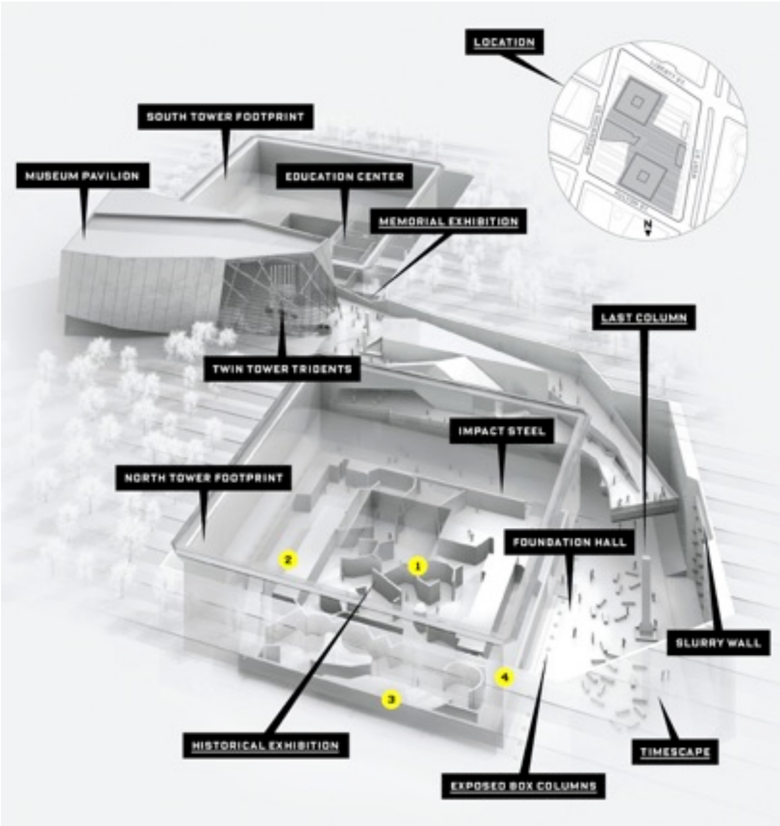

Figure 38. Model of the 9/11 Museum. Credit: The N9/11 M&M and Davis Brody Bond Architects.

stands 36-feet high[73] and is covered with mementos, memorial inscriptions, and missing posters placed there by ironworkers, rescue workers and others."

The ramp stops where other stairs start. Parallel to these are the Survivors' Stairs, the stairs used by a group of survivors on the day of the attacks. [74] Upon reaching the bedrock, one might see the foundation of the towers corresponding to the two suspended pools. The original foundation traces are treated as archaeological signs, while the pools are covered by aluminum.[75] Around the South Tower is the Tribute Gallery, a collection of contemporary works of art;[76] there are two exhibition spaces under the pools. The South Tower area is dived into several rooms; the main one is called In Memoriam. Here, each victim of the 2001 and 1993 attacks is remembered.[77] The other rooms are for film presentations and educational activities. The space

[73] 36 feet are more or less 11 meters

[74] These groups of survivors pushed the museum curators to preserve and place them inside the museum, as sign of hope. Initially, they wanted it placed in the original spot. It was not be possible because it arrived at the final stages of the museum's construction. The meaning of the stairs might also be considered as a sort of ex-voto.

[75] Having already visited the memorial plaza, the visitor is aware of the presence of the pools and the meaning connected to the absence he/she finds again downstairs.

[76] There are large-scale works of tribute art on a rotating basis. In the aftermath of 9/11, professional and amateur artists attempted to capture the significance of the attacks, honor those lost, and comfort those left behind

[77] "The memorial exhibition, In Memoriam, commemorates the lives of those who perished on September 11, 2001 and February 26, 1993 and provides visitors with the opportunity to learn about the men, women and children who died. Visitors enter the exhibition along a corridor in which portrait photographs of the nearly 3,000 victims form a "Wall of Faces," communicating the scale of human loss. Nearby, touchscreen tables allow visitors to discover additional information about each person, including photographs, images of objects and audio remembrances by family, friends and coworkers. Rotating selections of personal artifacts are also featured. An inner chamber presents profiles of individual victims in a dignified sequence through photographs, biographical information and audio recordings." From: https://www.911memorial.org/contribute-memorial-exhibition (accessed May 29, 2017).

Figure 39. Museum, interior. Traces of the South Tower and volume of the South Pool. Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

under the North Tower is dedicated to temporary exhibitions; this is the only area in the complex comparable to a traditional museum gallery.[78] Next to it, there is the recording room where oral remembrances are recorded. Behind the Blue Wall (a work of art by Spencer Finch), there is a room to preserve dust and ruins, similar to a large urn. Only families and select staff members can enter.

The power of the museum/memorial is its site-specific character. The slurry wall, the traces of the Twin Towers, the void, and the shadows created by the volume of the pools are the main architectural elements that compose the museum space. The narrative is entrusted to the absence of the towers and the massive scale of the void. A small number of meaningful pieces is preferred to many,[79] and the vastness of the space contrasts with the density of the exhibition gallery.

The rest of the collection is preserved in storage outside Manhattan, which curators are currently enlarging. The collection of the 9/11 Museum is a controversial argument, which revolves around the discrepancy, if any, between museum objects and mementos. The Foundation is cataloging and selecting items for the Museum catalog. For the 15th anniversary, it commissioned artists to create dedicated works of art.[80]

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[78] By now, this hall has hosted two exhibitions. The one on view, inaugurated for the 15th anniversary of the 9/11, and the one prior to that reconstructed all the passages of that morning and the days after.

[79] For example, the Trident, the antenna of the North Tower, a firefighter truck. The emphasis is continuously put on the void and on particular rests, such on the fire truck, or on rest of the building.

[80] The current exhibition is *Rendering the Unthinkable. Artists respond to 9/11*."Shocked by the events of September 11, 2001, artists – like everyone – struggled to make sense of the unfathomable destruction and loss of innocent life witnessed that day. Fifteen years after the terrorist attacks, we return to that moment when the unimaginable became real through works by 13 New York City artists deeply affected by 9/11." From: http://rendering.911memorial.org/ (accessed May 29, 2017).

7.6.5. The Visit

Since it is a normal square, visiting the Memorial Plaza does not require a ticket. Circulation is open and the high level of security surveillance is unobtrusive.[81] Tours of the square are available, which might be purchased in combination with museum tickets or separately. Only a portion of Memorial visitors enters the Museum; the majority of people do not descend. Unfortunately, no data are available for this topic.[82]

As previously mentioned, the pavilion, with an arguable position, inserts itself as a splinter between the two pools. Access is from the north, and the exit is on the south, close to the south pool. Tickets can be purchased online (recommended) or on site. There are two lines, one for tickets and one for access, marked by movable ribbons that divide the queues. The ticket windows open on the north side of the pavilion.[83] As in other museums and public indoor spaces, there are security checkpoints to pass through.

Once inside, the visit lasts around two hours. People are free to move inside, and there are no rigid paths to follow; only the introduction and the exit path are obligatory. Upon reaching the bedrock, visitors choose their footpath; the guides (both the audio-guide and a smartphone application) allow that as well. Some written explanations accompany the visit. These are located near a few significant spots (slurry wall, trident, Survivors' Stairs, and others). A slow visit is suggested; guests are welcome to take their time. Although there are no signs invoking silence, the atmosphere resembles that of contemplative chapels.

As with every American museum, an element of consumerism is present. Although not highlighted, there is a bookstore and a café inside the museum. Souvenirs and books

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[81] The National 9/11 Memorial & Museum is a sensitive spot.
[82] Ramirez, interviewed by the author, July 20, 2016.
[83] Hoping that it will not rain. The crystal design provided just a little shelter.

about 9/11 (firemen teddy bears, pencils, mugs, and more), as well as New York souvenirs are available. If a visitor decides to leave, he may exit through the back of the pavilion, on the side facing the south pool.

The website[84] is rich in content. It provides useful information about the visit, activities at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, a virtual visit, the catalog, information about public and educational programs, the mission of the institution, a space for donations, and job opportunities. Several descriptive sections prepare, accompany, and follow the visit. There is more than one option for a guided tour, a download section provides one audio guide app, suggested itineraries, and the Museum Guide for Children.

7.7. Issues, Potentialities, and Perspectives

Unlike the other projects, the National 9/11 Memorial & Museum was always intended to be a tourist spot. This study focuses on how designers and curators solved the dualism of memorial vs. tourism,[85] and the case study is included as a transitional space from "museum-like" to "museum". Analyses of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum provide answers to the following questions:

How do people move inside the site?
Are they free, or do they follow certain paths?
How are different rituals combined?
What are the "museum" solutions in the square area?

[84] https://www.911memorial.org/ (accessed May 29, 2017).
[85] Implicitly, the answer to the research question "Can contemporary museum practices merge with places that are not museums but that are perceived as if they were" is yes.

It is worth mentioning that the 9/11 Memorial & Museum is an open project. As affirmed by Jan Ramirez,[86] the fast development of the project and the open wound made emotionless and lucid planning of the site difficult. Today, the collection is growing, and the square is being completed (Liberty Park, St. Nicholas National Shrine at the World Trade Center, underground facilities, and surrounding streets). It is likely that use of the square will change once it is finished, and over time, future generations will have a different relationship with the memorial. Changes would require adjustments, to which different architectural and museographical solutions should correspond.

For now, curators let the space speak for itself, but the polls are meaningless if not associated with the absence of the towers. Virtual reality devices such as Oculus, or other instruments should be customized for future generations. For example, comparing the former size of the Twin Towers with the new buildings and the actual void through modern, wearable technology devices would be a powerful instrument.

The limited use of museum signs helps the realization of the space and avoids the impression of a museum visit. On the other hand, the temporary nature of this practice gives the impression of a late-hour solution. In the interior, as in the exterior, the space itself provides the narrative, except in the North Tower Gallery. Small labels accompany the large remnants, and communication is entrusted mostly to the vastness of the space.[87]

The hybrid character of the site represents both issues and values. The partial use of the 9/11 Memorial as a public square (with limited daily use by New Yorkers) and the crowd of visitors (who, in part, defeat the mourning aspect of the memorial) are concerns related to the use and meaning of the

[86] Ramirez, interviewed by the author, July 20, 2016.
[87] The information is available through guides, audio guides, and apps.

square. Does transformation of the Memorial into a “must see” place change its meaning? On the other hand, such duality avoids repetition of Yamasaki’s mistake of isolation, and the open-space configuration is a fearless and welcoming message.
Victims’ families and survivors consider the Memorial a sacred place, viewing some tourist behaviors as blasphemous. Aside from regulations about prohibited behavior and disorderly conduct,[88] the 9/11 Memorial & Museum has limited power over people’s behaviors; the site is primarily a public square, and the Port Authority is the owner.

The 9/11 Memorial & Museum Foundation continues its research, and researchers are covering several aspects of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum: collections, stories, documents, visitor statistics, application of new technologies, management of the plaza, and more. They have only recently begun to collect data about visitors; for example, data about the number of visitors to the square are not available, nor is data regarding the number and origin of visitors who finally enter the Museum.

[88] All the prescriptions are listed in the web page: https://www.911memorial.org/visitor-rules-and-regulations (art XV) (accessed May 29, 2017).

Figure 40. Plan of the 9/11 area. Credit: Davis Brody Bond Architects.

Figure 41. Final render of the Memorial.

Figure 42. View of the Memorial Square. Credit: Cerri.

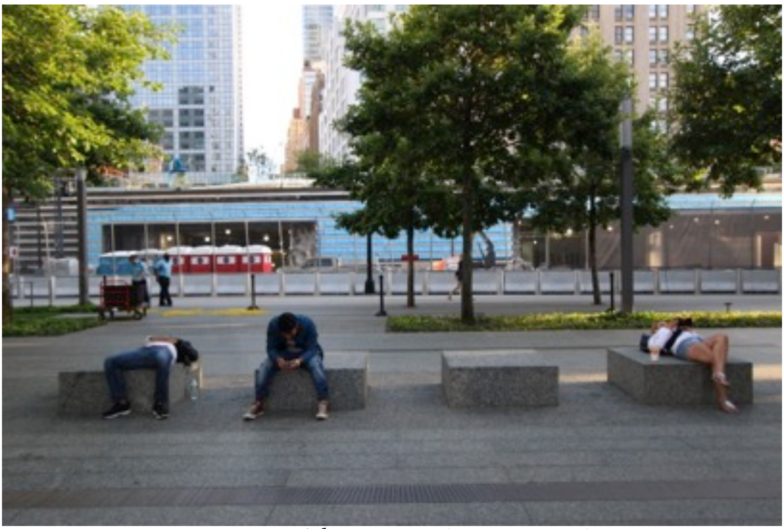

Figure 43. Views of the Memorial Square. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 44. Signals. Credit: Cerri

Figure 45. Signal. Credit: Cerri.

Figure 46. Official kiosks located in the square. Credit: Cerri

Figure 47. Official kiosks located in the square. Credit: Cerri.

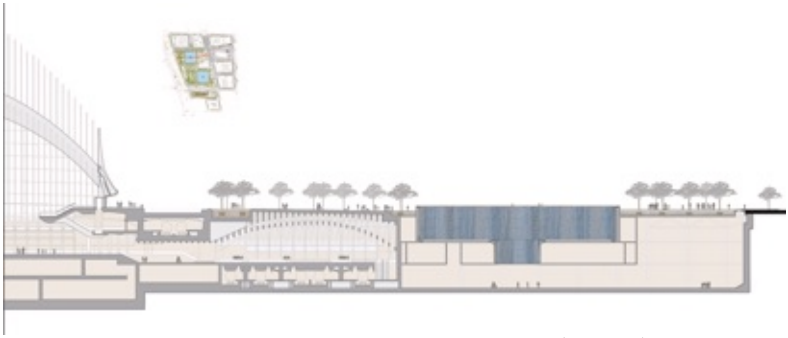

Figure 48. Cross section on Calatrava's station and on the North pool (section E-W). Credit: 9/11 M&M.

