



Restoration and conservation in Latin America

ROBERTO PANE

Original publication: Roberto Pane (1973) "Restauro e conservazione nell'America Latina", *Restauro* II (9): 57-70.

Translation by Valerie Magar

An important contribution, providing an overview of the situation of Latin American countries in the field of conservation, restoration of monuments and urban planning of ancient cities is offered in a special issue of the Bulletin of the Center for Historic-Aesthetic Research of the University of Caracas.¹

Upon wanting to anticipate an overall judgment, it can be said that the situation in Latin America turns out to be defined by the same errors and horrors that we deplore at home. We might be tempted to note a difference, in the sense that certain extremes have not been reached, perhaps only because we have an older experience of the problems in question. But it would be a sin to presume; an absolutely deplorable form of cultural parochialism. In fact, it cannot be said that the reconstructions of Pompeii and Pozzuoli are expressions of a more mature cultural consciousness, compared to what was accomplished in Teotihuacán, in Cholula, or, even worse, in Tiwanaku. Indeed, it should be added that since specific preparation for solving such problems is more widespread in Italy, our faults are certainly greater. But the misunderstanding, from the point of view that matters most, namely, that of aesthetic and historical cases, is the same; and on the other hand, the most direct way of becoming precisely aware of what is happening, to the detriment of the most precious heritage of Western and Latin American culture, consists in meditating on the reasons that have so far contributed to defining the *Weltanschauung* of our time, entirely based on the economy of consumption and profits.

But let us provide, at least briefly, a summary report of the articles presented in the bulletin from Caracas. The first one is by director Gasparini, and is entitled MEJOR CONSERVAR QUE RESTAURAR;² the trouble is, however, that to conserve one must restore, and thus expose the work –which would otherwise be doomed to destruction, through progressive decay– to the risk of being manipulated by incompetents who "hold these public positions with

¹ "Boletín del centro de investigaciones históricas y estéticas," direct. Graziano Gasparini, August 1973, no. 16. Facultad de arquitectura y urbanismo, Universidad Central de Venezuela.

² Better to conserve than to restore.



MEXICO, TEOTIHUACAN. Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Photograph by Roberto Pane, 1962. *Image: AFRP, AME2.P.30*

decision-making power due more to their friendships with the politicians of the moment, rather than due to their proven training or experience”³ (p. 11). This is, just the same as in Italy, with the difference that here there is a vast State organization of protection, for which the incompetence, often deplored, is that of the superintendents, would have all the greater responsibility to be experts (see, instead, the recent cases of truly bad restorations, in Puglia, in Abruzzo at Santa Maria di Collemaggio; and for archaeology, those of Pompeii and Pozzuoli, to which must be added the accidents of the reconstructions of some mausoleum of the via Appia, near Capua).

As we have already pointed out, since the 1964 international congress in Venice, the most frequent cause of the misunderstood “valorization” is the consumerist conception of tourism; and it would perhaps have been useful, precisely to point out a common evil, for Gasparini to have recalled our now long-standing denunciations of the total reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalus in Athens at the initiative of the United States and those, still in progress, in the Hellenistic centers of Asia Minor.

But I have witnessed the havoc recently undertaken in Mexico: the photographs that I have taken of the environment of the pyramids of Teotihuacán no longer correspond to the current reality; and this is not only because of the Calle de los Muertos, which was repaved with asphalt to allow cars to pass through, but also because of the parking lots, located very close to the monuments, and the extensive reconstructions of the walls of the ruins, many of which, in 1952⁴, the date of my first visit to Mexico, still looked like authentic ruins, as they had not yet been reconstructed. But a personal experience of Gasparini’s is well worth mentioning

³ Original quotation: “ocupan puestos públicos con poder de decisión mas por las relaciones de amistad con los políticos de turno que por su comprobada formación y experiencia.”

