Breaking the Hermeneutic Circle: Architectural Conservation as Normative Interpretation.

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Abstract

Hermeneutic reasoning has been employed quite extensively as methodology in the fields of architecture and archaeology. Surprisingly, it is rarely used in the field of architectural conservation, a fact that is especially striking in light of the many commonalities in method between the interpretive process of the hermeneutic circle as expounded on by Gadamer, Ricoeur and Bontekoe and conservation theory as defined in the international charters of Athens, Venice, Washington and Nara.

The process of understanding a historical building through understanding its parts (brick, stone, plaster), situating those within the whole (building) then within a bigger whole (urban context, architectural canon) and thereby arriving at a better interpretation of the building is a version of the back and forth process of the hermeneutic circle. More importantly, the question of when to stop the enquiry and break the hermeneutic circle, gains an immediacy and multi-valence when it is rooted in the normative aim of actual physical intervention (the preservation project). This immediacy can add richness to the already vibrant discussion on hermeneutics. Furthermore, the hermeneutic belief that experience, and consequently interpretation, is never fixed but always shifting according to horizons is a perfect justification for the concepts of minimal intervention and reversibility that are at the root of modern conservation thought. Preserving the many layers of a building and keeping the manifestations of its many lives after construction respects it as a manifestation of a past that is handed down through a complex and ever-changing fabric of interpretation. It preserves it for future generations allowing them to fuse it in their own way with their own horizon.

This paper attempts to address the relevance of hermeneutics to the methodology of architectural conservation through re-visiting a conservation project of a 14th century building directed by the author in Cairo in 1997. It will hermeneutically reread the problem of dating the building and thereby deciding on the intervention strategy. In doing so, it will argue that the exercise of correlating conservation theory with hermeneutics is enriching for both disciplines, endowing the former with more insight into the act of interpretation and the latter with a normative perspective.

Introduction

Conservation and Interpretation

The discipline of architectural conservation is based on three guiding axioms, minimal intervention, reversibility or re-treatability and authenticity or true nature. These guidelines prescribe taking the least possible actions that ensure conservation, making sure that they are reversible (or at least re-treatable) and that they conserve what is most authentic or true to the essential nature of the historical building.

The foundation of these three axioms, in turn, is a process of interpretation of value, whereby the decision concerning what to conserve and how to conserve is based on an assessment of the different values of a building, whether historical, artistic, political, functional, social, structural, urban, and so forth. Historical knowledge is therefore related to value judgments through which one determines conservation priorities. It involves questions such as: Why is this building valuable? What does it mean and to whom? What part of its history/meanings should be preserved/highlighted? Would that be to the detriment of other historical meanings? These values are, of course, not absolute values, and may differ in weight from one person to another (Torre 2002; D'Ossat 1982). A politician will not value a modest neighbourhood mosque as much as a member of the community who prays in it five times a day. Our understanding of them also changes through time. A new discovery about the history of the building or the artistic significance of its architectural fabric may alter our own assessment of its worth, as may cultural or social shifts in perspective that could start to give more

weight to the history of minority or fringe communities, for instance. Munoz Vinaz in his re-assessment of the term minimal intervention states that "Conservation should enhance the preferred meanings of the object while impairing as little as possible its ability to convey other meanings" (Vinas 2009, p.56). Interpretation is therefore a process of identifying and evaluating meanings. It becomes concrete through physical intervention.

Most of the writings on conservation theory have recognized the pivotal role that interpretation plays in architectural conservation and have consequently concentrated on analyzing it as a process. It is therefore surprising that none of these writings have dealt with this issue from the perspective of hermeneutics.

This study addresses the relevance of hermeneutics to the methodology of architectural conservation. It re-visits a conservation project of a 14th century building directed by the author in Cairo in 1997 and details the process of re-dating the building in light of new archaeological and textual findings and its effect on intervention strategy. It will then reread this problem using hermeneutics. In doing so, it will argue that the exercise of correlating conservation theory with hermeneutics is enriching for both disciplines, endowing the former with more insight into the act of interpretation and adding to the latter a normative perspective that it tends to overlook.