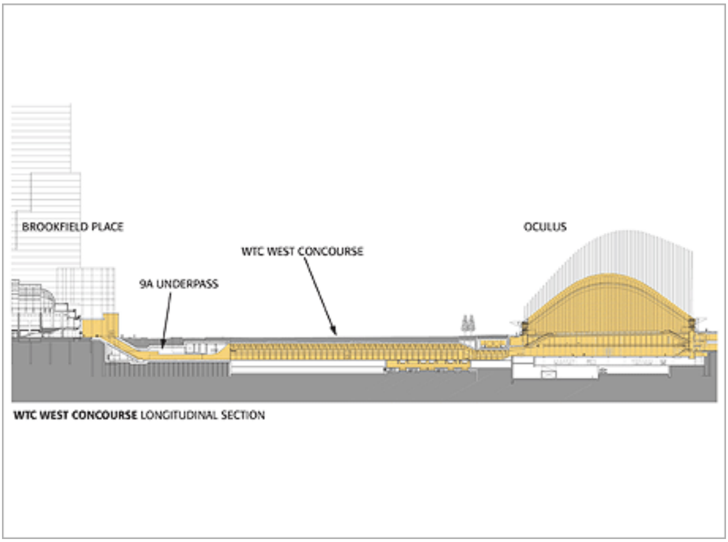

Figure 49. Cross section on the PATH Station and of the underground passage.

Figure 50. Plan of the Memorial. The red line indicates the underground museum extension; on the site plan of the WTC and the extension of the Museum. Credit: The 9/11 M&M.

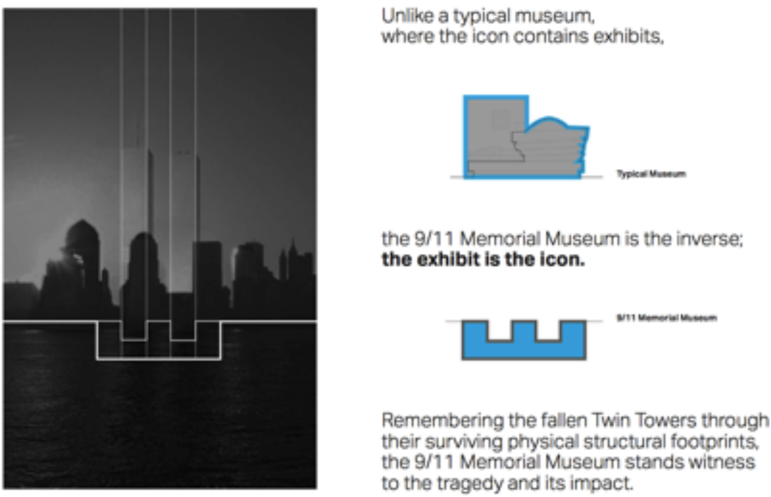

Figure 51. Concept of the museum. Credit: The 9/11 M&M.

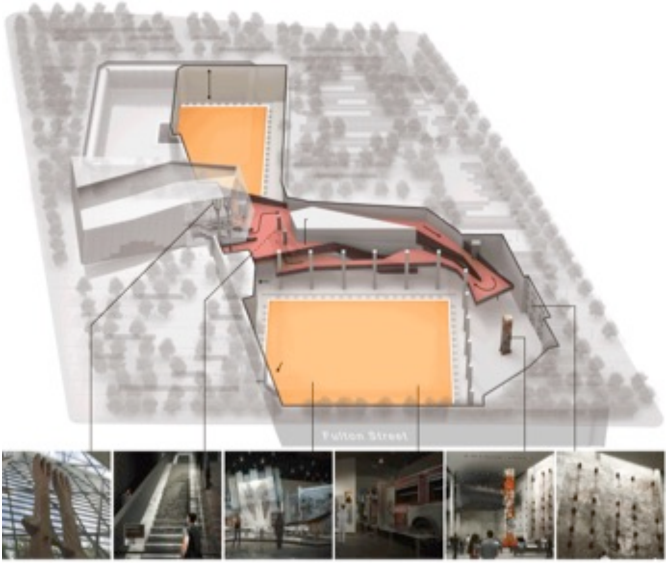

Figure 52. Axonometric view of the Memorial and Museum. Credit: The 9/11 M&M and Davis Brody Bond Architects.

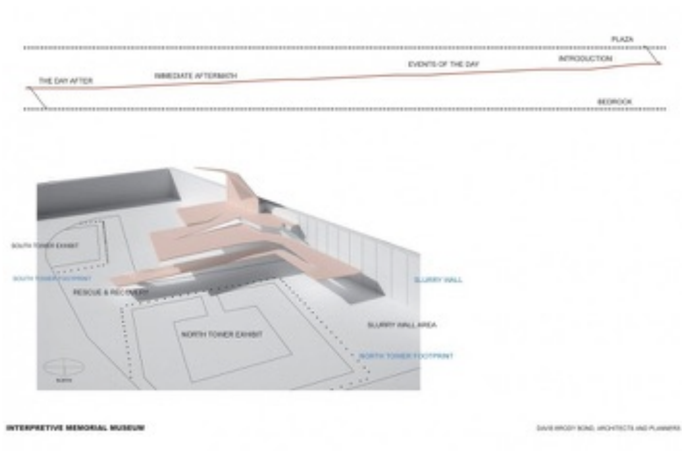

Figure 53. Concept and axonometric view of the ramp. Credit: Davis Brody Bond Architects.

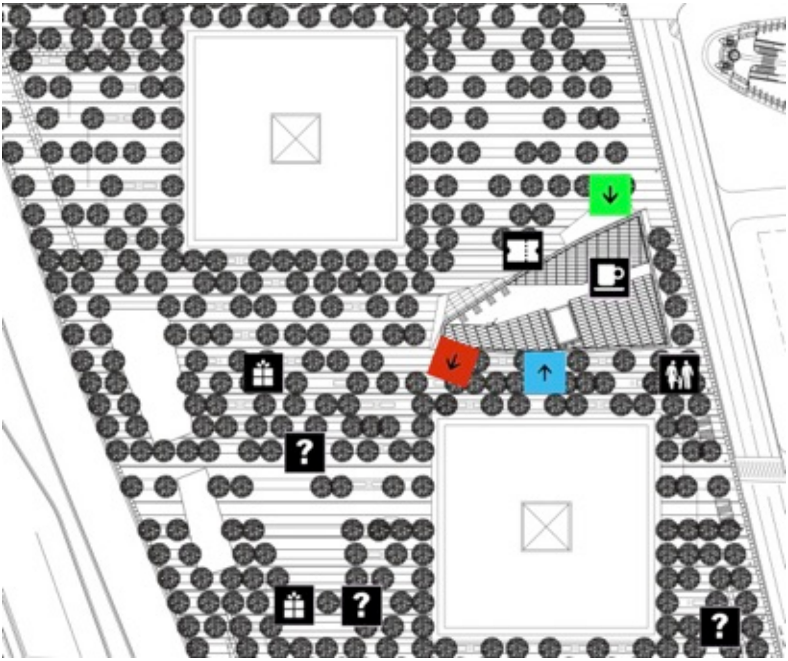

Figure 54. Plan of the Memorial (see Folio 6).

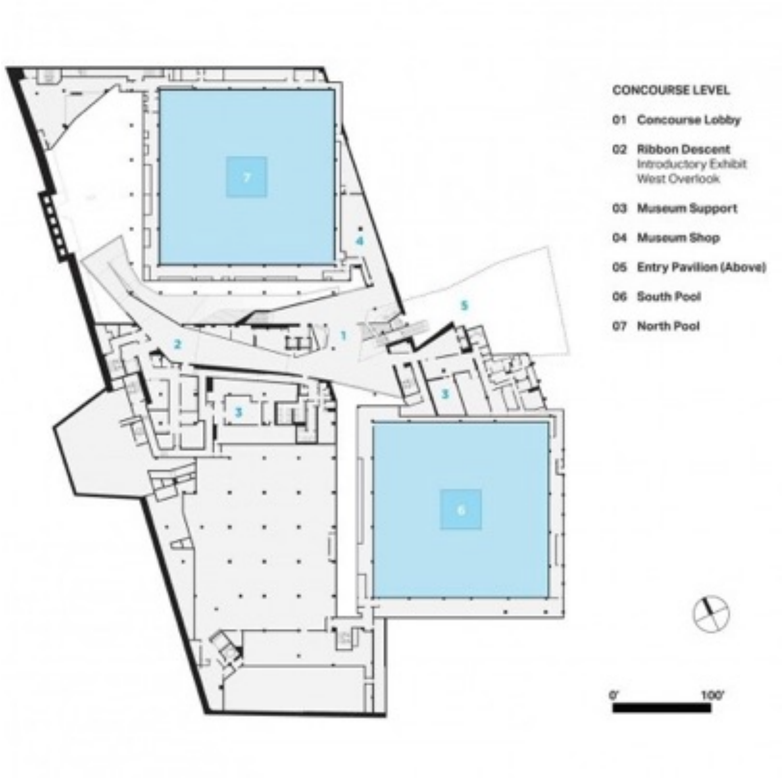

Figure 55. Plan of the Concourse level (-1), (See Folio 7). Credit: Davis Brody Bond Architects.

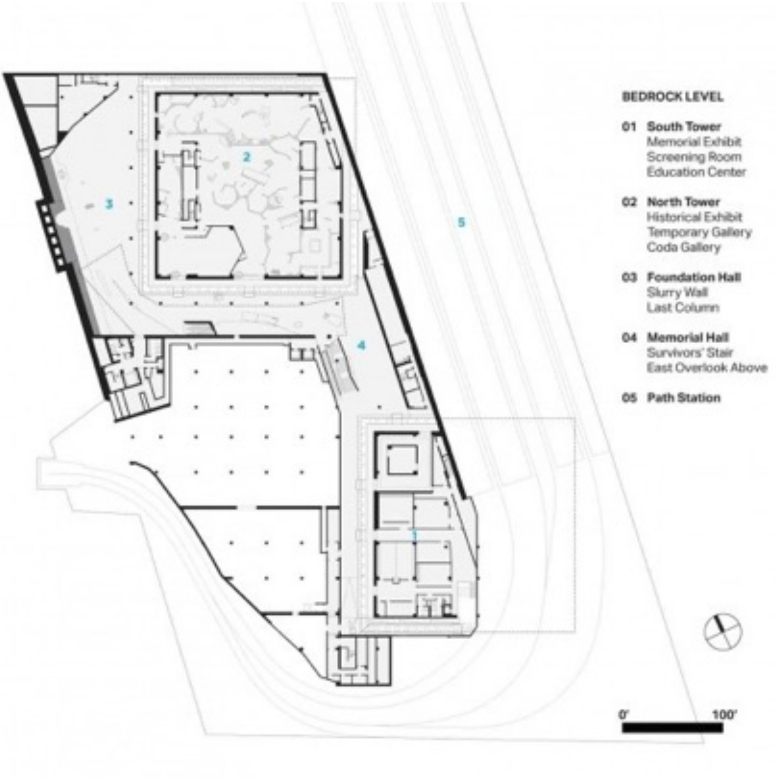

Figure 56. Plan of the Bedrock level (-2) (See Folio 8). Credit: Davis Brody Bond Architects.

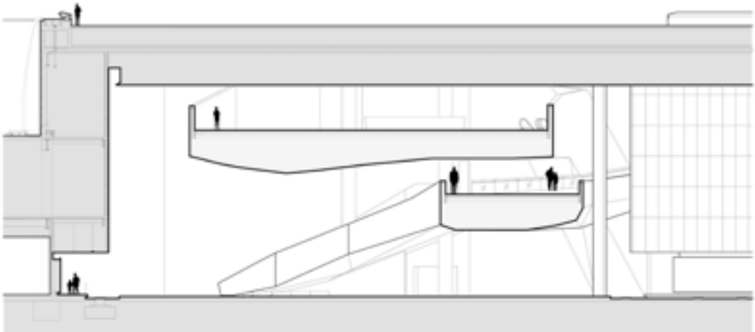

Figure 57. Cross section on the ramp (N-S). Credit: Davis Brody Bond Architects.

Figure 58. Cross section on the ramp and on the North Pool (W-E) (See Folio 7 at the end of the book). Credit: Davis Brody Bond Architects.

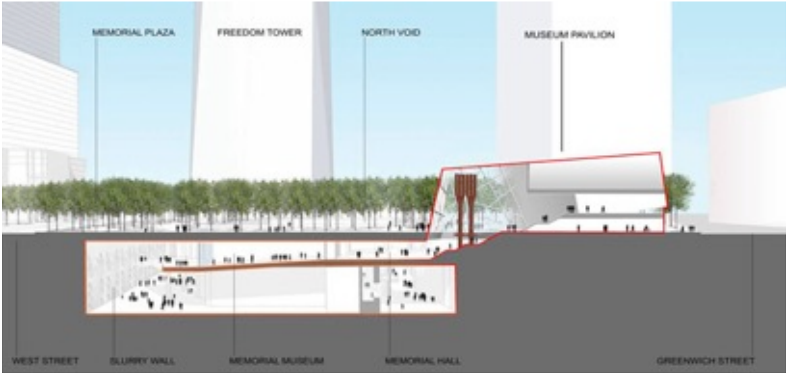

Figure 59. Cross section on the Hall and on the ramp (E-W). Credit: The N9/11 M&M and Davis Brody Bond Architects.

INGRESSO AL MUSEO / MUSEUM ACCESS

Figure 60. Museum hall: the Trident. Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

Figure 61. "Toward the foundation hall." Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

Figure 62. "Toward the foundation hall, 2." Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

Figure 63. “The foundation hall.” Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

Figure 64. “Toward the Memorial Hall” (exhibition gallery). Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

Figure 65. North Tower traces; **Figure 66**. South Tower traces. Credit: Chiaramonte (Lotus 149).

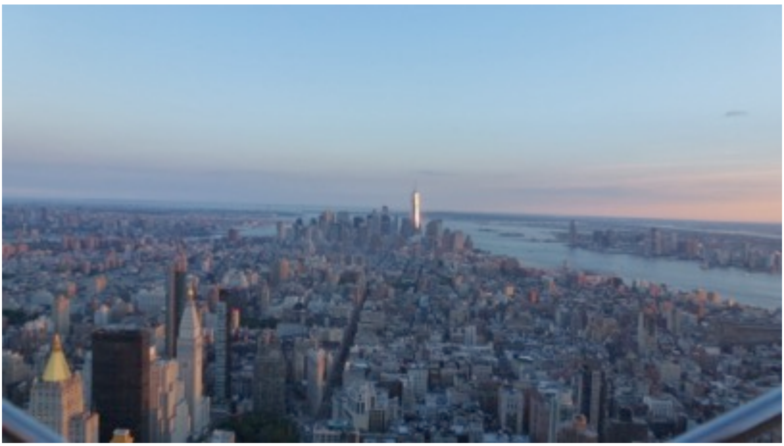

Figure 67. View toward Lower Manhattan (from the Empire State Building). Credit: Cerri.