⁴ This was the date published in the article, but Roberto Pane’s first trip to Mexico was in 1962.

because, for once, it reveals a different accent from that which normally distinguishes our environment. Having deplored the unbelievable, absurd and repellent reconstruction of walls and gates in the ruins of Tiwanaku, Gasparini was given the following answer by the responsible pseudo-archaeologist: **it will not be a ruffian who will make me back down.**⁵ Gasparini rightly did not reply to the sheer insolence, aimed at him; but I will allow myself to do so, defining Mr. Ponce Sanjinés as a real yokel. In similar situations in our country, on the other hand, either there is no sign of life, or we respond to the accusations with ironic sufficiency; for the perpetrators of false interventions are almost always officials of the State endowed with the chrism of infallibility; even if and when their actions are the subject of denunciation and consequent investigation, the result is always absolving and never punitive. Gasparini concludes by stating, “Between a false, unhappy and deformative restoration, it is preferable to conserve the authenticity with all its ailments.”⁶ Certainly! But the aches and pains cannot be endured too long without restoration; otherwise what follows is the irreparable end. And for this, too, a distinction must be made. One should not restore buildings and ruins that have absolutely no need of intervention (and such was the case of most of the structures of Teotihuacán) and, in the event that intervention is necessary, one should resort in the same way as for a painting or a sculpture –since the aesthetic problem makes no difference– to all modern devices that provide the possibility of making invisible consolidations, because they are practiced inside the structures.



MEXICO, TEOTIHUACAN. View of the *Calle de los Muertos* from the Pyramid of the Sun. Photograph by Roberto Pane, 1962. *Image: AFRP, AME2.P.30*

⁵ Original quotation: “no será un rufián que me arredre.”

⁶ Original quotation: “Entre una restauración falsa, infeliz y deformante es preferible conservar la autenticidad con todos sus achaques.”

This is followed by a report by Piero Gazzola: LA NECESIDAD DE PROTECCIÓN Y DE REANIMACIÓN DE LAS CIUDADES HISTÓRICAS EN EL MARCO DEL DESARROLLO REGIONAL.⁷ It considers a very broad and problematic subject, which is that of the urban aspects of environmental conservation, in relation to the development of cities, new facilities, industries, etc., etc. For such a vast horizon it would have been more appropriate to enunciate those data that make this issue today not only difficult, but even dramatic. It does not help to write optimistically, "... but we have reasons to believe that the humanistic culture on which our civilization is based can become an important factor of progress"⁸ (p. 51). For some time now, "humanistic culture" has had a meaning that, outside of the precise historical reference to Renaissance humanism, remains vague and unproductive; and indeed, precisely from allowing ambiguous meanings to persist, arises that false-believer attitude that so often distinguishes countries in the Catholic tradition, more than others prone to confuse the sacred with the profane and to evade any specific examination of conscience. The responsible aspiration toward a modern humanism –if we even want to continue to make use of the abused term– must have come to terms with Marx, Freud and all modern dialectical thought, in comparison with which our no longer praised civilization rests as on a bed of thorns.

In a more challenging way, with regard to the mentioned problematic of the encounter between the ancient and the new, Leonardo Benevolo expresses himself, in the paper entitled LOS ARQUITECTOS MODERNOS Y EL ENCUENTRO ENTRE LO ANTIGUO Y LO NUEVO,⁹ published in summary by the bulletin, and which was presented at the Venice conference in April 1965; a conference that I organized, with precisely the same statement as above. Benevolo highlights the need to defend the environment of the urban past against the "precarious and mutable contemporary character"¹⁰ (p. 63). It is evident, on the other hand, that the distinction between the historic (ancient) center and the urban whole will allow, for new spaces, to design according to metric constraints corresponding to a new dimensional reality. These are, in essence, obvious considerations. On the other hand, what is not obvious is that the new realities have never, at least until now, been dictated by the needs and legitimate aspirations of humans, but by the repressive and uncontrolled investment strategies of private capital. This is not the case with Benevolo, but it is certain that the common wrong of architects' discourses consists in evading formalistic criticism, neglecting the close links between formal aspects and the service they perform in the interests of speculation. If modern architecture today is plagued by a profound crisis of orientation, it is precisely because of this.

Architect Carlos Flores Marini had the opportunity to compare his experiences as a scholar of restoration problems and official guardian of monuments with those of a monument conservation practitioner. His paper, entitled ALGUNOS CONCEPTOS SOBRE LA PROBLEMÁTICA DE LA RESTAURACIÓN MONUMENTAL EN AMÉRICA LATINA,¹¹ constitutes a very rare contribution for a militant architect. After stating some general principles, Flores Marini addresses a problem, peculiar to his country, even more than to ours. The built heritage to be protected often consists, in Mexico, of the great convent complexes, whose preservation cannot have "aesthetic enjoyment"¹² as its exclusive purpose; therefore, the need arises for a museographic-tourist use, for which the encounter between the old and the new is

⁷ The need for protection and reanimation of historic cities in the frame of regional development.