Hermeneutics and Conservation

Hermeneutics as epistemology and ontology

Hermeneutics is concerned with the process of interpretation or understanding. Through the centuries, this concern has widened its focus from text, through all forms of linguistic, then non-linguistic expression, to the ontological approach of Heidegger and Gadamer for whom understanding is a mode of being. The term, "hermeneutic circle" is used to express the dynamics of this process of understanding with its constant shift back and forth from part to whole; the part ranging from sections of the text to historical events to our own selves, and the whole ranging from full text, to historical context, to our own historical rootedness in the world. In short, the hermeneutic circle is a constant reminder that interpretation is not just about what is being understood, but also about who is doing the understanding. It is also a reminder that the act of interpretation in itself is a historical act with historical consequences. It too is part of the epistemological or ontological whole. Of particular relevance is the work of Schleiermacher, Dilthey and Ranke. Dilthey was concerned with developing a philosophy for the humanities in general and history in particular. Dilthey urged us to acknowledge that in understanding history we rely on both lived experience (self understanding) and understanding of others. We therefore should not lose sight of the "I in the thou" as according to Ranke "doing historical work means actively participating in the cultural tradition that is being investigated" (Metaphysics Research Lab 2005).

Gadamer then takes these ideas a step further and points out that this process of interpretation is truly existential in the sense that one will never know the historical work as it originally appeared to its contemporaries. Being aware of our rootedness will not, as the earlier philosophers argued, help us attain a higher level of objectivity , rather, it should bring us closer to understanding who we are, our own horizon, our own world view and consequently the other world view we are trying to interpret.

"Trying, as the earlier hermeneuticians did, to locate the (scientific) value of the humanities in their capacity for objective reconstruction is bound to be a wasted effort. The past is handed over to us through the complex and ever-changing fabric of interpretations, which gets richer and more complex as decades and centuries pass. This, however, is not a deficiency. It is, rather, a unique possibility, a possibility that involves the particular kind of truth-claim that Gadamer ascribes to the human sciences: the truth of self-understanding" (Metaphysics Research Lab 2005).

Hermeneutics to Conservation

The range of meanings addressed by hermeneutic reasoning has rendered it a useful methodology for a number of disciplines. For example, it was used by Hodder to develop theories of contextual archaeology, and by Schön, Snodgrass, Coyne, Jones and Perez-Gomez to rethink the process of architectural history and design (Snodgrass and Coyne 1990; Hodder 1991; Kosso 1991; Snodgrass and Coyne 1992; Johnsen and

Olsen 1992; Perez-Gomez 1999). It is surprising, especially in light of conservation's obviously strong ties with archaeology and architecture and the previously stated concern with interpretation as a process, that the discipline of conservation has not seriously considered hermeneutics as a methodology. What Giddens has to say about the relevance of hermeneutics to archaeology can equally apply to conservation;

"If there are two disciplines, then, whose intersection concerns the limits of presence, they are surely those of archaeology and hermeneutics: archaeology because this is the subject par excellence which is concerned with relics or remains, the bric-a-brac washed up on the shore of modem times and left there as the social currents within which it was created have drained away; hermeneutics, because all survivals of "a conserved past" have to be interpreted, regardless of whether they are pots or texts, and because this task of discovering is conceptually and methodologically indistinguishable from mediating the frames of meaning found in co-existing cultures" (Qtd. in Johnsen and Olsen 1992, p. 423).

Architectural conservation is by nature interdisciplinary, combining architectural knowledge and conservation science with archaeology and history of architecture. Its reliance on historical knowledge and understanding for the interpretation of the building is with a very 'real' normative aim in mind. Interpretation is carried out with "Application" in mind. Application, as Gadamer puts it, is understanding in terms of the projection of possibilities (Gadamer 1977).

The termination of the hermeneutic circle, or the end of inquiry and the beginning of application, is therefore not to be taken lightly. According to Bontekoe, "The process of comprehension always terminates in something like a vicious circle for the simple reason that, once we are satisfied that we understand what is at issue, or have lost interest in pursuing the issue any further, we rely upon and apply the measure of understanding that we have already reached, with the result that, this measure of understanding - which may of course be a mis-understanding - becomes at least temporarily entrenched." (Bontekoe 2000, p. 6) Of course, with the specter of actual physical intervention based on interpretation, in the case of conservation "this measure of understanding - which may of course be a mis-understanding" is permanently entrenched. And as the decision to terminate interpretation is often overshadowed by practical considerations of time and money, the conservator's excitement at the beginning of a new project goes hand-in-hand with a good deal of apprehension.