Chapter 8
Conclusions

8.1. Outline

This research aims to initiate a debate around the unexplored field of sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were. More specifically, the study is an attempt to address a practical issue: **whether contemporary museum practices can be used at museum-like sites and yet preserve their original function.**

We observe today that some sites, such as churches, public buildings, and stadiums, host specific functions and are also tourist attractions. They attract visitors for several reasons, such as their artistic contents, symbolic meanings, historical values, and so on. In these sites, museum-like behaviors add to the site-specific uses of the space. We identify all these uses, behaviors, and practices as rituals. In conducting a historical overview, we observed that similar examples were present in the past as well (i.e., the Basilica of Saint Denis in Paris). The recent institutionalization of the museum complicates the contemporary understanding of historical examples of museum-like sites. As a consequence, there is a lack of literature about both historical and contemporary museum-like sites.

Given the lack of literature, the research requires initiating a discussion across multiple disciplines. The general framework of this study addresses the concepts of a site-specific museum, and takes into account the several meanings of the word *museum*, as well as the current discussion about what constitutes a museum. The lack of definitions and the necessity of a framework for a discussion of museum-like sites brings us to consider the concepts of museums in relation to defined notions, such as: museum-like structure, heritage, museum of itself, house museum, and non-Western museums. In addition, the presence of tourism at non-museum sites introduces further considerations regarding consumption of the space, introduction of specific policies, management of the visitors and the necessity of supplementary services, and safety regulations and features.

Considering rites and rituals, a varied panorama emerges: religious and secular rituals, collective exceptional behaviors, and everyday rituals, which have been interpreted by several scholars. Among the collected readings, the Durkheimian interpretation of rituals,[1] especially totemism, is useful in understanding the behavior of groups. Such behavior can be observed during special events, such as concerts, entertainment and sporting events, commemorations, and obviously, religious rituals. Bourdieu and Darbel's (1962) sociological studies describe the act of visiting museums as a rite. Similarly, the same behaviors can be observed at museum-like sites, so that the act of visiting them becomes a ritual. In general, we observed that different groups of people carry out rituals at such sites. These rituals might differ depending on time and occasion; they might even change during the same day. The link between sites and rituals is also related to architectural theory. It emerges that, depending on an architect's research interest and historical

[1] By "Durkheimian interpretation of rituals," we refer to Durkheim and to scholars that share his line of reasoning: Mauss 1889, Goffman 1967, Benveniste 1969, and Douglas 1990.

context, the study changes its focus: from the city with monuments, where man is intended as the author of such emergences (Rossi 1966), to the strong interconnections between contexts and people, which characterize the French sociological vision. Given these premises, we can affirm that a comprehensive analysis is necessary for the study of a site, and that the study must be based on rituals, architecture, and people (Kostoff 1985).

In addition to theoretical cross-discipline considerations, case study analyses complete the research framework. The case studies highlight the necessity of cooperation among disciplines, both theoretical and practical, and the comprehension of a vast number of experiences and ideas. This is not surprising, given that the field of museum studies includes a variety of disciplines and professionals. In order to produce consistent results, it is necessary to define a set of boundaries. The selected criteria led to the choice of case studies. Besides, I selected three different geographic locations. The chosen cases are: the Franciscan Complex of Santa Croce in Florence, the Estadio Mario Filho, globally known as Maracanã, in Rio de Janeiro, and the National September 11 Memorial & Museum in New York. All of these sites host touristic rituals, are symbolic, popular, accessible, broadly known, part of the Western culture, and are tourist attractions. They have distinctive, site-specific elements, in particular their meanings and rituals.

- Santa Croce is a sacred place for the Christian religion with an invaluable artistic and architectural heritage. Here, as well as in other European churches, the touristic ritual mixes with the religious. The discussion of whether the church is a religious place or a museum has already begun, and remains unanswered (Pirazzoli & De Marchi 2011; Gahtan 2012).
- Locally and universally considered the "temple" of football, the Maracanã Stadium is a destination for fans and tourists,

in addition to being a historical emblem of equality and social redemption for Brazilians. Moreover, because of the close relationship between society and "futebol," the stadium is considered to be a secular civic institution. The symbolic and cultural importance of the Maracanã can be explained only through a historical overview of soccer in Brazil, which involves the history of the country, of Rio de Janeiro and, of course, of the stadium (Cauti 2014; Gaffney 2010, 2008). In this case study, the identified rituals are the touristic, the play, and the cheer (Callois 1950; Durkheim 1912). Scheduling determines differing uses of the structure, and consequently, the presence of various rituals at different moments.

- At the National September 11 Museum & Memorial, the area of Ground Zero is linked to the commemoration of a tragedy and receives significant symbolic value (Goldberg 2005). The place is a memorial and a public square, where rituals of commemoration join those touristic. Compared to the other examples, the September 11 Museum & Memorial is the only new project. It comprises the memorial square, the underground museum, and the services for citizens, tourists and the victims' families. In this case, we focus on the design of the spaces, its media and social values, the use of the architecture to match the different rituals, and the museum design solutions that are adopted for a public, open space.

All the chosen sites are used as if they were museums, in addition to their primary functions. Besides the general research questions, each case raises additional issues. Each case is presented through the description of its history, architecture, meanings, rituals, current use of the spaces, and the public that visits it. The final part of each case chapter is devoted to a discussion of spaces, rituals, and museum settings, organized according to issues, potentialities, and perspectives.

8.2. Findings

Can contemporary museum practices merge with places that are not museums? Given the present investigation, the answer may be yes, although it needs some careful handing.

8.2.1. The Case Studies as Answers to the Research Questions

From the comparison of the last section of each chapter, *Issues, Potentialities, and Perspectives* (5.6, 6.7, 7.7), it emerges that:

- To apply museum practices to non-museum sites, the involvement of all (or the majority) of the actors with an interest in each site is required:
  - Santa Croce: Opera management and internal staff, Franciscan friars, municipality, and State;
  - Maracanã: State of Rio de Janeiro, local teams, FIFA, local communities, and governments;
  - September 11 Museum & Memorial: The September 11 Museum & Memorial Foundation, Port Authority of New York, victims and citizens associations, and private investors, the City of New York, and the Governors of New York and New Jersey.
- The actors should all share the same visions and goals (i.e., recognition of the site as special, respect for all the rituals, welcoming of all visitors, management of the spaces, enhancement of the site, and so forth).
- To ensure success, it would also be useful to identify a professional who can support the development of the projects. The core structure of each site (managers and staff) must be maintained and it has to lead the project, since they are the people who know the site best. A supporting team might help in addressing

issues, designing architectural and museum solutions, providing a well-researched narrative and story-telling, customizing communication (according to visitors' languages and culture), and providing and adjusting services for all kind of visitors.

- A basic set of shared documents is required for each structure (i.e., internal regulations, guidelines, statutes). Of the selected cases, two (Santa Croce and the 9/11 M&M) have some sort of mission statement. Similar to a good museum, it is essential that each site create a mission statement, in order to determine goals, structure of the institution (or other), roles and tasks of the staff, and so on. An orientation paper such as this would aid in the writing of additional documents, such as a long-term program, a strategic plan, and a customer service charter. The September 11 Museum & Memorial has one, as it is also a museum, and Santa Croce has the *statuto*, which is similar to a museum paper in a sense (see appendix). Considering places that are not museums, having a museum mission is not a priority; having a basic document instead might help outlining decision-making processes, boundaries among actors, basic rules, and strategic plans.

8.2.2. Different Risks of Musealization

As discussed, the risk of musealization is one of the bigger threats that unify all the cases. To avoid it, the preservation of the original use, or uses, of each site is of paramount importance. All the recommendations expressed above are directed to a smart integration of museum practices in non-musealized places. In the case of site-specific museums, the links among site and location, traditional rituals, and uses of the place is fundamental.

The musealization of a site would impoverish it, prevent people from understanding it, modify the uses and the rituals enacted there, and would transform the urban surroundings (activities, infrastructure, social fabric, and so on). Indeed, museum tools must be used strategically, in order to preserve the meaning of a site, enhance its values, symbols and messages, and communicate with all users.

Each case details different causes and risk levels of musealization. As highlighted, the case of Santa Croce presents a high risk of musealization. The sacred site is recalled by the poorly explained architecture and art. Worshippers are confined to a specific corner of the church, while tourists see the Franciscan friars almost as characters of a theme park. A sort of museum path is suggested, a mobile application is available, but a museum program is lacking.[2] The Opera periodically proposes some side events to the local public, but the audience is limited to a niche group of experts and enthusiasts. The involvement of the foreign community attracts mostly a highly educated cohort; this community is also involved with various initiatives (see, for example, the collaboration with some American universities and with the magazine *The Florentine*). Despite the effort, as happens with other cultural institutions, the local community is lacking. The major threat is the loss of the friar community. Losing it would mean the deprivation of the inner character of the church and a serious risk of musealization.

The Maracanã stadium presents a different risk of musealization. The threats are the disaffection of the cheer, the modification of habits (pay TV instead of live shows), and the absence of economic benefits for local clubs in playing in the stadium. This scenario would risk musealization first (like the Pacaembu in São Paolo), and consequently, the end of the Maracanã legend among fans and tourists around the world.

[2] For example a museum program was missing when the Opera moved the works of art from the Cenacolo to the Noviziato (see 5.5).

Unfortunately, recent news describes the decline of the stadium as a local arena. The end of the Olympics and political uncertainty foster the decline of sporting facilities, including the Maracanã. Following a global trend, we saw that historically, each soccer club from Rio tries to build, or already has, its own stadium.[3] Therefore, there is a serious risk that a national symbol will become an empty box.

In the case of the National September 11 Museum & Memorial, obviously, the danger of musealization affects only the square. As it is a work in progress, it will be interesting to observe how curators and local administrations will work together in the coming years; whether residents and workers will use the square as a public space, and if so, how; whether rituals will change; how tourists will use the square; how visitors will receive the provided museum information; how the outside and inside spaces will work together; the public's trends (i.e., composition, origin, and age); and how the rapid pace of change in Manhattan will affect it.

8.2.3. Museographic Tools and Solutions

In the text, there is no mention of practical solutions or museum design suggestions. A museum proposal is a complex process that includes all the above-mentioned actors of a site, as

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[3] See: Barcelona, Madrid, English football teams, and Juventus. The debate around the construction of a private stadium occurs in several Italian cities; see the recent news about the stadiums in Rome and in Florence.

- http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-4259556/Roma-strike-deal-city-officials-new-stadium.html (accessed July 1, 2017)
- Ben Grounds, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-4301930/Fiorentina-unveil-plans-new-40-000-seater-stadium.html (accessed July 1, 2017)

well as further elements like financial budget, strategic plan, and future development. Speculative exercises are obviously possible, but they are limited to hypothetical exercises and preliminary suggestions (i.e., student proposals, design studies, and virtual experimentation).

Concrete design proposals are the product of confrontations and discussions among all the actors. It is evident all parties must agree about the necessity of:

- Recognizing such sites as sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were;
- Preserving original rituals;
- Establishing development and strategic plans.

Without this agreement, there will be incongruous narratives, lack of explanations, confusion of paths, and a latent risk of musealization.

Ad hoc narratives must be constructed that consider the variety of visitors, rituals, spaces, and different ways of implementing plans. Therefore, communication should be diversified and be both in situ and online. In situ, the message is communicated through museographic tools and architectural solutions. The current lifestyle implies that the experience of a site reverberates online, allowing one to experience the site before, during, and after the physical experience.

8.3. Limitations of the Study

As repeatedly discussed above, the lack of literature constitutes the main obstacle for the thesis. This prevented the possibility of a comparison between the view expressed here and other positions and opinions. As chapter 2 illustrates, the presence of sites that host several rituals, including the simple visit, is historically documented. The difficulty is its interpretation in contemporary times. The shared idea of the Western museum and the development of tourism are elements of complexity. Therefore, the first step was building the common ground for discussion.

There may be several reasons for the abovementioned lack. Previously, we introduced the difficulty in detecting the theme of museum-like sites. This can be also translated as a lack of interest toward this specific theme. This lack of interest would affect scholars and academics as well as those working in or around museum-like sites (professionals, public administrations, local staff, etc.).

Given the multidisciplinary character of this study, the improvement of the research depends on several disciplines and people. The risk is the overspecialization in some directions instead of others. Instead, it is important to guarantee a careful but homogeneous level of cross-analysis.

Concerning the case studies, we received different levels of cooperation both on site and remotely. People working at or gravitating toward Santa Croce and the National September 11 Museum & Memorial were collaborative and participatory. They all expressed interest in the thesis, providing materials and useful hints, and sharing the importance of the project. On the other hand, I found little participation from those working at the stadium. Despite all the attempts at communication with the various parties responsible for the stadium (State of Rio de Janeiro and the administrator responsible for management of visits), I did not receive replies (I received help from the architectural firm Fernandos Arquitectos. They did not meet me but sent me the official material on the new stadium). At this level of analysis, the missing collaboration did not compromise the study, but prevented me from having additional elements and useful behind–the-scenes commentary.

8.4. Contribution of the Thesis

The study initiates discourse and practical considerations about sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were. It proposes a cross-disciplinary analysis of these particular kinds of sites, identifying them as a specific category (which has no previously existing definition). The acknowledgement of the category did not imply a new definition or label. The novelty is the recognition of these sites as particular, and as such, that they need to be analyzed and managed properly and coherently.

The first part of the research is an attempt to build a common basis for discussion. It takes into consideration several disciplines and links them, in order to simplify the complexity of the theme. The premises expressed in chapters 2 and 3 reveal the necessity of exemplifying the theories through real cases. They also help to define and bond the criteria to interpret the complexities presented by each case study.

The thesis introduces a different way of interpreting the sites and understanding their spaces. As the case studies illustrate, before any practical application, it is necessary to carry out a deep study that considers the sites as if they were museums. This would help in simplifying their management.

It does not propose a new method. The study points out that these sites need internal reorganization, introduction of specific professions and definition of roles, and the necessity of customized museum solutions and narratives, while always keeping in mind the preservation of the original rituals and the reception of all visitors.

8.5. Future Works

Future work might be summarized as follows:

- Implementation of the main thesis of the research.

The goal is to build a network of experts and scholars interested in the development and application of the ideas expressed in the research. This implies disseminating the contents of the research in academia and among professionals.