⁸ Original quotation: "pero tenemos razones para creer que la cultura humanista sobre la que reposa nuestra civilización puede convertirse en un importante factor de progreso."

⁹ Modern architects and the encounter between the ancient and the new.

¹⁰ Original quotation: "carácter precario y mutable contemporáneo."

¹¹ Some concepts on the problematic of monumental restoration in Latin America.

¹² Original quotation: "el goce estético".



MEXICO CITY, CATHEDRAL. Photograph by Roberto Pane, 1962.
Image: AFRP, AME2.P.30.

not implemented in the environmental relationship, but within the same building. He also denounces the negative consequences of the application of the new liturgy, dictated by the Second Vatican Council. In good or bad faith, under the pretext of such novelties, numerous churches in Latin America have been remodeled and severely alienated from their furnishings.

By the same author is a later contribution on REVITATIZACIÓN URBANA Y DESENVOLVIMIENTO TURÍSTICO,¹³ which is even more remarkable for the insights it provides to the discussion. North Americans, after discovering Europe and making it the object of tourist interest, have discovered Latin America, beginning with Mexico and Brazil. At this point, however, it seems essential to me to add an aspect that Flores Marini passes in silence, and that is that North American penetration into Latin American countries is **touristic only as a consequence of interests of economic and political domination**. And mainly due to this action (not to say more properly overpowering) is also due the risk of a loss of cultural identity, and with this the aspiration, now more widespread than ever in Latin America, to find support in exchanges with Europe.

Flores Marini questions whether the principles, contained in the **Venice Charter** or the **Normas de Quito**, are known and followed, and his answer is no, not at all. He recalls in this regard the controversy over the conservation of Mexico City's Cathedral (in which I also actively participated), following the 1967 fire, and notes that the principles of the charter, given their "necessarily universalist" character can be used to support an "attitude of clear

¹³ Urban revitalization and tourism development.

personal convenience,"¹⁴ very often to the detriment of the intrinsic value of the monument (p. 150). It is a fact, however, that against the excessive manipulations designed for the cathedral, in the exhibitionist function of modern architecture, new forces in architectural and historical culture were opposed. On the other hand, if, in general, the laws themselves are distorted by "personal convenience," it is fatal that so are those norms that are not nor can be laws, but only recommendations to a constant dialectical conversation, on the basis of some clearly stated aesthetic and historical needs. Flores Marini rightly asserts that the most urgent thing is the realization of "a labor to clarify concepts,"¹⁵ not only for the general public, but for the operators themselves, who are very often unprepared. He concludes by calling for a tourism consciousness that avoids "the consequences that many European countries could not avoid"¹⁶ (p. 152).

Colombian architect Jaime Salcedo Salcedo briefly reports on the CONSERVACIÓN Y RESTAURACIÓN DE MONUMENTOS EN COLOMBIA,¹⁷ lingering mainly to comment on the articles of the *Venice Charter*, but the greatest interest of his contribution consists in the captions of some photos, chosen with particular discernment. He is rightly keen to point out the damage that comes, to the perspective and chromatic unity of many buildings in Bogotá, from having wanted to uncover the "stone masonry,"¹⁸ by eliminating the overlapping plaster; even if the building did not undergo voluminous alterations, this was enough to alter its integrity and that of the environment. I must add, in this regard, that in the city of Morelia I have seen carried out the most extensive and ruinous experience of such flaying, namely the "uncovered masonry."¹⁹

This is followed by an excellent archaeological report on Puma Punku, LOS CRONISTAS Y LA RECONSTRUCCIÓN DE PUMA PUNKU,²⁰ edited by architects José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, of La Paz, who give scrupulous accounts of recent discoveries. For this topic, finding no cues for a methodological specification, I will limit myself to mentioning that a contribution to the knowledge of Puma Punku (also as a confirmation of the early chroniclers' descriptions) concerns some sketches by the German painter Rugendas, a great traveler to Latin America and whose many paintings are preserved in the museum of Chapultepec, in Mexico, and in Berlin. Rugendas is a contemporary of the best known European painters, whom he roughly resembles; as so with another German, Blechen, the English Bonington as well as the Neapolitan Gigante. This is the era of some happy landscape artists, around the middle of the 19th century, not precursors of the Impressionists Impressionists, as has sometimes been trivially asserted.. Rather than that, they are "sketchists," as Berenson jokingly put it, about Pompeian painting. I wanted to mention Rugendas for having taken notice of him, I believe for the first time in Italy, by publishing a scene of a procession that, also because of the setting, seems to have been executed in Campania, by a Duclère, or rather, a Pitloo (cf. Pane, "Vedutismo del primo Ottocento," "Nap. nob.," II, 1962-1963, pp. 159-160).