Conservation's way of dealing with this dilemma has taken the form of guidelines, charters, conventions and recommendations, usually under the auspices of international organizations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM and OWHC (Getty Conservation Institute 2009).[1] I would like to combine this perspective with that of hermeneutics and discuss it within the context of work I have done before; a small Islamic monument dating from the 14th century whose conservation project I directed in 1997.

Case Study: Sabil al-Nasir Muhammad Conservation Project

Historical interpretation as a basis for value judgment

Sabil al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun is a small structure meant for the charitable dispensation of water located in the heart of Islamic Cairo. Between June and December 1997, the German Institute of Archaeology co-operated with the Supreme Council of Antiquities on a project for the restoration of this *sabil*. The project was funded by the Barakat Trust. (Al-Ibrashy 2007)

Sabil before (above) and after (overleaf) conservation

At first sight, the structure itself was not very impressive, especially when compared to the towering masterpieces of carved stone and marble that line the street in this section of the city, the most impressive of which is the backdrop to the *sabil*, al-Mansuriyya Complex, a mausoleum, religious college and hospital built by the father of its namesake, al-Nasir. Its claim to fame was the fact that it was the oldest *sabil* extant in Egypt today and as far as we knew, one of the oldest built in Cairo. It was no longer functioning, its decorative and architectural features were interesting but not unique or exceptionally beautiful and it was not intact. It could therefore safely be argued that its historical value, as Cairo's oldest extant *sabil*, was the most significant of values and that the guiding principle of the conservation strategy should be to preserve and highlight this value as much as possible (Creswell 1978).

As a listed building, its vital historical data was recorded in the official register Islamic buildings of Cairo, the 1:5000 Islamic Monument Map of Cairo, issued by the Survey Department in 1948 and the accompanying Monument List;

- Name: Sabil al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun
- Date: 1324
- Period: Mamluk (1250-1517)
- Location: Bayn al-Qasrayn, the central zone of Al-Mu'izz li-Din Illah Street, formerly al-Qasaba (the spine), the main street of the walled Fatimid city of al-Qahira, the centre of rule of the capital of Cairo from the 10th to the 12th century, then its commercial, social and cultural hub until the mid 19th century.
- Function: A structure for the charitable dispensation of water (*sabil*)
- Description: An L-shaped one storey structure adjacent to the entrance of the funerary complex of al-Mansuriyya. A roofless oblong space opening onto the street via an arcade ends in a doorway that leads to a rectangular spaced roofed by a wooden ceiling carrying a small central drum coated with faience.

Yet in the course of the restoration we found that even with a building this small, defining it by these 'vital statistics' was not a straightforward affair, especially when it came to dating. The answer to the query; what is it exactly that we aim to conserve, and to what period do we wish to restore the building to, was multi-faceted to say the least.

The many dates and names of the sabil

While the date of foundation is not written on the building, the 1324 dating mentioned above follows a passage in a 15th century topographical account of Cairo, which mentions that a drinking trough for animals, built on this spot in 1285 as part of the Mansuriyya Complex, was replaced by a *sabil* by its overseer in 1324 (Al-Maqrizi nd).

This dating was amended by later scholars to 1345, after a passage from a 15th century historical chronicle that describes a later *sabil* being built on the same spot by Arghun al-'Ala'i, another Mansuriyya overseer (Ebeid 1976).

In order to reach a more complete picture of the date of the building one need not cancel one dating theory in favor of another, but combine them to create the rich mosaic which is more indicative of the building history of this *sabil*. Thus, the more viable conclusion is that the current building incorporates remains of the 1285 *hawd* (drinking trough) within its walls and the 1324 *sabil* which was renovated in 1345 by Arghun al-'Ala'i who added a

maktab (Quran school for orphans) and dedicated the structure not only to the late al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad, the son of al-Mansur Qalawun, but also to his sons.

We have managed to decipher an extra part of the inscription frieze which mentions the names of at least two of al-Nasir's sons, both sultans. So it is not only the issue of date that is constantly being redefined, the founder is also debatable. Should it be named after al-Nasir and his sons to whom it is dedicated, or the official who ordered it built, or the sultan in whose reign it was built?

Life after birth – The consequent history of the building

Interest in al-Mansuriyya Complex and thus in the *sabil* structure continued with the later Mamluk sultans, two of whom, Barsbay and Qaytbay, were careful to have their names inscribed on it. A later restoration of the ceiling can be assigned to either one of these two sultans.