- Implementation of several themes and aspects touched on by the thesis. The deep study of some arguments may be considered as a sort of spin-off of the main research.
- Application of the arguments stated in the thesis. It would be interesting to find a site that presents the requirements described in this thesis, and that is interested in applying the conclusions of the research. Realistically, those working at such a site must first understand the premises that this research enumerates. Secondly, we must involve all the actors that might be useful in proceeding with the experiment. This includes scholars from different disciplines, architects, graphic artists, managers, local staff, public administrations, and so forth.
- Analysis of the realized project, to develop museographic and architectural guidelines as theoretical and practical references for further interventions at sites that are not museums but that are used as if they were.

Appendices

Appendix A

Museum Architecture and Museography

Methods of arranging collections are historically linked to cultural practices, civic and religious rituals, and cultural etiquettes. *Wunderkammer*, temples, churches, and palaces exemplify this link. Starting in the sixteenth century, galleries became the preferred type of exhibition room. The main references were the Roman villas depicted by Vituvio in *De architectura* (Criconia 2011), and covered porches and passages were considered the best solutions for the new constructions. Later, corridors became larger, allowing both for the passage of people and the contemplation of art pieces. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the most important galleries were linked to the patronage of the Italian *Signorie*,[1] while in France the monarchy and the aristocracy

[1] Like: the Medici in Florence, the Borghese, the Farnese and the Doria Pamphilj in Rome, the Este in Ferrara, the Gonzaga in Mantua, and the Montefeltro in Urbino.

developed the patronage of the arts, as in the chateau de Fointainbleu (Criconia 2011).

The ideas of the Enlightenment characterized the eighteenth century. The French encyclopedia inspired the "enlightenment museum," which birthed the concept that museums are a public utility with an educational function (Peressut 2000). After the French Revolution, the act of visiting palaces was considered a political one (Marini Clarelli 2005), which inaugurated a kind of visit still in use, even though with changed purposes. The French Revolution and its ideals represented a turning point that resulted in a transition from private collections to public museums (Haskell 2000).

The typology[2] of museum architecture was born in the 1780s with the British Museum. The method of arranging and exhibiting artworks might be recognized in some ancient examples (see chapter two), but museography became recognized as a discipline after the 1950s. As for museum history, a literature review of the history of museum architecture, exhibition settings, and architects operating in the museum field is vast.[3]

Like any other architectural typology, museum buildings developed over time and changed according to different needs,[4] which is evident when comparing the plans of iconic museum buildings. New museum theories, advanced studies, emerging needs and technologies, the enlargement of collections, and the introduction of temporary

[2] There is a huge literature about type and typology in architecture. The main references are: Quatremère de Quincy, 1832; Koenig 1963, p.86 e p. 114; Argan 1965, pp.75-81; Argan 1980; Semerani 1993, Martì Arìs «tipo», pp. 183-194. About type and typology see also: Tessenow 1974, Grassi 1967, and Rossi 1966.

[3] *Key Concepts of Museology* ICOM 2010.

[4] Not only the museum buildings change. The definition of museum given by Icom sees a mutation through years and reflects the different conception of it. See: http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/ (accessed July 3, 2017).

exhibition spaces modified museum models, which continue to develop. If, in the past, a gallery of pictures was sufficient, now a museum has to have storage rooms, temporary exhibition spaces, a restaurant, a bookshop, a children's area, parking facilities, a research center, a workshop room, study rooms, laboratories, etc. The museum model is still changing to address present-day needs.

From the British Museum to Museo-Mania.

The British Museum (1759) inaugurated the modern museum. Initially, a building that formerly served as residence, the Montagu House, hosted Sir Sloane's collection (1753), and, in 1780, Robert Smirke designed newly dedicated architecture. The British Museum's acquisition of particular collections and its manner of managing exhibitions marked the beginning of the modern museum era (Ingersoll 2013).

Afterwards, other very well-known museums appeared: the Museo Pio-Clementino (1773) in Rome, the Fridericianum (1779) in Kassel, and the Louvre (1793) in Paris. From an architectural point of view, the Louvre distinguished itself from the British Museum because its architecture was not designed from scratch. In the beginning, the Louvre involved opening the galleries of the monarchy to the public. Huber Robert, with his paintings (1796), suggested possible modifications of the galleries in order enhance the spaces and the works and allow the public to better enjoy them. He proposed several ceiling openings that would have allowed zenith lighting of the galleries. The painted proposals by Robert might be considered as the first example of museographic solutions. In the lively environment of the Enlightenment, French architectural visionaries illustrated ideal examples of museums, which emphasized the buildings' rotunda shape as a key element. The spread of Durand's lessons and of the *traitées* (essays), like Winckelmann's, fostered the diffusion of neoclassicism, which found its highest expression in public buildings.

The Italian journeys, known as *Grand Tours d'Italie*, nourished and prompted the study of classic and Renaissance architecture. The architects reinterpreted and transformed buildings in contemporary ways; as far as museums are concerned, the best examples are von Klenze's museum in Munich (1816–36) and Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin (1822–30). The neoclassical museum became the German national museum model.[5] Subsequently, the model was applied not only to single buildings but also to urban areas, characterizing new quarters of cities like Berlin and Vienna and later even Washington, D.C. Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, technical and scientific discoveries had a big impact on engineering and architecture. Glass and iron architecture and the birth of new building typologies, such as the *Grand Magasins*, influenced museum architecture too. Walls became lighter or disappeared, and slim iron columns allowed for large open spaces. The Crystal Palace (Paxton 1851) was the most popular model for expositions and fairs, and in this kind of building a new type of exhibit solution was put in place (Wilson 2014, Haskell 2000). Wagner's museum project in Vienna, in which the hall was the core of the building, illustrates this idea of a new space (Peressut 1999).

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[5] In the twentieth century many European capitals build one or more national museums: in London the British by Smirke, the National Gallery by Wilkins, the Victoria and Albert Museum by Webb; in Madrid the Prado by de Villanueva, in Munich the Gliptoteque and the Pinacoteque both by von Klenze, in Berlin the Altes Museum by Schinkel, the Neues Museum and the Altes Nationalgalerie both by Stüler, in San Pietersburg the Ermitage is enlarged by von Klenze's addition, in Paris appear the Louvre, the Science Museum and the Musée des Arts et Métieres. Like in Europe, at the end of the XX century the museum spread in the United States too: the Metropolitan in New York, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

The period after the 1920s was considered as a breaking point for museum typology. Le Corbusier idealized two projects, the *Mundaneum* (1926) and the *Musée à croissence illimitée* (1939), which did not follow the prevailing twentieth-century models. Similar to the *promenade architecturale* concept, Le Corbusier conceived the museum was a "walk of knowledge", namely knowing through the exploration of museum spaces. According to Le Corbusier, museums had to be extendible modular containers, which meant flexible and adaptable buildings.[6] As we all know, Le Corbusier did not build these two projects. Only after World War II did he realize his first museum projects, though without their former idealistic character: the museum and cultural center of Ahmedabad, the Sanskar Kendra Museum (1954), the Museum of Western Art in Tokyo (1957/59), the Museum and Art Gallery in Chandigarh (1964), and the incomplete Museum of the Twentieth Century in Nanterre (1965).

In the aftermath of World War II, a new museum era began in the United States. The Guggenheim in New York (1959) represented a turning point for museum architecture (Dal Co 2004). Although it contained an outstanding collection, the Guggenheim's architecture[7] was its primary attraction. The smooth shape, the exhibition ramp, and the quotation of multi-storey car parks were among the main features. It interrupted the pattern of the Manhattan grid and became the most famous building of the Upper East Side. The Neu Nationalgalerie (1968) in Berlin by Mies Van der Rohe moved in a different direction. The museum was like a big showcase interpreted according to classical proportions, realized with contemporary materials—iron and glass—and new technologies. The museum had two free halls—the external

[6] See: Le Corbusier 1939.
[7] Not to mention the controversial architectonical shape and relationship to the city fabric.

one, surrounded by glass, and the hypogeum—which created homogeneous and nonhierarchical spaces. These examples by the three most important architects of the twentieth century, Le Corbusier, Wright, and Mies, inaugurated a new museum era. Later on, Louis Kahn became the most renowned museum architect. His use of natural lighting, space articulations, materials and colors, and installation solutions, embodied in particular by the Kimbell Art Museum (1966–72) (Cummings Loud 1996) and the Yale Center for British Art (1974) (Brownlee and De Long 1991) were undoubtedly references for museums to come.

Unlike the previously mentioned museum examples (located mostly in urban centers), Central and Northern European museums were characterized by the integration of nature and architecture, and they were often placed in non-urban locations. The Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo by Van de Velde (1938) embodied this conception of museums. The museum, which has expanded over time, introduced the idea of the open-air museum. Similar elements, like asymmetrical spaces, big windows, and open-air paths, characterized museums such as the Louisiana Museum by Jorgen Bo and Wilhert Wohlert (1958) and the Kunst Museum by Alvar Aalto (1969-73), both located in Denmark.

In Brazil, favorable economic conditions during the 1950s fostered the advancement of the cultural sector, and new museums were developed. The prevalent model was the rationalist one, exemplified by the Modern Movement and applied by Costa, Niemeyer, and later by Mendes da Rocha. Conversely, Artigas and Bo Bardi employed the so-called organic[8] and humanistic themes.

[8] Organic architecture is a term coined by Zevi referring to Frank L. Wright's architectures (1945). He defines it as a form of Expressionism. In Italy the prominent example of it is the Chiesa dell'autostrada by Giovanni Michelucci.

In post-World War II Italy, museum design involved Italian heritage. The Italian *patrimonio* was refurbished and enhanced. Architects took part in the reconstruction studies of old and destroyed city centers, like in Florence and Bologna. Successful exhibitions and renovations of historical sites, characterized by links with furniture design, distinguished the Italian panorama. Italy's historical heritage and older museums were recovered and refurbished, while new museums designed from scratch were rare. Albini, Scarpa, BBPR, Gardella, and Michelucci were the main protagonists of museum projects during this period.[9]

In 1977, another break in the history of museum architecture occurred. Piano and Rogers won a design competition for the Centre Pompidou in Paris. The building, which referred to the Fun Palace by Paxton, quoted radical architecture and revealed the building technology behind it (Biraghi 2008, Tafuri 1986). This museum introduced the idea of the museum as a cultural center, and the juxtaposition of free space levels[10] allowed for a different conception of museum space. Industrial materials and spaces were the stage for art. In the following years, new museums designed by famous architects came to light all over the world. Thanks to private donors, initially mostly in the United States, branded museums appeared: the MOCA (Museum of Contemporary Art, 1986) by Isozaki in Los Angeles, the High Museum of Art (1983) by Meier in Atlanta,[11] and the Menil Collection by Piano (1986) in Houston. The European panorama

[9] See: Ingersoll 2013, Dal Co 2006, and Tafuri 1986.

[10] The free space characterized the floors since the interventions by Gae Aulenti. She deletes the idea of industrial never-ending spaces with the debated internal movable panels.

[11] The Getty Museum by Meier (1984-97) has a late boom. Usually considered among the archistar-signed museum, it has a link with the collection and is the result of the study of the place, although the white signature of Meier is recognizable.

offered mostly enlargements of historical buildings or refurbishments of existing sites. These included the Museo de Arte Romano in Mérida by Rafael Moneo (1980–6), the Louvre Pyramid in Paris by Pei (1989), the Prado extensions in Madrid by Moneo (1998–2007), the Reina Sofía in Madrid by Ian Ritchie (1989) and Jean Nouvel (2005), the Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art in Helsinki by Steven Holl (1998), and the Jüdisches Museum in Berlin by Daniel Libeskind (2003).

In 1997, twenty years after the Centre Pompidou, a new museum era began. The Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao became the new architectural icon. The fluidity of its external shape contrasted with the rational space of its internal organization. Although the main value of this work was the urban rehabilitation of the surrounding area, the idea of architecture as a design object was exported worldwide. As a result, public opinion (including architects and politicians) started identifying the Bilbao model as a solution to complex problems, such that museums were considered potential pivots of local economies (see chapter two). Museums multiplied in Europe and in the United States. Each city—big, medium, and small—wanted a museum signed by an Archistar.

As shown in the previous chapter, this spread of museums followed an economic geography. Later, new museums were initiated in Asia and in Arabic countries, stealing the record as cultural poles to Europe and the United States. In Europe, little museums and exhibition centers still represented the main actors of the museum system, and the big structures were "rich" exceptions. Besides traditional and historical museums, the variety of different "minor" examples was scattered: open-air museums, site-specific museums, cultural centers, and eco-museums. In addition, the presence of historical sites and heritage sites amplified cultural offerings.

The end of the twenty-first century saw the rise and fall of the museum mania (Guerzoni 2014). Due in part to the worldwide economic crisis, the private sector had no more interest in investing in museums and the survival of the cultural sector. The Bilbao model (and twenty-first century architecture in general) revealed several failings, among which the lack of sustainability was the most serious one. Only big museums could sustain themselves thanks to publications, marketing campaigns, and donors. International economic dynamics guided managerial choices, so an extreme situation occurred in which income was more important than content and quality. Similar to any other architectural typology, museum architecture changes through time, which cultural contexts, philosophical debates, and the development of engineering have characterized. If one considers Western museums as a cross section of humanity, we can assume that museum architecture is an important component. Museum buildings and exhibition designs reveal how museum typology and the methods of exhibiting artworks have evolved over time. Analyses of meaningful examples are necessary to understand complex heritage sites.[12]

[12] See Ingersol 2013.

Appendix B

House Museums

A house museum is a particular type of museum—a house transformed into a museum. Starting in the middle of the nineteenth century, collecting became quite common among the high bourgeoisie as a form of distinction and power. Later, influenced by philosophical thoughts, such as a branch of history called social history, the upper classes progressively transformed their residences into house museums.[13] The phenomenon involved both Europe and the United States, though the disruptive effects of World War II resulted in the loss of several historical houses in Europe, while in the United States the number remained significant.