¹⁴ Original quotation: "actitud de marcada conveniencia personal."

¹⁵ Original quotation: "una labor de esclarecimiento de conceptos."

¹⁶ Original quotation: "las consecuencias que no pudieron evitar muchos países europeos."

¹⁷ Conservation and restoration of monuments in Colombia.

¹⁸ Original quotation: "mampostería."

¹⁹ Original quotation: "mampostería al descubierto."

²⁰ The chroniclers and reconstruction of Puma Punku.



TIWANAKU. Image: Elias Roviedo, CC transformed into black and white picture.

This is followed by an interesting photographic review of the restoration of the Cathedral of Trujillo, the setting of which, at the foot of a hill, is so evocative that it makes one want to write extensively about it after seeing it in person.

In addition, the REUNIÓN SOBRE IDENTIFICACIÓN, PROTECCIÓN Y VIGILANCIA DEL PATRIMONIO ARQUEOLÓGICO, HISTÓRICO Y ARTÍSTICO²¹ was held in São Paulo in October 1972. Representatives of Latin American States approved a set of regulations designed to prevent the free export of cultural property between countries, establishing for this purpose a series of controls and, first and foremost, systematic cataloging.

Of particular importance today, also in view of future possibilities for contact and exchange with Europe, is the meeting that took place in Mexico in October 1972 on LA REANIMACIÓN DE CIUDADES Y POBLADOS HISTÓRICOS.²² This was the first time that a Latin American meeting was held, with the cooperation of UNESCO, on the specific problem of environmental protection, in reference to urban planning. The declarations of principle, collected in eight articles, are followed by a number of recommendations, which interestingly include criteria quite similar to ours. In fact, after stating that the policy to act in this field must give rise to laws and regulations, inspired by the UNESCO conventions, it is affirmed that the social interest of the aforementioned initiatives demands that the most suitable financial solutions be put in place, in particular through credit systems. Finally, the drafting of pilot plans is deemed urgent, taking into consideration the participation of the community involved in each case²³ (pp. 235-236).

²¹ Meeting on the identification, protection and safety of archaeological, historic and artistic heritage

²² The revitalization of historic cities and settlements

²³ For the purpose of being able to benefit in this sense, I will illustrate in May, in Mexico City, the three vols. of "The Ancient Center of Naples," trying to highlight those systematic aspects of research and plan that can interest the methodology of similar cases in Latin American countries.

I still need to provide information on two other meetings, from whose conclusions exemplification and critical experience can be drawn. The first is the one that took place in Belgrade, in June 1971, entitled PROGRESS AND TRADITION IN THE CITY, at the initiative of the International Federation for Housing, Urbanism and Planning. Among the recommendations to be noted as most in the search for balance between old and new, is that of taking care, of the specificity and identity of each urban environment. Indeed, it is expressively said that it is necessary to achieve “a total comprehension of the genius loci”²⁴ (p. 238). This appropriately warns against the danger of resorting to a standard of intervention on the basis of a universal norm, as is often the case in the drafting of general urban plans. Consistently, it will be a matter of bringing about an adaptation of the new architecture “that accentuates the individuality of the city”²⁵ (ibid.); which, while expressing a legitimate aspiration, runs the risk of fostering the misunderstanding of false local color; something that, after all, has often occurred, in Latin America, through imitations of pre-existing forms; and for that matter, there has been no shortage of negative experiences in our country as well, such as the villas of Capri, in imitation of the rustic house.