By the second half of the 19th century, and according to the drawings of Georg Ebers and David Roberts, (Ebers 1878, p.247; Roberts 1999, p.246) the building was no longer recognizable as a *sabil-kuttab* or even as a 14th century structure. In fact, the *kuttab* had been remodeled, probably sometime in the 17th century and was being used as a residence and the ground floor was used for commercial activities. The 1904 bulletin of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments d'Art Arabe,* the first modern governmental body in charge of the conservation of Islamic monuments in Egypt, described it as a residential building with shops below. (*Comité* 1904, p.91)

The inscription frieze naming the building as a *sabil* and associating it with al-Malik al-Nasir was discovered by the *Comité* during the demolition of the two top floors of the *sabil* structure in 1909 to remove all encroachments from the facade of the Mansuriyya Complex during its conservation. The *sabil* was then listed and included in the conservation project. (*Comité* 1909, p.49-50; 1913, p.60)

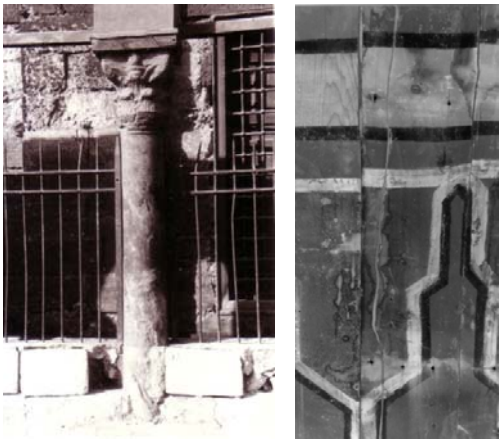
The superstructure before it was torn down by the Comite (courtesy - photographic records of the SCA)

In the course of conservation, the *Comité* too put its stamp on the building. It has already been mentioned that it demolished the two top floors. It then proceeded to try and amend the damage that time had started and the *Comité* itself had accelerated. In doing so, it also altered the appearance of the building. For example, the reconstruction of the mosaic faience gypsum drum plates of the wooden dome is pure *Comité*, and on two sides, it is simply a haphazard arrangement of fragments of faience found during restoration and embedded in the restored gypsum drum for safekeeping.

The faience drum

On removing the top layers of the roof for examination, a secondary layer of reused decorated roof boards was found to have been put by the *Comité,* with the decorated side hidden from view. These could be dated to the 19th century and may have come from the structure topping the arcade.

The *Comité* also excavated the original ground level of the *sabil* and built a retaining wall between the columns of the arcade facing the street to transition between the level of the column bases and the street level which was more than 1 meter higher.



Left: Column base embedded in retaining wall
Right: Detail of reused decorated roof tiles

If we add to that the fact that some of the elements of the building are reused materials taken from Ancient Egyptian and Roman buildings, we come up with datings ranging from Antiquity to the 20th century (Jakeman 1993, p. 143). It was therefore determined that the historical value was not in the original state at inception (which in truth cannot be determined or pinpointed) but in its evolution and metamorphosis through time.

Minimal intervention and re-treatability as conservation policy

It thus followed that the restoration of each element had to be looked into separately due to the wide range in date and importance.

Decisions varied. In certain cases, such as the decorated ceiling, it was important to keep the layers of painted decoration because they were an indication of a high level of interest in the *sabil* which reflects interest in the Mansuriyya complex as the most important funerary/religious and health complex in the city at the time. Thus the three layers were kept and while it would have been possible to reconstruct the middle layer, this was only done theoretically on paper so as to preserve the other two decorative phases.

In the case of the gypsum drum, while positive that the present arrangement was thought up by the Comité, and that the drum was originally topped by a dome, we did not discover enough information concerning the original design. We simply did not intervene because we did not know.

In the case of the re-used roof boards installed by the *Comité* as a secondary roof, they were, to put it simply, too new to go to the museum and too old to throw away. They were documented, conserved, and returned to their place.

In cases where long-term damage was caused by certain conservation decisions or techniques, action was taken to remove the cause of damage. The bases of the arcade columns and almost half of the shafts were buried underground and severe damage had been incurred due to salt migration and bad aeration. The columns were freed, waterproofed using molten lead, and the retaining wall was moved forward. This also helped give a better idea about the original proportions of the arcade.