Historical house museums are all over the world. Several of them are well preserved, and the best examples are in the United States. Surely, one has to distinguish among different sub-typologies of house museums. Butcher-Younghans (1993) identifies three categories: documentary historic house museums, representative historic house

[13] France was the first country where the Historical Houses were established as museums.

museums, and aesthetic historic house museums. Pinna (2001) makes a rough division between historic houses and historic house museums. To Pinna, the latter category includes those houses where the container and content work as a whole, without fake evocations and reproductions.[14] According to Pinna, Butcher-Younghans's aesthetic historic house museums category does not fulfill that of historic house museums.[15]

Emphasis is usually placed on the public role of house museums. They are places of memory, which explains why some scholars identify in them a form of power. House museums are frozen elements that speak about people and their lives. These museums are sometimes linked to unique personalities or historical events, which is why the museums' narrative choices are fundamental. As Le Goff (1988) writes, "memory is power." To Pinna, museums are recipients of knowledge and memories and thus are powerful elements. Moreover, a museum is a communication tool, and communication is a very powerful instrument. In Western countries at least, museums are now very popular and much-visited sites. They are recognized as collective places and containers of memories and identities. Due to the status of museums in Western society, everything told and written inside museums is considered to be true. Indeed, museums are also elements of intellectual authority (Pinna 2001). House museums are symbols and testimonies of the past. In fact, to avoid specific interpretations or to delete historical facts a solution is to remove physical proof. One example is the elimination of part of the Savoia's properties in Italy

[14] There are also in between situation but for the need of the dissertation here will be present a raw separation only. Pinna separates house museums in two groups, the first is that of Historical House Museum, where everything, contents and container, is preserved, and the second is of House Museum, where the building is link to an historical fact or to a personality, and the interiors are reproduced or set in a second time.

[15] On the historical house museum see DemHIst, which is part of ICOM.

after 1945 in order to celebrate the Republic and delete a piece of Italian history. Similar actions happened in several parts of the world, in both Western and non-Western countries. House museums have narratives that become demanding when the buildings are empty and their theme, story, and space are not easy to explain.

Dante's House Museum in Florence has not proven links with the famous poet, and, according to Pinna's categorization, it qualifies as a house museum. The museum is a medieval tower arranged like Dante's house. In 1865, the building was first considered a possible location where the poet lived. Dante's House Museum became a museum in 1910. It was the result of the reshaping of old flats; the interiors and exteriors were made to look like a thirteen-century house, and partial demolition allowed for the creation of a little square (piazza Dante) to give a better view of the house. The Fascist regime used Dante's narrative to stress the concept of *italianità*, and Dante became one of the most potent figures of this regime. As explained by Medina Lasansky (2015), such a move was part of the strategy of enhancing the excellence of Florence, the arts, science, and poetry through the figures of Michelangelo, Galileo, and Dante. The medieval period and the Renaissance were popularized to become tools of mass persuasion. This Fascist inheritance is still used for tourism today. Dante's tourism itinerary involves the Florence city center and is boosted by the popularity of the *Divina Commedia* outside Italy. The house is located in the city center, between the Cathedral and Palazzo Vecchio, and tourist masses pass by it every year.[16] Inside, excerpts from the *Divina Commedia* remind us of the poet, while the settings of the rooms give the idea of a medieval upper class residence and how the upper class lived.

[16] The strategic position favorites the income of the museum.

Also in Florence,[17] Villa Stibbert tells a different story. It is the former house of Frederick Stibbert, and we may define it as an historical house museum. According to the will of its owner, the villa was donated to the municipality, and it remains very similar to its original state. It is considered a well-preserved example of an historical house museum, although some changes have been made for safety and practical reasons. Everything reflects the owner's life. The last heir of an aristocratic English family, Stibbert used the house of his mother, a Tuscan women, to house his collections. The villa and the garden are outstanding examples of eclecticism; the collections are a testimony to Stibbert's passion for armor and the medieval period in Europe, India, and Asia. Despite the interesting owner's history and the impressive collection, nowadays the villa is not a trendy place. Its low popularity, its distance from downtown, the lack of urban transportation in the area, and the failing of ad hoc strategies have made the villa a third-rank museum, ignored even by Florentines.

House museums often work as documents and educational tools. Like the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, some houses have been a theater of delicate historical facts that require strategic narratives and choices.

Like every museum, historical house museums insert themselves into the cultural offerings of a city, which are sometimes highly competitive. Internal and external communication is crucial. To be successful, geographical location, advertising campaigns, and collateral activities are fundamental. A historical house museum's popularity and fortune[18] are contingent upon several factors, but nowadays its

[17] In Florence there are more than eight historical house museums, all of them are houses of rich collectors. Historical palaces, like Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Pitti, Palazzo Strozzi and Palazzo Vecchio, are not traditionally considers house museums.
[18] According to the Vasari's definition of "fortuna." See Ginzburg 2013.

appeal also depends on accessory services. These museums have big limitations, among which the most critical one is maintaining everything as it was originally. The alternative is the example of houses like Pierre Loti's House (Scaon 2001), which the board partially transformed into an art gallery, preserving only the most appreciated room of the house, the bedroom. One has to consider a historical house as a whole entity instead of as a container of objects. This idea implies a shift in the vision of specific museum typology and a different professional approach. Maintenance and conservation become synonymous. Communication activities relate to the historical site instead of to singular artifacts, and research considers both container and contents.

Architects and curators play a delicate role in historical house museums. Besides planning different possible narratives and balancing double layers—being a museum and pretending to be a living house—architects and curators have to consider safety rules (fire, health, and security), which have to be respected. Sites that are not museums but that are also used as if they were museums share similar aspects. Due to similarities, the solutions and management strategies applied in house museums are valuable examples for this research. A peculiar case is John Soane's house.[19] The architect designed his house as his personal museum, and the house worked as an eclectic residence to show Soane's wealth and serve as a living business portfolio for his clients. The house's architectural solutions were exceptional, making this case a singular example in the house museum panorama. Soane set up plaster casts and architectural *spolia* in a scenic and museographical way. The collection's arrangements derived from his architectonical

[19] John Soane (1753-1837) was an English architect, professor at the Royal Academy, and exponent of English Classicism. Among his most famous architecture there is the Bank of England and his own house.

research, and they were also influenced by his Italian tours. Soane used the house as a model, partially reusing its solutions in his other projects. The solutions for the roof openings and light traps were worthy of attention, as one can see from the cross section and the plan drawings made by his collaborator Gandy.[20] In particular, the Breakfast Room was the manifesto of the project: a central lantern let light enter, amplified and diffused by the strategic position of the mirrors. The skylights over the corridor allowed for more light, creating a play of light and shadow and making a narrow corridor interesting as well.

Differently, D'Annunzio's Vittoriale degli Italiani was created with the intent to become a museum. The villa of the Italian poet was a tribute for himself. D'Annunzio's goal was to make customized livable rooms that could be easily transformed into a museum when he died. The villa included a garden with *folies*, a theater, and a mausoleum that, according to D'Annunzio's intention, would be a testimony to his glorious life. The owner followed the work on the house personally and collaborated with the architect. As soon as the poet died in 1938, the house became a museum.[21] Today, the villa works as a traditional museum, and the outside spaces are used for events, even those not directly related to D'Annunzio (e.g., concerts and theater spectacles).

The management of a historical house museum is not an easy task. In his book on house museums, the American scholar Butcher-Younghans (1993) provides a series of suggestions that might be useful in order to run, direct, and manage small house museums.[22] Butcher-

[20] The exterior and the union of the three different residential unities are notable as well, but in this context we have to stop at the customization of the interiors. For further information see: Ingersoll 2013.

[21] To this point one has to consider also the historical context, the Fascist one.

[22] Into the United States the number of Historical House Museum and House museum, to use Pinna categorization, is huge. That explains the reason of such a work. It has also a symbolic meaning, linked to the build of an historical, collective and shared memory that "old countries" do not have.

Younghans delineates several common problems and explains technicalities only related to American cases. Some of the aspects he describes share concerns similar to those found in debated sites of this research. The need to preserve an aura of authenticity complicates the realization of spaces and limits changes to rooms (e.g., new settings, accessibility changes, etc.), and it is thus important to consider the impact every proposed alteration might have on the setting. Modifications introduced by the fruition of tourism affect a living space. In addition, narrative is another important element. As in other museums, curators and their collaborators decide what kind of story to tell the public. Furthermore, the management of visitors is a shared issue. Usually, there are rules that limit the presence of visitors. Mass tourism requires spread-out visits with limited entrances, and, for reasons related to conservation, articulation of spaces, or fire hazards, certain rooms have even more restrictions. All of these factors affect the kind of visit and its organization, the opening time of the rooms, and architectonical modifications. Architectural interventions have to follow principles and rules that change on a case by case basis and that organs of state usually define.

Appendix C
Architects and Curators

In the museum field and discourses surrounding it, there is a tendency to separate different museum disciplines and professions. Nevertheless, there are some remarkable cases in which fruitful collaborations determined excellent results, and in which one cannot make a distinction between the contributions of the designer and the curator. Although a magic formula to set up the perfect museum or exhibition does not exist, there are excellent examples from which one can learn. These outcomes originated from collaborations between exceptional people who worked jointly in order to find the best solutions.

The reconstruction period in Italy was rich with successful experiences. This historical era involved important Italian intellectuals who, despite different ideological positions, shared the same goals. In 1964, the Venice Charter (Carta del Restauro di Venezia) marked the beginning of the *restauro critico* (critical restoration), which inaugurated a new approach to historical building renovations. As Dalai Emiliani highlights, the intellectual ferment of the time involved experts and scholars [23] operating in the museum context and allowed for renovations inside museum structures, which helped fill the gap between Italy and other European countries in this respect.[24] In Italy, World War II's destruction opened up questions about the recovery of damaged historical buildings and their use, forcing administrators to find the best possible solutions. The results were the refurbishments of several historical buildings that hosted artworks. Although in this phase only art museums were taken into consideration, the debate opened a dialogue among all disciplines (e.g., museology and museography).

A dialogue between clever curators and architects is fundamental, as evidenced in the cases of BBPR and Costantino Baroni in Castello Sforzesco, Franco Albini and Caterina Marcenaro in Genoa, Carlo Scarpa and Licisco Magagnato in Verona, and Scarpa and Vigni in Palermo.[25] Remarkable examples also include the refurbishment of the PAC Pavilion by Gardella, the several temporary exhibitions by Albini and Scarpa, and the Sale dei Primitivi of the Uffizi by Scarpa, Michelucci, and Gardella. The results were simple, minimalist set designs, in which care for materials and details substituted the redundancy of past museum installations (Dalai Emiliani 1982). The curators transferred innovative concepts and research (e.g., the consideration of old hosting places as documents and different

[23] For historical reasons, there are a generational changing in the high position of the cultural structure.
[24] Dalai Emiliani explains that in the aftermath of World War Second the Italian cultural debate and the museum structure were underdeveloped in comparison with other European countries.
[25] In 1953, Scarpa is invited by Caradente to work on the exhibition on Antonello da Messina. Here, the Soprintendente Vigni offers him the task to complete the refurbishment of Palazzo Abatellis started years before by A. Dillon.

interpretations of artworks)[26] to the architects, who interpreted these according to the language of their own discipline. In addition, the economic boom and the intuition of creative industrial managers allowed culture and design to be part of everyday life. In particular, temporary exhibitions were experiments for which new setting solutions were devised (i.e. Scarpa's exhibition designs at the Venice Biennale from 1948 to 1972). Design became part of the Italian lifestyle, and the successful experiments of architects and designers became large-scale products. For instance, the bookcase LB7 by Albini was designed for the exhibition "Scipione e il bianco e nero" (1940), used inside Olivetti stores (1956), and then produced by Poggi (1956) and Cassina (2008). Olivetti presents an insightful example (see the Olivetti flagship store in Piazza San Marco in Venice).[27]

This section briefly introduces the works of three Italian collaborators: Caterina Marcenaro and Franco Albini, Carlo Scarpa and Licisco Magagnato, and Lina Bo Bardi and Pietro Maria Bardi. The first two couples have already been presented and inserted in a specific cultural context. The third couple is a consequence of the first two, though working in Brazil.

Albini and Marcenaro.

Caterina Marcenaro and Franco Albini worked in Genoa. The two collaborated on the refurbishment program of the Genoa museum circuit. Marcenaro was an art historian and, for twenty-five years, the director of the Belle Arti department of the Genoa municipality. To Spesso (2011), her research on shapes and content (disciplinary, social, and cultural content) searched for a contemporary humanism. The network of people Marcenaro built, in addition to her contemporaries

[26] Different from the past, starting from the 1950s, there is the tendency in selecting few artifacts, determining the need of larger storages.
[27] See: Brennan 2015; Vinti 2010; Bonifazio and Scrivano 2001.

in other cultural fields, allowed for a fertile dialogue and debate in the Genovese environment.[28]

Franco Albini is considered one of the most important architects and designers of the twentieth century. He was an awarded designer who worked for companies like Brionvega, Cassina, Artflex, and Arteluce. Considered an innovator, he experimented with industrial creations in the case of museum settings and temporary exhibitions.[29]

The collaboration between Marcenaro and Albini concerned the museums on Strada Nuova (Palazzo Bianco and Palazzo Rosso) and the Cathedral Treasury. In Palazzo Bianco, the curatorial program and the design solutions were innovative. The first important point was the restoration of the palace; conservation instead of fake reconstruction was the main novelty. In addition, Marcenaro reduced the number of pieces to be showed, creating as a consequence a warehouse and a consultation gallery devoted to research. The architect and curator worked to emphasize the artifacts themselves. Although the solutions attracted criticism, the outcome was a different way of conceiving a museum: neutral walls, movable panels, natural colors and materials, the use of industrial materials and technologies (lights and supports), the juxtaposition of contemporary and traditional languages, and the use of industrial design pieces as supports. The design solution for the fragment *Margherita di Brabante* was harshly criticized, but it became the symbol of the museum and an exemplification of the program Marcenaro and Albini actuated.[30]

Albini and Marcenaro's other remarkable collaboration was the Tesoro della Cattedrale (Museum of the Cathedral Treasury). Different from Palazzo Bianco, the museum was designed as an ex-novo

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[28] On Marcenaro see: Spesso 2011, Di Fabio 2001
[29] On Albini see: Bucci and Irace 2006; Faroldi and Vettori 1995, Helg 1985,
[30] See Spesso 2011 about literature.

building inserted in the old complex of the church. The new intervention, located on the ground floor, was related to the cathedral but maintained its autonomy. Marcenaro defined the museological program and provided iconological suggestions, like the circular shapes, the *tholos*, and the hexagon, which hosted the *catino* (basin) (Fera 1981). On his side, Albini drew inspiration from contemporary architecture. Scholars recognize connections to Wright's organic architecture, largely diffuse in Italy after 1945, mainly thanks to Zevi[31] (Spesso 2011). Although Wright's references were spread throughout American architecture (see the coeval Yale Art Gallery by Khan), Albini's results were consistently different from those of his American colleagues. His attention to relations with old structures, his combination of materials, and his exhibition solutions highlighted the dialectic relationship between old and new. The new structures, expressed in contemporary shapes, respected and balanced the old structures.