The Belgrade standards refer to a fundamental requirement, which is that of proper scale ratios; it is not enough, in fact, that the dimensions of past environments be respected. It is necessary that a human dimension be achieved in the new spaces as well. However, what seems to be absent, both in this and the other contributions, concerns the difficult problem of the expressive values of masonry surfaces or facings, especially in restoration interventions in ancient centers and in those –inevitably, indeed desirably– of the insertion of new forms within the old fabric. Such particular arguments belong to a critique yet to be developed; and therefore it seems appropriate to add a few more hints on the subject. It is a fact that, in Italy, given the extraordinary variety of urban configurations, the problem is as complex as the awareness of the most qualified solutions is rare. The mechanistic standard, which is linked to the modern productive economy, has consistently negative consequences even in the execution of a building façade. This is enough to make it clear that the previously-stated human and aesthetic needs, cannot be fully validated unless we go back to those more general determinants, which tend to negate them rather than favor them. It is not enough that, in some instances, we succeed in achieving a satisfactory result. Whatever is added to the old stratification should have not mechanical, but human significance, even in the total diversity of its configurations; and this cannot be achieved unless a new conception of the economy underlies the very relations that govern our associated life. Once again, recommending the realization of a new quality of life cannot have any other meaning. Nor let it be said that this is a way of going too far upstream. If, instead of being passive interpreters of professional conformism, one wishes to contribute to a better qualification of building and urban planning activity, one cannot escape the dialectical confrontation of extreme causes and reasons. One must begin by recognizing that the economy still prevailing (without substantial differences between East and West) tends to be contrary to any form of qualification. And unfortunately, as the enormous population growth continues, it is to be expected that the cause of qualification will become less and less sustainable; in any case, the arguments against it will be the more numerous and valid, at least apparently.

Now, in the norms and recommendations of the Belgrade meeting it cannot be said that these major difficulties are addressed. In fact, it is not enough to state that “the captains of commerce and industry understand more and more that their businesses have social

²⁴ Original quotation: “una comprensión total del genius loci.”

²⁵ Original quotation: “que acentúe la individualidad de la ciudad.”

responsibilities,²⁶ and that social responsibilities “must be assumed by those leaders in a common action”²⁷ (p. 243). It is a fact that, at least in our country (and I do not think things are much better in Latin America), the aforementioned “captains” show no intention of changing their behavior, in accordance with the invoked social responsibility. They continue to leverage the blackmail of workers’ employment (by which any serious ecological measure is postponed *sine die*) and to exploit the complicity of the political class; and if anyone intends to retort that such denunciation smacks of “gratuitous moralism,” they will quickly reply that, in fact, moralism is gratuitous since they do not take money from the oil companies, as do the Italian ministers, in the name of their respective parties.

Numerous experts from Latin American countries collaborated in the drafting of the last contribution of the Caracas Bulletin, LAS NORMAS DE QUITO²⁸; as a result, this document expresses the most recent criteria to which their respective administrations intend to conform. An initial statement, regarding the extraordinary richness of Latin America’s monumental heritage, especially relates to the pre-Columbian and Ibero-American cultures; indeed, it can be said that here the intensity, the extension, in the geographical sense, and urbanistic complexity of the archaeological monuments are far greater than in our West²⁹. Moreover while the destruction and waste, due to the uncontrolled industrial and building activities of recent decades, are to be deplored, much remains, not only to be saved, but still to be discovered. Taking into account, therefore, such exceptional circumstances, just legislation for the future seems valuable, even more than useful.

The successive stages of the struggle to contribute are then recalled: from the *Athens Charter* (1932) to the congress convened by ICOMOS, in Cáceres (1967). What is more, the consideration of the economic, as well as cultural, value of monuments was discussed at the highest level, namely that of the Meeting of Heads of State, in Punta del Este (1967). With great clarity the problem of “valorization” is enunciated (p. 254 ff). Here we read that it is a matter of making “productive an unexploited wealth through a process of valorization that, far from diminishing its historical-artistic significance, enhances it transferring it from the exclusive domain of erudite minorities, to the knowledge and enjoyment of popular majorities”³⁰ (p. 255). At this point, instead of referring to all the topics discussed (for many of which nothing new is presented, compared to the already known European recommendations and standards), I think it is appropriate to address and discuss what seems to me to be defined in a culturally vague, and therefore dangerous way; namely, the relationship between the life of monuments and tourism. In paragraph VII (LOS MONUMENTOS EN FUNCIÓN DE TURISMO³¹) we read, “The cultural values themselves are not distorted or compromised by being linked to tourist interests and, far from it, the greater attraction of the monuments and the growing influx of foreign admirers, contributes to affirm the awareness of their national importance and significance.”³² This really means to have illusions! And I must add that they

²⁶ Original quotation: “Los capitanes del comercio y la industria comprenden cada vez más que sus empresas tienen responsabilidades sociales.”