Conservation to Hermeneutics

The above account illustrates how historical interpretation lies at the core of conservation policy. It will now be shown that hermeneutic reasoning is an underlying principle of this process of 'normative interpretation'. This case study brings forth five points in which analogies between hermeneutics and conservation theory can be pinpointed; the hermeneutic nature of the process of interpretation of historical structures, the situatedness of the process of conservation within its own world view, the layered quality of living architecture, conservation as a historical act and finally, the axioms of conservation as tools for breaking the hermeneutic circle.

The Hermeneutic Circle of Conservation

Conservation is the result of a process of interpretation that continuously zooms in and out – between the details of a building and its whole, between the building and its urban setting, between the building and its historical horizon, between the building and the corpus of extant architecture contemporary to it, between what we have today and what we know existed in the time when it was constructed, and so forth. In the conservation process, research and conceptualization could go on indefinitely – one never really *knows* the building. Yet a cut-off point has to be determined, and it is always overshadowed by financial and political constraints.

The problem with the *Comité* was that it based the conservation policy for the Mansuriyya Complex on a unilateral approach that aimed only at uncovering the façade and restoring it to its "original" condition. It did not attempt to understand the building as part of the urban fabric or to reference the textual sources to better understand the history of the area as an ensemble. Even after the *sabil* was acknowledged as a monument and listed, only one of its many construction dates was acknowledged. In our case we moved back and forth between the textual and architectural evidence to arrive at a more nuanced dating and identification of the building. This interpretation, in turn, influenced conservation policy.

The situated nature of conservation

Conservation decisions – even with the best intentions and the most rigorous process – are situated within a theoretical horizon that mirrors their own time and world view (Clavir 2009).The *Comité*'s decision to demolish the *sabil* was part of a general strategy that came in response to a situation where the monuments of Cairo were being eaten up by the urban fabric. It was a necessity at a time when, to project Barthes's description of Rome on Cairo, the permanent conflict between the functional necessities of modern life and the semantic charge given to the city by its history was the despair of the *Comité* (Barthes 1997, 167)[2]. The historical fabric around the older monuments had to be sacrificed for the monument to regain its rightful value. This was analogous to the changes taking place in Europe's major cities whereby buildings around important monuments – cathedrals for example – were removed to uncover the monuments from all sides.

This absolutist approach was later to be addressed in the 1964 Venice Charter which states that, "The concept of the historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban and rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development in an historic event". These ideas were further elaborated in the Washington Charter of 1987(Feilden and Jokilehto 1998; Getty Conservation Institute 2009). With the development of these ideas, conservation practitioners gradually acquired a more inclusive approach to conservation that took the urban context into account. Cairo itself is now considered a historical ensemble, and as a World Heritage Site, specific laws were formulated to deal with it in a holistic manner.

Conservation and values

At the heart of the conservation concept is an assessment of values, and the relative importance of each. The result should, as much as possible accentuate the true authentic nature of the building.

The idea that the historical value of a building lies in all it has lived through and not simply its meaning or appearance at the moment of inception is hermeneutic to the core. To quote Bernard Tschumi, "Architecture resembles a masked figure. It cannot be easily unveiled. It is always hiding ... Once you uncover that which lies behind the mask, it is only to discover another mask .. Masks hide other masks, and each successive level of meaning confirms the impossibility of grasping reality." (Tschumi 1996, p.90-94). In other words, to borrow from Heidegger's ontology, the true meaning of architecture, like any 'truth' is ultimately never disclosed. As one opens a clearing, a certain *dasein*, makes itself manifest. It is not the first and will not be the last (Heidegger 1962). This is what the *Comité* came to realize after it discovered that the structure encroaching in al-Mansuriyya Complex was a historical *sabil* in its own right. Had the *Comité* considered the living history of al-Mansuriyya, it would have discovered that the *sabil*, built as it was by the overseers of al-Mansuriyya and located where it was to bask in its reflected glory, was an integral part of its history.

Yet even within this inclusive approach, sacrifices have to be made and some meanings take precedence over others. While the crew was at pains to preserve the layers of ceiling decoration, we removed the *Comité* fence (dating from the early 20th century, i.e. about 100 years old) without qualms. The justification for our decision, to prevent further damage to the re-used marble columns through water seepage, was a value judgment; Reused pre-Islamic is better than early 20th century as historical layers go.

Conservation as part of the historical process

Conservation interventions physically alter the state of the building, and as such, they too are part of the multi-tiered history of the building. We become part of the tradition as our intervention to conserve architectural heritage becomes part of the building. As Gadamer rightly put it, "even a restorer or a preserver of ancient monuments remains an artist of his own time" (Gadamer 2004, p.150).