In Palazzo Rosso, the museographic solutions followed those used in Palazzo Bianco, [32] and, as in the Tesoro, Palazzo Rosso became musealized. Today, after some refurbishments, museum visitors can also visit the apartments destined for the director, Marcenaro. This part of the palace may be considered a house museum inside an art museum.

Scarpa and Magagnato.

Carlo Scarpa is considered to be one of the most relevant Italian exponents of museum architecture after World War II. The civic museum of Castelvecchio, where Scarpa's collaboration with Licisco

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[31] Bruno Zevi (1918-2000) is an Italian architect and historian.

[32] Albini uses here a red carpet (moquette) that signes the path and the pieces are mounted on metallic grid that have the same design of those used in Palazzo Bianco.

Magagnato took place, was just one of his several works: Palazzo Abatellis and the project for Palazzo Chiaramonte Steri in Palermo, the Uffizi in Florence, the Gipsoteca in Pozzagno, and his interventions in Venice (Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Museo Correr, Galleria dell'Accademia, and two pavilions in the Biennale gardens to be assimilated to exposition spaces—the Padiglione del libro and the Venezuela pavilion). Scarpa's architecture was easily recognizable and largely copied. Academics recognize in Castelvecchio the ultimate example of museum architecture, ascribable also to Scarpa's fruitful collaboration with Magagnato (Dal Co 1984). The strength of the collaboration embodied the cultural program of the museum and the strategic schedule, which Dalai Emiliani defines as political (1982).[33]

Licisco Magagnato, art historian and politician, was part of the intellectual group of people that characterized Italian cultural life in the aftermath of World War II. As director of the Civic Museums and Galleries of Verona, including the civic museum of Castelvecchio, Magagnato proposed hiring Scarpa for the civic administration. Magagnato's knowledge and capacity positively influenced Scarpa's work.[34]

Similar to Palazzo Bianco, the intervention was first of all a restoration and then a museum project. Magagnato defined the project as a continuum of Scarpa's work, from the temporary exhibition *Da Antichiello a Pisanello* (1958) to the project's completion in 1973 with the opening of the Sala Avena. As for the Genovese examples, the overlapping of historical layers discovered during the refurbishment characterized Castelvecchio. The restoration followed again the principle of the Carta di Venezia, emphasized by "Scarpa's way" of

[33] On Scarpa see: Duboÿ 2016; Dal Co 2005; Beltramini 2000.
[34] The list of Magagnato's work is available on the web site of the Archivio Magagnato (http://archiviomagagnato.comune.verona.it/bibliografia.php)..

distinguishing different historical parts and materials. Magagnato described this tendency as *"lettura stratigrafica dell'architettura"* (a stratigraphic reading of architecture). There is a large body of literature about Castelvecchio,[35] but particularly interesting is Magagnato's own description. He describes Scarpa's work with some focal points: the staircases that determined the vertical development of the palace; the reason for the use of different languages (shape, material, development); the articulation of the horizontal planes; the setting of the stone statue of Cangrande (the symbol of the museum); the engineering solutions in the area called the gallery; the description of the *sacello*; the external arrangement (garden); and the work's relation with its exterior (the landscape and the Adige river). Handcrafted elements, the use of Veronese materials, and the use of traditional utensils guided by local skilled workers characterized the set design. The result reinterpreted the spaces according to Scarpa's contemporary vision. Magagnato reads the use of concrete as something poetic. Dalai Emiliani recognizes in Scarpa and Magagnato's fellowship a shared vision of the museum's role, which was that of presenting. One role of the new architecture was to serve as a tool to enhance the pieces of art, and the other role was to exalt the historical architecture. The attention to the historical architecture, the local materials, and the local construction workers' skills were elements that prompted Dalai Emiliani's affirmation that the museum finds a tangible relation with the territory where it is rooted. It becomes the museum of the city and its culture.[36]

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[35] See: Di Lieto 2011; Dal Co 2005.

[36] Emiliani, *Una politica per i Beni Culturali*, Einaudi, Torino, 1974, and *Dal museo al territorio*, Alfa, Bologna 1974
Trad. of the author. Dalai Emiliani, finishing her essay and describing the castelvecchio Gallery, says: "è proprio in sottolineature come questa, non formali o mentali, affidate invece all'evidenza sensibile dei materiali impiegati

Bo Bardi and Bardi.

A husband and wife compose the last Italian pair. Different from the previous two couples, this pair operated outside Italy's national borders after the end of the World War II. Lina Bo Bardi and Pietro Maria Bardi, respectively architect and curator-journalist-art dealer, took a position in the foreground of Brazilian culture.

Bardi is an often-discussed and controversial personality.[37] Thanks to an agreement with Chateaubriand,[38] an historian and art dealer, Bardi made possible the creation of the Museum da Arte Brasileira, which later became the MASP.[39] At the beginning of Bo Bardi's career, Bardi was more successful because of his capacity to create networks and because of his gender. The couple worked in Brazil during the 1950s, and Bo Bardi[40] was a woman in a male chauvinist society. Nowadays, conversely, Lina is widely known in Brazil, and she is considered one of the most important Brazilian architects of the postwar period, along with with Niemeyer, Costa, and Artigas.

Lina's first architecture was modernist. In Italy, she worked with Giò Ponti at *Domus*, and she made contact with several intellectuals, such as Bruno Zevi. Once in Brazil, she integrated Brazilian culture in her architectural vision, which her designs reflected. Bo Bardi's

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e alle tecniche artigiane di lavorazione, patrimonio di una tradizione costruttiva locale, che il museo ritrova una relazione concreta con il territorio in cui è radicato e ha una sua ragion d'essere, diventa veramente museo della città e della sua cultura: in questo senso acquistano pregnanza simbolica, nello spessore dei varchi tra le sale della Galleria, le lastre monolitiche di pietra di Prun "visibili ancora nelle valli montane del veronese a delimitazione degli antichi poderi."

37 The Instituto Lina Bo e Pietro Maria Bardi is currently studying and rediscovering the figure of the art critic.

38 In an interview, Lina Bo declares that she is her that convinced Bardi to establish the alliance.

39 On Bardi see: Tentori 2002.

40 In Brazil, Lina Bo Bardi is known simply as Lina, according to the Brazilian convention of calling and knowing people by their first name.

museum architecture referred to some solutions and furniture that mirrored her Italian experiences and background, but she was able to reinterpret elements in an unconventional manner, influenced by the Brazilian environment. She is considered as a humanist[41] because of her approach to architecture. For example, she considered people the main recipient of her works. With the exception of a few houses for friends, she always built public buildings. Considering herself more Brazilian than Italian, she showed a deep understanding of South American culture through her work.[42]

The couple's unconventionality was reflected in the MASP project (1957), whose curators were Chateaubriand and Bardi. The MASP was the icon of the Bardis. The museum on the Avenida Paulista in San Paolo is considered as one of the most important museums of South America, for both its content and container, and it represents the best achievement of the two as a couple. Bo Bardi "made" it.[43] Bardi composed the collection and handled the politics of the job and the necessary public relations. The result was outstanding architecture on the Avenida Paulista, "the larger free room of the world with permanent weight and flat plane coverage" (Ferraz 2015). The building included three exhibition floors, a theater, a restaurant, a bookshop, a library, and a covered square. Although remarkable, the novelty of the project was not represented in the building but in the setting up of the third floor, which is considered one of the most innovative museum designs in history. Transparent easels on concrete blocks sustained the

[41] Lina & Giò, the Last Humanists, Exhibition, London 2012.Curated by Ana Araujo

[42] On Lina see: Ferraz 2015; Latorraca 2014; De A. Lima 2013;

[43] In several interviews she higligh the fact that she is proud of her work for the MASP and that if one ask who made the MASP the answer is "a woman…" a+u, 1999

canvases. Some of the canvases were without frames,[44] there were labels only on the back of the structure displays, and the paintings did not follow the glass walls but stood "freely"[45] in the room. Originally, the artworks were not displayed chronologically or in a defined order. Bo Bardi's goal was to involve visitors in a full immersive experience, which beauty, play, and enjoyment would guide. The other interesting dimension of the museum was the covered square that Bo Bardi imagined as an engaging space. According to the architect, the space was supposed to be where everybody could stay and have their first meeting with art and culture, even those who had not studied art or had little familiarity with the cultural environment.

Conclusion.

The previous three examples defined an approach toward museums that was collective and that employed several skills. A deep knowledge of history and art intertwined with architecture, and such encounter produced outstanding results. Although the single personalities were able to achieve great objectives by themselves, their most successful projects were those resulting from synergy. Albini's museums are under the protection of the Italian Soprintendenza, and, in Verona, Scarpa's architecture is considered as important as the pieces that it contains. The MASP is a symbol of the city, and the recent re-edition of Bo Bardi's museum setting is rated as the most important Brazilian museum initiative in recent years.[46]

Although these projects are considered as masterpieces, one has to recognize their limitations and errors. Albini and Marcenaro were

[44] Fake frameworks were removed.

[45] The distribution in the room and the organization is changed now. At the inauguration, the distribution of the easels was free and the works did not follow the chronological order. After the re-opening in December 2016, the disposition follows the chronological order.

[46] Cerri 2015.

criticized for their intervention in Palazzo Rosso, especially for some restoration choices and for their destination of the last two floors as Marcenaro's house.[47] Both Albini and Scarpa's museums are nonflexible examples that followed precise curatorial choices. Although Albini designed movable and interactive permanent exhibitions, his settings appeared static. In Scarpa's museum architecture, every piece got a precise position with calculated reference points. The concept of the museum as a place to study and to do research, as well as the concept of temporary exhibitions as occasions for showing hidden pieces, was born in these years, but the need to rotate artworks came later. The Brazilian context presented a completely different approach to the preservation of historical elements and buildings. However, despite MASP's big success and the consideration of Bo Bardi, the easel room was dismantled in 1990 and reconstructed only in 2016.[48]

The Italian museums unveiled respect toward ancient buildings and toward their users. Scarpa and Albini tried to integrate the new and the old, respecting the sites. Study of the places was fundamental, and curators played a cardinal role. Lina Bo Bardi, part of the next generation of architects, did not deal with old constructions (with the exception of her work in Salvador de Bahia) but with analyses of places. Her anthropological approach to sites made her museum architecture contemporary.

[47] Now these errors are contextualized into their time, and the refurbished apartment with the stairs appears in every book of history of design and architecture.

[48] We have to highlight that the relation with the past is far from the Italian one. First, because Brazil is still constructing it, and then because the dictatorship determined a purge of symbols that are now comparing again. Regarding this point, see next section about Lina Bo Bardi Architecture.
To what concerns the research, these examples are important

Knowledge of these and other experiences provides a common ground on which to base further research, even in the form of "project as research."[49]

[49] Research as project is a methodology used by architects that use the architectural project as a tool to study the site. There is a mutual exchange between theory and practice. The results are projects that base on the knowledge of the site, of social interactions, historical studies, and economic researches, plus the traditional architectural studies (material, structure, design, etc.).

Appendix D
Statuto di Santa Croce

> "In 2008 the Ministry of Internal Affairs approved a new Opera's statute, an important document whose articles are the synthesis of the institutional duties of the association.
> Since then the Opera di Santa Croce participated in the administration of the patrimony, working not only to maintain the building and the works of art in good condition but also to delineate their specific value.
> The Monumental Complex has therefore to be seen as a living place, full of meaning, other than a museum."[1]

The following document is the *Statuto*, available on the official Opera's website.

[1] Text from http://www.santacroceopera.it/en/Opera_Statuto.aspx (accessed June 4, 2017).

Opera di Santa Croce

Statuto

Luglio 2008

Art. 1 – Generalità

L'Opera di Santa Croce, costituita nel 1371 e ricostituita con decreto granducale 14 dicembre 1814, è ente con personalità giuridica riconosciuta con attestato ministeriale del 12 giugno 1998 ai sensi del decreto del Presidente della Repubblica del 13 febbraio 1987 n° 33.

Ha sede in Firenze Piazza Santa Croce, 16.

Essa è amministrata secondo le norme di legge e di regolamento che disciplinano le fabbricerie.

Essa svolge la sua attività, secondo le sue attribuzioni tradizionali e il riconoscimento degli organi civili ed ecclesiastici interessati, in ordine alla Basilica di Santa Croce in Firenze e al relativo complesso monumentale, nonché alle opere ed arredi ivi conservati.

Art. 2 – Compiti dell'Opera di Santa Croce

Nel rispetto delle leggi e degli atti che hanno determinato e regolato la proprietà della Basilica di Santa Croce in Firenze, del relativo complesso monumentale e dei beni accessori, così come indicato nell'atto ricognitivo sottoscritto tra il Fondo Edifici Culto – Ministero dell'ìInterno ed il Comune di Firenze, nonché nel rispetto dei vincoli riguardanti la destinazione al culto della Basilica stessa, l'Opera di S. Croce persegue, quindi, come suo scopo, senza ingerenza alcuna nei servizi del culto, esclusivamente finalità di utilità sociale attraverso:

a)la concorrenza alla tutela, promozione e valorizzazione, nelle funzioni religiosa, civile, culturale e storica, della basilica e del complesso monumentale di S. Croce, nonché di tutti gli altri beni culturali, mobili e immobili, nella disponibilità della Fabbriceria provvedendo in particolar modo:

b)il reperimento e l'amministrazione delle risorse necessarie all'adempimento dei fini istituzionali, sulla base delle convenzioni da stipulare con gli Enti proprietari secondo quanto stabilito dai successivi artt. 10 e 11.

Art. 3 – Designazione e nomina membri del Consiglio.

Il Consiglio dell'Opera di Santa Croce è composto da sette membri nominati, per un triennio, due dall'Arcivescovo di Firenze, cinque dal Ministero dell'Interno sentito l'Arcivescovo stesso.

Il Presidente è eletto dal Consiglio fra i suoi membri ed è nominato con decreto del Ministro dell'Interno; i membri della Fabbriceria prestano la loro opera gratuitamente, salvo il rimborso delle spese sostenute a cagione del mandato, e possono essere riconfermati.

Non può essere nominato Fabbricerie chi ha rapporti di interesse, proprio o del coniuge o dei parenti o affini sino al quarto grado, con la Fabbriceria e non possono essere contemporaneamente membri della stessa coniugi o parenti o affini entro il terzo grado.

E' fatto divieto di distribuire anche in modo indiretto utili ed avanzi di gestione, nonché fondi riserve o capitale durante la vita della Fabbriceria.