²⁷ Original quotation: “deben ser asumidas por estos dirigentes en una acción común.”

²⁸ Norms of Quito.

²⁹ In Article 6 (p. 252) an assessment is expressed that has not infrequently been affirmed with us as well, namely, that the wealth potential, destroyed by the numerous acts of urban vandalism, far outweighs the benefits accruing to the national economy from the installations and infrastructure that motivated the destructions themselves.

³⁰ Original quotation: “produttiva una ricchezza non sfruttata mediante un processo di valorizzazione che lungi dal menomare il suo significato storico-artistico, lo accresca, trasferendolo, dal dominio esclusivo di minoranze erudite, alla conoscenza ed alla fruizione delle maggioranze popolari.”

³¹ Monuments in function of tourism.

³² Original quotation: “Los valores propiamente culturales no se desnaturalizan, ni comprometen al vincularse con los intereses turísticos y, lejos de ello, la mayor atracción que conquistan los monumentos y la afluencia creciente de admiradores foráneos, contribuye a afirmar la conciencia de su importancia y significación nacionales.”

seem to me all the more surprising in that some of the document's drafters, such as Gasparini and Flores Marini, show themselves elsewhere to be well aware of the serious damage and substantial alterations that are everywhere deplored as a result of an increase in tourism that in neither cultured nor qualified.³³

I have already alluded, in this sense, to the baleful influence exerted by the most powerful tourism initiatives, namely, those headed by the United States; and there is scarcely any need to point out the fatal link that exists between the standard imposed by the profit economy and the values of art and history, considered precisely in that authenticity, which it is the responsibility of culture to defend against consumerist, falsely democratic and popular initiatives; they, in fact, tend to alienate the very object of tourism, reconstructing the ruins, and thus falsifying them in their historical reality and in relation to their environment. For that matter, similar considerations have been made at international meetings, such as the one held in Oxford, in 1968; and on those occasions alarms and criticisms have been voiced not unlike those I have briefly pointed out here; I hope I will be forgiven for recalling that a public denunciation against the above-mentioned systems was pronounced by me, ten years ago, in Venice, on the occasion of the Congress of Monument Technicians. I pointed then to the disastrous "restorative" manipulations that were being carried out in Greece and Turkey; the retort of the representative of the National Park was marked by the demands of the "democratic spirit," according to a conceptual misunderstanding that I do not think needs clarification. In reality, the disagreement is not between culture and democratic spirit, but rather between culture and unlimited economic development, benefiting the few and to the detriment of human interests, understood in their totality.³⁴

We must, therefore, challenge the paragraph, according to which "monuments and other assets of an archaeological, historical and artistic nature can and should be duly preserved and used in the function of development, as the principal incentives of tourist influx". Instead, they must **first and foremost** be preserved as the common heritage of the civilized world, even before they are preserved as assets belonging to a particular people; and, in this regard, the principle of UNESCO, according to which its member nations must consider themselves the custodians and not the unchallengeable owners of their heritage of art and history, must be reiterated more than ever.

Nor is it sufficient to add that "properly cultural interests unite (*se conjugan*) with tourist interests, as far as necessary preservation and utilization are concerned,"³⁵ etc. (p. 258). Instead, we need to affirm the need for tourist interests to be strictly subordinate, and not merely associated, with the needs expressed by cultural ones. If this does not happen we can be sure, judging by what is already happening in Europe-and worse than elsewhere in Italy, that it is precisely tourism that will be the major cause of the alienation and ruin of our common heritage.

*

³³ See Gasparini, in the beginning (p. 11 ff). For Mexico, it would suffice to recall the havoc perpetrated in Teotihuacán in the name, precisely, of mass-tourism.

³⁴ Again going back to the more general causes, such motives are to be referred to the deep dissent that moves the European culture most committed to formulating a radical critique against the American **way of life**. It should be added, however, that this critique is associated, with the sharpest dialectical intelligence, with the best North American university culture; see, for example, the splendid book "The Dissenting Academy," New York, 1967 (in ital. "L'università del dissenso," Einaudi, 1968), which brings together the contributions of eleven authoritative lecturers from different fields.

³⁵ Original quotation: "gli interessi propriamente culturali si uniscono (se conjugan) con quelli turistici, per quanto concerne la necessaria preservazione e utilizzazione".