In maintaining as much as possible of the building, we are not just giving future conservators the chance to re-interpret or re-understand. We are also giving them the chance to implement certain conservation techniques that are not known to us today. This positivist faith in the advancement of knowledge and technology was what propelled the *Comité* to preserve the painted ceiling boards from the superstructure it had torn down. In a way, the ceiling boards were a message to future conservators – a consolation prize or apology for the destruction it had inadvertently caused. We too continued the tradition and kept the ceiling boards in place. Our aim was to provide the next 'preserver' of the building (both in the Heideggerian sense; i.e., *an audience of an artwork who gives it life through re-interpretation and new experience of it* and in the sense of a *person whose profession is conservation*), with as 'authentic' (also both in the Heideggerian sense, i.e. *lending itself as much as possible to new world views untainted by previous fallenness*, and in the conservational sense of the word discussed above) an object as possible (Heidegger 1962).

The three axioms of conservation as tools for breaking the hermeneutic circle

The Gadamerian principle of situatedness argued above - that we are rooted within who we are and within our own horizon - leads to the realization that we close the hermeneutic circle at our own risk and only with the expectation that it will be opened again. When it will, our contribution becomes part of the problem. In the step from interpretation to application, the Nasir Project crew was aware of the fact that, "the whole truth would be too much; it is too vast, variable and clogged with trivia" (Goodman 1978, p.19) Our strategy was to try and render the meanings of the building less unwieldy to its visitor, while being true to its most significant values.

The lesson learnt from the *Comité's* interpretation of the building and its subsequent intervention is invaluable. The hermeneutic circle of enquiry and interpretation was broken off and action followed. In the process, historical fabric that, even according to their view of historicity, was of value was lost. This is a risk that any hermeneutic enquiry acknowledges, founded as it is on the idea that interpretation is always unfinished business.

Rejecting idealism and realising that our intervention is never fully reversible, but can be retreatable, that it is never minimal, but can be balanced, forces us to adopt a more nuanced and thoughtful, less formulaic approach to conservation. This realisation of the futility of a perfectly reversible or minimal intervention or of the possibility of arriving at the "authentic" core of a building is analogous to the Gadamerian realisation that while Cartesian objectivity is an impossibility, the fusion of our horizons with those of the past, or at least a dialectic interplay, is a viable goal. In the same way that Gadamer urges us to accept prejudice as a positive concept, as "biases to our openness to the world" (Gadamer, Philosophical Hermeneutics 1977, p.5), we should accept the changes that come with intervention as a necessary link in the history of the building. And with this acceptance, comes a more feasible and applicable form of responsibility for interpreting value and accountability for conserving it. We accept that as conservators, we are a Gadamerian "authority" and rather than be ashamed of our position, we try and democratize this authority by involving as many stakeholders as possible in the interpretation (determination of value) and decision-making. We, as

"advocate(s) for the preservation of cultural property" aim for the "careful management of change" (Clavir 2009, p.141).[3]

Conclusion

The process of interpretation of historical architectural and archaeological fabric, and intervention as the consequence of interpretation, has been thought and rethought hermeneutically for years, without it being a formal part of the hermeneutic tradition. The time for situating it within that tradition has come. This paper argues that doing so will be useful both for the fields of hermeneutics and conservation. For conservation, they ground concepts such as reversibility, minimal intervention and authenticity in a wider epistemological and ontological debate that adds depth and context. When viewed within the context of developments in hermeneutics, the current switch from reversibility to retreatability, minimal intervention to meaning balance, and widening the scope of authenticity from fabric to meaning acquire a resonance that is multi-valent. It resonates with the post-romantic questioning of the claims of Scleiermacher and Dilthey that the hermeneutic circle from part to whole will achieve objectivity. On the other hand, the normative side to conservation and the real consequences of breaking the hermeneutic circle is an interesting twist that can inform the hermeneutic tradition. Because the questions it asks have a normative purpose (intervention) in mind, it provides much-needed methods for understanding the process of breaking the hermeneutic circle and its consequences.

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[1] See especially the ICOMOS Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2007).

[2] The original text by Barthes reads, “Rome involves a permanent conflict between the functional necessities of modern life and the semantic charge given to the city by its history and this conflict between signification and function is the despair of planners.”

[3] AIC code of ethics and Staniforth speaking for the National Trust in the UK respectively, quoted in Clavir 2009.