Gli utili e gli avanzi di gestione derivanti dalle attività istituzionali o di quelle ad esse direttamente connesse, di cui al decreto legislativo 4 dicembre 1997 n° 460, dovranno essere impiegati obbligatoriamente per la realizzazione di dette attività.

Art. 4 – Elezione e nomina del Presidente.

Alla prima convocazione del Consiglio della fabbriceria, da indire nel rispetto di quanto previsto nel successivo Art. 5, provvede il Presidente uscente al ricevimento delle nomine di cui al precedente Art. 3.

Il Consiglio, come sopra convocato, ancora prima di qttendere a qualsiasi incombenza, provvede alla elezione nel proprio seno al Presidente. La riunione è presieduta dal Fabbricere più anziano d'età. L'elezione ha luogo con voto segreto a mezzo di schede nelle quali ciascun Fabbricere può indicare un solo nominativo. Risulta eletto il fabbricere che consegue almeno la metà più uno dei voto espressi. Ove in prima votazione nessun Fabbricere consegue tale numero di voti, si procede, sempre con voto segreto, ad altra votazione a seguito della quale risulta eletto il Fabbricere che consegue il maggior numero di voti o, a pari voti, il più anziano d'età.

L'elezione del Presidente viene comunicata al Ministero dell'Interno per il provvedimento di nomina. In attesa di tale provvedimento le funzioni del Presidente vengono assunte, in via interinale, dal Fabbricere più anziano di età che poi, dopo la nomina del Presidente, mantiene la funzione vicaria in caso di assenza o impedimento del titolare.

Art. 5 – Convocazione e funzionamento del Consiglio

Il Consiglio della fabbriceria è convocato almeno trimestralmente ed ogni qual volta il Presidente lo reputi opportuno se non necessario o quando almeno due membri ne facciano richiesta scritta motivata. Salvo particolari casi di urgenza, l'avviso di convocazione – contenente l'indicazione del giorno e dell'ora e del luogo dell'adunanza, l'elenco degli argomenti da trattare ed eventuali documenti relativi – deve essere comunicato per iscritto a ciascun Fabbricere almeno dieci giorni prima di quello fissato per l'adunanza.

I Fabbriceri sono tenuti ad intervenire alle adunanze; quello che, senza giustificato motivo, non interviene per tre sedute consecutive del Consiglio, è considerato dimissionario e deve essere sostituito.

Il Presidente può invitare alle adunanze della Fabbriceria, senza diritto di voto, persone estranee alla fabbriceria stessa, limitatamente agli argomenti da trattare di loro specifica competenza.

Per la validità delle deliberazioni della fabbriceria è necessaria la presenza di almeno quattro Fabbricerie. Le delibere del Consiglio sono prese a maggioranza assoluta dei votanti; in caso di parità prevale il voto del Presidente.

La votazione ha luogo per appello nominale o per voto segreto; quest'ultima procedura deve essere applicata ogni qual volta trattasi di questioni concernenti persone. Le delibere della Fabbriceria devono risultare dal verbale sottoscritto dal Presidente e dal Segretario della Fabbriceria che ne cura la stesura. Nel verbale devono essere riassunte, su richiesta dei Fabbriceri, le loro dichiarazioni. Il Fabbricerie deve astenersi dal partecipare alle deliberazioni concernenti interessi propri o di parenti o affini fino al quarto grado, o interessi di enti o società di cui abbia personale partecipazione.

E' ammessa la possibilità di partecipare alle riunioni del Consiglio di Amministrazione mediante l'utilizzo di sistemi di teleconferenza a condizione che tutti gli aventi diritto possano parteciparvi ed essere identificati a sia loro consentito di intervenire alla discussione in tempo reale, nonché di ricevere visionare o trasmettere documenti.

La riunione consiliare si considera tenuta nel luogo in cui si trovano il Presidente e il Segretario.

Art. 6 – Funzioni del Consiglio

Il Consiglio determina, in conformità agli scopi statutari, gli indirizzi, gli obiettivi, i programmi e l'organigramma della Fabbriceria e verifica i risultati della gestione amministrativa. Esso è competente in materia di approvazione del bilancio, di modificazione dello statuto, di approvazione e modifica dei regolamenti interni nomina e revoca dei consulenti tecnici.

Il Consiglio agirà d'intesa con la competente autorità ecclesiastica e per essa con il Rettore della Basilica per la gestione amministrativa che abbia riflessi sulle funzioni di religione e di culto che si officiano nella Basilica.

Art. 7 – Compiti del Presidente

Il Presidente della Fabbriceria:

- rappresenta legalmente la stessa di fronte a terzi e in giudizio;
- sovrintende all'andamento generale della Fabbriceria;
- convoca, stabilendo l'ordine del giorno, il Consiglio e ne presiede le sedute;
- cura l'esecuzione delle delibere del Consiglio;
- annualmente predispone e sottopone al Consiglio, per l'approvazione, il bilancio preventivo ed il bilancio consuntivo che successivamente trasmette al Prefetto nei termini previsti dalla legge, e precisamente: entro il 30 novembre di ogni anno trasmette al Prefetto il bilancio preventivo relativo all'esercizio dell'anno successivo, ed entro il 31 marzo di ogni anno il bilancio consuntivo relativo all'esercizio dell'anno precedente; predispone e sottopone al Consiglio, per l'approvazione, anche la situazionbe patrimoniale, economica e finanziaria prevista dall'art. 20 bis del decreto Presidente della Repubblica del 29 settembre 1973 n° 600.
- in caso di urgenza adotta i provvedimenti necessari e ne riferisce per la ratifica al Consiglio nella prima adunanza utile;
- promuove le azioni a tutela dei diritti relativi a tutti i beni della Fabbriceria;
- per il miglior funzionamento della Fabbriceria potrà attribuire a singoli Fabbriceri l'incombenza di seguire specificamente branche dell'amministrazione secondo le loro particolari competenze.

Art. 8 – Segretario della Fabbriceria

Il Consiglio nomina, su proposta del Presidente, il Segretario della Fabbriceria, i cui compiti sono precisati in apposito Regolamento.

Art. 9 – Norme esecutive e gestione amministrativa

Il Consiglio della fabbriceria potrà, con uno o più regolamenti, dettare norme per l'esecuzione del presente statuto e per la propria gestione amministrativa.

Per lo svolgimento delle attività istituzzionali e di quelle ad esse connesse, rientranti nella disciplina di cui al decreto legislativo 4 dicembre 1997 n° 460, viene redatta e tenuta una contabilità separata rispetto alle eventuali altre attività svolte dall'ente non rientranti in tale disciplina.

Art. 10 – Patrimonio della Fabbriceria

La Fabbriceria amministra beni mobili ed immobili di interesse storico, artistico e culturale secondo le convenzioni stipulate con i rispettivi proprietari e, a titolo di proprietario, beni mobili ed immobili di esclusiva pertinenza della stessa. I beni mobili ed immobili di interesse storico, artistico e culturale debbono risultare da apposito inventario da aggiornare a cura della Fabbriceria.

Detti beni sono inalienabili e, anche se trattasi di beni mobili, inamovibili dalla sede propria, salvo essere temporaneamente concessi in prestito in occasione di mostre ed altri eventi particolari, previa autorizzazione del Consiglio e subordinatamente al nulla osta della competente Soprintendenza e, per i beni utilizzati per l'ufficiatura, del Rettore della Basilica. Per quanto attiene l'acquisizione e le vendite di beni immobili da parte della Fabbriceria verrà sentita l'Autorità ecclesiastica.

In caso di soppressione della Fabbriceria, per qualunque causa, il patrimonio di esclusiva proprietà della stessa sarà devoluto ad altra organizzazione con finalità analoghe o a fini di pubblica utilità, sentito l'organismo di controllo; per quanto riguarda i beni affidati alla Fabbriceria stessa, i rispettivi proprietari e l'Autorità ecclesiastica concorderanno il nuovo affidatario.

Art. 11 – Rapporti con il Fondo Edifici Culto e il Comune di Firenze

I rapporti fra la Fabbriceria, il Fondo Edifici Culto ed il Comune di Firenze sono regolati da apposite convenzioni. Resta ferma la titolarità e il regime giuridico dei beni facenti parte del complesso di Santa Croce.

Art. 12 – Norma finale

Per quanto non previsto nel presente statuto valgono le disposizioni canoniche e civili vigenti.

Appendix E

Football as a Mirror of the Nation: Historical footprints

Soccer was introduced in Brazil by Charles Miller, a Brazilian-born son of British immigrants, who returned from Europe in the 1890s carrying soccer balls and shoes. The date of his arrival is considered the start of soccer in Brazil.[1] Although young British immigrants and sailors already knew of *"football"*, Miller was the one who began to organize soccer tournaments among his elite friends (Gaffney 2008). The enthusiasm generated by such initiatives helped to establish soccer in the wealthy social clubs of San Paolo. Gilmar Mascarenhas de Jesus (2002), a Brazilian geographer who studies the diffusion of the soccer in Brazil, asserts that, because of Brazil's far-flung cities, it is impossible to determine the precise time and space of the first soccer experience. However, he adds, *"San Paolo was the first city to organize soccer and see it disseminated in the streets."* The rise of the entrepreneurial power of some white groups in the most important cities of Brazil led to *"private clubs where Creole elites mixed with their European counterpart in social and sporting activities"* (Mascarenhas de Jesus 2002).

In Rio de Janeiro, the young and rich were sent to Europe to be educated. Upon their return to Brazil, because they did not have to work, soccer and social life occupied most of their time. According to European habits, soccer was practicing exclusively inside the sporting clubs, becoming a sign of distinction. Playing soccer was more than just

[1] June 9th, 1894

leisure time; it was a way of celebrating British traditions. Intercity games became very popular. They were promoted as spectacles by clubs and attracted increasingly large audiences. This phenomenon provoked a need for investments in grandstands, and later the playing surface passed from *ground to stadium*. In 1904, the *carioca* team Fluminense Football Club inaugurated the first stadium in Rio de Janeiro. The stadium became a British bourgeois place, a place to see and be seen. Players, as well as spectators, could exhibit their proper and good appearance. The Creole elite was very active in soccer, too. Soccer became grounds for rivalry, not only on the playing field but also, figuratively, as Brazilians against the British. After a friendly match in 1904, the Brazilian part of the Fluminense beat the British one. The Brazilians decided to split, forming the Botafogo Football Club. In the same years, there was a spread of soccer playing in the streets, and the laborers of companies began to found their own teams (Gaffney 2008).

Researchers (Da Matta 2006, Gaffney 2010) identify the mass diffusion of soccer as being due to the lack of a national sport. The Brazilian working class had some physical social practices, such as capoeira and samba, but they were not institutionalized sports. Soccer's broad diffusion is attributed to the simplicity of the game, both in terms of rules and equipment. Still, there were tremendous differences between the street soccer practice of the *favelas* and the limited and formal play of the clubs. In Rio de Janeiro, especially, the stadium defined a sort of ranking of Brazilian social classes.

Within a few years, soccer became an integral part of Brazilian culture, in parallel to the nation's other great and rapid transformations. Gaffney (2010) observes four main concurrent processes in the early twentieth century: modernization, identity, social integration, and nationalization. Slavery was abolished in 1888, producing a generation of free Afro-Brazilian people. The proclamation of the republic modified the position of the citizens, within the perspective of a modern country, and there was an important migration of ex-slaves from the northeast plantations to the southern cities. This large migration of Afro-Brazilians and people from rural places, added to the millions of immigrants arriving from Europe, stressed the capacity of local governments to manage the cities; Brazil's population grew from 17,4 million in 1900 to 30,6 million in 1920. Identity became an issue. The mix of ethnicities, classes, cultures, and traditions brought up questions around who were the "Brazilians," and, even if the republic was born in 1889, the concept of "nation" was still something vague (Cauti 2014).The lack of a shared memory caused the simultaneous lack of a strong national identity. Rio, as the then-capital of the nation, imposed its model to shape other cities, and the presence of the stadium played an important role (Caracciolo 2014; Wisnik 2006). All the planning interventions in Rio, even the least popular, were approved with the excuse of reaching modernity, following the "European model". As the size of Brazil and of Rio grew, soccer diffused both vertically and horizontally. It lost its strict association with the elite classes, and started reflecting the tastes and values of the middle and working classes. Yet, soccer stadiums were still places belonging to the elites and not to the masses.

The first "international" matches of the Brazilian representative team (it was not yet called *Brazil*) were against England and Argentina (1908-1910). In Rio, the matches drew huge audiences, and chronicles report a carnival atmosphere inside the stadium. The team lost every game, and the crowds' reaction to the defeats was as intense as their initial enthusiasm for the matches. The football losses became a public quest for revenge. Scholars see the largely shared sense of public outrage as the first real formation of a collective national identity: "*Soccer was a vehicle that encouraged the development of an "imaged community" and helped to invent traditions that would become invaluable in shaping a sense of national identity"* (Gaffney 2008). As a consequence, the stadium became one of the few spaces of "national" representation. If, between the "*plaza*" *(*square) and the *rua (*street*),* social distinctions were clearly articulated, then in the stadiums the attention was directed to the field play and the public acted as one (Da Matta 2006). Obviously, social distinctions were maintained inside the stadium, but they were less strict, with a temporary effect of equality (Shapiro 2012, Rosenfeld 1993, Freyre): "*Racial democracy of Brazilian soccer prescribes but does not describe Brazil"* (Wisnik 2006).

Brazil appeared on the global scale in 1915, when it joined FIFA as the Federação Brasileiro do Esporte (FBE) and when, in 1919, Rio de Janeiro hosted the South America Championship. The inaugural match, Brasil vs. Chile, was a further formative event and was hosted in the Fluminense's Estádio das Laranjeiras. Despite the semi-exclusive location, the stadium became the symbolic home of the nation. About 23,000 supporters watched the first match. The final, against Uruguay, drew around 35,000 fans.[2] Thanks to a goal made by the only Afro-Brazilian player, Brazil won the final. Despite the color of his skin, he became a national hero. The final of 1919 established the popularity of soccer, and the association between sport and nation became stronger. Later, two other important events in Rio strengthened the link between the world of soccer and the nation: the visit of the king of Belgium, and the discovery of the Zinucati game. To demonstrate the modernity of Brazil, a nation based on European principles, to the king, a parade of the most important *carioca* clubs was held at the Fluminenses' stadium. This event consolidated the stadium as a national space and as a symbol of modernity. The Zinucati, on the other hand, was a game similar to soccer that was played by the *Pareci*, a native population from the North of Brazil. The "discovery" of Zinucati was used as an explanation for the naturalness with which Brazilians seemed to play soccer, and to demonstrate that soccer was already a part of Brazilian's nature prior to the British influence. In 1922, Brazil hosted the Fifth South American Foot-Ball Championship. The experience of a few years before was repeated, this time with even more success and support. These events, from 1919 to 1922, designated the stadium as an apparatus of the nation.

[2] The capacity of the stadium was 18,000 people.

Appendix F

From the Projects to the Inauguration (Comas 2010)[3]

The history of the Maracanã started in 1936, during the first period of Getulio Vargas' presidency. A large project was to be carried out for the campus of the University of Brazil, and a stadium and sporting facilities were forecasted. Le Corbusier[4] and Lucio Costa were asked to present proposals (Comas 2011).

The project's proposed site was described by Le Corbusier as "the tiers in the narrow flood plane that opens into Rio between the sharp-peaked mountains", and "traversed by a mass of road and rail connections that penetrate into the Brazilian interior." Near the former imperial palace of São Cristovão, there was the large sector of Boa Vista. The area was delimited by rivers and other water-flows, among them the Maracanã river. The sporting area placed in the then-Derby Club Horserace, called Prado Maracanã. The professors of the University Planning Committee dismissed both plans, proposed by Costa and Le Corbusier.

Hostile to modern architecture, the Brazilian Minister of Education and Health called the Italian fascist architect Marcello Piacentini, whose work was considered the correct reference for the

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[3] In his essay *Niemayer and the Maracanã Stadium 1936-2011*, Comas describes the history of the stadium design. This appendix is a summary of his writing.
[4] Le Corbusier's Project is published in *Oeuvre complète,*1939. Lucio Costa's project can be found in Lucio Costa's *Lucio Costa: Registro de uma vivência,* São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 1995.

new Brazilian architecture. In 1938, Piacentini started working on the project. With the growth of soccer's popularity, institutionalized in 1933, a soccer stadium was suggested as part of Piacentini's project, but, due to economic, technical, and political factors, the plan was frozen.[5] The proposals (Costa, Le Corbusier, Picentini) reflected changes in the functional program. Starting in 1937, the Ministry wanted to establish a sporting place wherein to create the "Brazilian man": a decision that reflected the influence of European totalitarianism.

In 1938, in Paris during the 24th FIFA Congress, Brazil presented its candidature for the 1942 World Cup. The opponents were Germany and Argentina; both were more qualified in terms of sport facilities. At that time, in Brazil, the only suitable stadium was the San Janúario Estadio in Rio de Janeiro, built by the Vasco de Gama club, with a capacity of 35,000 (the Pacaembú Estadio in San Paolo was constructed in 1938-1940). The construction of a new stadium in Rio became a national, strategic, and political objective. The federal summit indicated Piacentini's project as the central focus of the plan. Due to the outbreak of the Second World War, FIFA never assigned a host country for the 1942 World Cup. The construction of Brazil's new national stadium was approved on the basis of the Italian design, although, in that period, foreign projects were banned. In October 1941, the Ministry of Education launched the competition for the National Stadium and the National School of Physical Education and Sport project. They had to be constructed in the area of Boa Vista and would belong to the University of Brazil.

> "The New State is to have its own official stadium – like other countries. Indeed, the government has authorized the construction of the new national monument, which will be the Mecca for our youth and the largest sports arena in South America. As we have seen, Pacaembu has begun a new era for national sport. With the construction of the National Stadium, all the States of the Union will soon be following the same example. The state of Rio has already shown an interest and the

[5] "The tiers in the narrow flood plane that opens into Rio between the sharp-peaked mountains", and "traversed by a mass of road and rail connections that penetrate into the Brazilian interior" (Gaffney).

City has also received promises from its administrator along such lines. The chosen site of the "Derby Club" could not be better, as we emphasized at the time. Ten minutes from the city center by car, well served by transport and skirted by the Derby Club streets, Mata Machado, Avenida Maracanã and the Brazilian Railway, the site covers more or less 270,000 m², for the construction of stadiums for football, with a 100,000 capacity, basketball, swimming, tennis, athletics, shooting, etc., all with large capacities, and space to spare for gardens, an auditorium, and outdoor entertainment and games, etc." M. Filho, 1941

After the Pearl Harbor attack, Brazil joined the United States in World War II. Piacentini (and Morpurgo)'s project was discarded, and the program was modified. Sporting facilities were implemented, and the capacity of the structures was improved. The competition was developed in two stages, with the first ending in 1942. The finalists were: Niemeyer, the partnership of Pedro Paulo Bernardes Bastos and Antônio Augusto Dias Carneiro, and the team of Renato Mesquita dos Santos, Thomaz Estrella, Jorge Ferreira, and Renato Soeiro. Only Niemayer's project was published (Papadaki 1950). As references, he used Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret's project for the Third World Cup in France, and other public spaces designed to host huge masses of people.[6] The design was characterized by Niemayer's typical shapes and by a sculptural arch, a project landmark that copied the arch of Le Corbusier's Palace of Soviets. Due to the jury's internal debates and to a change in the campus location, there was not a winner.

In the same years, the major of Rio de Janeiro, Herique Dodswoth, announced the construction of a new sporting center, which comprehended: a big stadium; a football pitch; an athletics track; basketball, tennis, and volleyball courts; boxing rings; and swimming pools (and no provision of a school for physical education). The state entrusted the preliminary study to Rafael Garvalão and Orlando da Silva Azevedo. Azavedo took, as a reference, Pierluigi Nervi and

[6] Albert Speer's Zeppelinfeld in Nuremberg, the World Cups organized in Uruguay (1930) and Italy (1934), the Olympics in Los Angeles (1932) and Berlin (1936), the World Proletarian Olympiad in Vienna (1931) and the Moscow Spartakiad (1932). Rallies and parades organized in Germany, Italy and Russia; in particular, the Colonnade, created by Speer in Berlin (1935).

Cesare della Valle's *Stadium in Rome for 120,000 people* (1932-35), since, after September 1943, Italy was no longer considered an enemy. The designed site was in the São Januário area, but nothing came of it.

In 1946, under the president Eurico Gaspar Dutra, the debate around the new municipal stadium came back. On the occasion of the 25th FIFA conference in Luxemburg, Brazil was the only candidate. By decree, in 1946, the Brazilian President ratified the promotion of sports areas throughout the country. The then-mayor of Rio, Hildebrando de Araújo Góes, expressed his concerns about the short timeframe. He informed the press that the intention was to refurbish the São Januário stadium, without abandoning the plan for a new municipal stadium on the Derby Club site. On June, the new mayor, Ângelo Mendes de Morais, nominated the committee in charge of selecting the definitive stadium project. The jury was comprised of architects, members of the public council, and engineers. It also included Mario Rodriguez Filho, journalist and owner of *Jornal dos Sport.* As with the former projects, the program required the creation of a sporting plaza composed of several sporting facilities. The area of Boa Vista was confirmed, with arguments in its favor, such as: strategic position, linked to the central zone; large size of the area; easy access; and room for infrastructure improvements. The area had a strategic urban function, was served by the railways, and was near the urban settlements. The handicap was the presence of the Maracanã, Trapicheiro, and Joana rivers, yet this was considered a solvable matter through drainage systems. The nickname of the stadium Maracanà[7] comes, in fact, from the little river that flowed nearby. The committee reviewed the precedent projects, with the exception of Neimayer's. This time the assessment criteria were precise: connection with the municipal road system; drainage; location of the stadium (for the exclusive use of soccer) on the site, and its connection with the other intended facilities; orientation; access and ingress to the football stadium; visibility; compartmentalization; roofing; comfort; and the possibility of development in stages were all considered.

[7] The name "maracaña" comes from the indigenous word used for a parrot species.

Appendix G

Fernandes Arquitetos Associados, Official Release Maracanã

Maracanã Stadium's modernization project developed by Fernandes Arquitetos Associados preserves the historical identity of the stadium and upgrades it in infrastructure and comfort.

The differential conducted by Fernandes Arquitetos Associados in the Maracanã project was to make the public stage toppled in one of the most modern and efficient Arenas in the world keeping its main features built during 60 years of history and symbolism.

A new Maracanã was "born" within the former, so as not to overwrite the existing, but rather renew it. Thus, some structures no longer exist to give rise to other new elements were incorporated and the remaining spaces were recovered.

The main changes occurred in the design of the stands, where new structures are designed to meet the ideal conditions of visibility, safety and comfort. All related services such as bars and toilets, structures were completely rebuilt to the highest standards.

One of the highlights of the renovation of the stadium is the strong presence of the huge translucent cover, floating light, almost without touching the existing structure, capping and protecting the old stadium, passing the visitor an invaluable experience. The project, which has authored the German office Bergermann Schlaich und Partner (SBP) will enable the implementation of a PV ring on the metal structure that will support the new coverage tensioned canvas, generating clean energy equivalent to the consumption of 240 households and avoiding the emission of 2,560 tons of CO2 into the atmosphere.

The front was preserved and regardless of where it is seen, outside the Maracanã remains largely intact. Not even the new coverage brings visual impact and you cannot catch sight of it from the outside. It was also kept the main internal circulation and its relation to the existing structure, such as pillars, ceiling, opening, among others.

In addition, the built up area which was 86 thousand square meters, has been expanded and now has approximately 160 thousand square meters.

This is one of the most successful Fernandes's project because they had the challenge to modernize and preserve the Maracanã keeping your entire popular representation and making the stadium built for the 1950 World Cup once again be one of the main stadiums of the world for the next 30 or 40 years.

Viewers will experience the unique and special relationship between the new and the old way.

Sustainable aspects of the project:

Regarding sustainability, the project for modernizing the Maracanã has received the LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) certification, developed by the Green Building Council of America, which provides a set of sustainable standards to be observed in construction projects.

Among the sustainable measures adopted, there's for example, the reuse of old seats of Maracanã and other sports facilities in Rio de

Janeiro. The soil under grass field, which holds a large amount of fertilizer and nutrients, was used in a reforestation project with native plants of the Atlantic Forest. Even the mud removed from work was reused as a raw material for the production of bricks and tiles

The design also includes the reuse of water drained from the stadium roof, and a drainage system, which leads to a saving of 45% of the water used in the field maintenance. The Maracanã also has new electrical and plumbing systems as well as photovoltaic panels installed on the roof to collect solar energy to heat water for showers and faucets in bathrooms and closets.

Brazil has consolidated as the 2nd largest number of LEED® (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) certified buildings sports. The certification is granted by the USGBC (United States Green Building Council). The Maracanã stadium and Itaipava Arena Pernambuco received LEED® for New Construction certification in the Silver category. The Arena Pernambuco used steel with 87% of recycled raw materials and cement with 30% recycled raw materials, 17% of energy is generated by photovoltaic panels reducing 142.81 tCO_2 per year. The Maracanã will reduce 23% of the operating cost of consumption with energy, 71.14% reduction in potable water consumption and 100% reduction of potable water for irrigation, 9% of the energy is being generated by photovoltaic panels, ample access to transportation public (surface trains and more than 60 bus lines).

The chairs of the Maracanã

Typically, the design layout and the colors of the chairs of the stadiums are more aesthetic than functional, and in most cases is associated with symbolic issues like the color of the team, the flag of the country or the city and even the names, figures and symbols.

The division of color is an important tool in setting the bleachers and its separation into blocks, rings or sectors creates a very rigid demarcation giving the impression of " blending " of the bleachers. All these features diminish the joy and unity of all subjective, leaving implicitly associating values as expensive and cheap and/or good or bad.

The idea of the project was to take advantage of this distribution to put together the feeling of union and aggregate. The colors were merged between the chairs promoting a smoother transition, besides the impression filled bleachers, even when capacity is not full and the audience is at random positions. The use of this " mix " of various colors decreases the perception of empty spaces.

In the case of Maracanã, the choice was almost obvious due to its role as the national stadium. The stadium doesn't represent only Rio de Janeiro, but Brazil as a whole. The chosen (yellow, blue and white) are cheerful colors and also represent the national colors. The green field was used to complete the missing color, and thus there's the green field and the beginning of the chairs in yellow (Brazil) going to blue and then white and gray (Rio de Janeiro). This degrade tends to finish by the end of the bleachers in lighter shades, which together with the new cover has the function of giving more lightness to the place, leaving the warmer colors in the lower areas, where the sun will focus more often.

Technical Info – Maracanã Arena

Project Title: Estádio Jornalista Mário Filho – Maracanã
Author : Daniel Fernandes Hopf
Team: Luis Henrique de Lima, Janaina Ferreira , Paulo Eduardo Alves de Souza Júnior, Ricardo Gagliardi Noguer, Gabriel Negri Nilson, Mariana Lopes Della Coletta, Ricardo Serzedello, Paula Souza
Client: EMOP
General Contractor: CONSÓRCIO MARACANÃ
Sustainability Consulting: CTE (www.cte.com.br)
Location: Rio de Janeiro (RJ)
Project: 2010-2014
Start of work : 2010
End of Work: 2013
Land area : 124,000 m²
Capacity : 78,838 seats

Appendix H

The National September 11 Memorial & Museum Mission[1]

About

The National September 11 Memorial & Museum at the World Trade Center Foundation, Inc. began formal operations in the spring of 2005 and worked with the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation on the design and construction management plan. In the summer of 2006, the organization assumed responsibility for overseeing the design and working with The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PANYNJ), the construction manager on the project.

The Memorial Mission

Remember and honor the thousands of innocent men, women, and children murdered by terrorists in the horrific attacks of February 26, 1993 and September 11, 2001.

Respect this place made sacred through tragic loss.

[1] https://www.911memorial.org/national-september-11-memorial-museum (Accessed June 20, 2017).

Recognize the endurance of those who survived, the courage of those who risked their lives to save others, and the compassion of all who supported us in our darkest hours.

May the lives remembered, the deeds recognized, and the spirit reawakened be eternal beacons, which reaffirm respect for life, strengthen our resolve to preserve freedom, and inspire an end to hatred, ignorance and intolerance.

The Memorial Museum Mission

The National September 11 Memorial Museum at the World Trade Center bears solemn witness to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and February 26, 1993. The Museum honors the nearly 3,000 victims of these attacks and all those who risked their lives to save others. It further recognizes the thousands who survived and all who demonstrated extraordinary compassion in the aftermath. Demonstrating the consequences of terrorism on individual lives and its impact on communities at the local, national, and international levels, the Museum attests to the triumph of human dignity over human depravity and affirms an unwavering commitment to the fundamental value of human life.

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