Preservation and Creation: Alfonso Rubbiani and Bologna

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1. Antonio di Vincenzo and Lorenzo Bagnomarino, *Loggia della Mercanzia*, Bologna (begun 1384, restored circa 1888 by Rubbiani). Photograph by Patrick Ciccone.

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Although Alfonso Rubbiani (1848–1913), the preeminent restorer working in turn-of-the-twentieth century Bologna, is well known to Italian scholars, his biography and work are obscure in the English-speaking world. His obscurity, however, reflects the direction that preservation has taken over the past century, when the prime directive in the field became an obsessive fidelity to the material inheritance. Rubbiani, whose free interpretations of Bologna's medieval buildings rendered many of them impossible to preserve in the modern sense, became a villain.[1]

As a companion to Rubbiani's 1879 "Le case dei borghesi" ("The Houses of the Bourgeoisie"), translated for the first time in English in this issue of *Future Anterior,* this essay revisits the scene of his crimes, and their sources, to rescue him from these latter-day judgments, which belong to a contemporary temper and sense of patrimony that the Italian journalist and member of Giosué Carducci's circle would have found peculiar.[2] For him, the architectural heritage of his city was part of a usable past, a palette of ideas that one could assemble freely as part of the revival of a city that had emerged only recently from centuries of papal rule. Rubbiani played fast and loose with fragments of buildings, using literary sources to conjure up images of a historic center under assault by nineteenth-century urbanization. He envisioned creative restorations of key buildings in the city that would allow the spirit of medieval Bologna to reemerge from centuries of what he considered unsympathetic renovations, hostile architectural movements, and neglect. If we are now inclined to see Rubbiani's approach as part of the European simulacrum that resulted from the "preservation" methods and theories of Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc, and countless others, it is because we have not developed the historical sympathy to approach the work dispassionately.

In the 1870s, Rubbiani entered an architectural scene that had been partially transformed under Napoleonic rule for the cause of establishing an architecture for the Cisalpine Republic, of which Bologna was to be the capital city. The universalizing classicism of the Napoleonic era had run counter to local building traditions. Just as important, Napoleon's architects, working with limited time and funding, extensively used the

preexisting fabric in the city. As a result, many of the churches and palazzi confiscated in the name of Napoleon and given over to his new institutions and the ruling classes had been renovated or transformed. Napoleon's work gave Rubbiani a double license, providing ample reason to "restore" these buildings to their purported Bolognese bones, and giving a precedent for working liberally with the city's material inheritance.[3] As a *verista* and journalist, he addressed himself directly to the common person, whose late medieval predecessors in Bologna he lionized.[4]

Interest in the Gothic in Bologna reached back well before Napoleon. Richard Bernheimer has argued that the city has the "strange distinction of being the host to the first Gothic Revival movement anywhere in Europe."[5] In early modern Bologna, the Gothic survived in perennial debates about the completion of San Petronio, the basilica on the Piazza Maggiore dedicated to the patron saint of the city—a building that Rubbiani wisely left alone. These debates, as Bernheimer argues, kept the Gothic "alive in the consciousness of the Bolognese," even in the academy, which normally presides over the classical tradition.[6]

Rubbiani's use of the Middle Ages also suggests intriguing links to how fascists would later adopt the period for political purposes. Medina Lasansky has demonstrated how Mussolini's regime bracketed the *medioevo* loosely in order to include everything from the rise of the independent city-state of the thirteenth century, a useful political association for a relatively new nation, to the cultural efflorescence of the following two hundred years associated with humanism and the Renaissance. This long Middle Ages allowed moderns to call forth a range of economic, religious, cultural, and political identifications in the service of urbanism and the invention of tradition.[7] While Rubbiani's *medioevo* was a more local affair, it anticipated this expansive idea of the Middle Ages, sharing an interest in native institutions and even alluding to the sort of *italianità* that was at the center of the later Fascist project, in particular by drawing parallels to other cities.

Unlike the nationalist uses to which fascists put the *medioevo,* Rubbiani's main target was modernity. In the essay "Le case dei borghesi," he stripped the modern palazzi—really the rental palaces or, more crudely, tenements—which he believed to be false and debased, of their pretense, revealing the reality of their impoverished state and the tawdry life of their inhabitants. As Ruskin had done, he played with the relationship between beauty and truth, condemning the grand street façades that masked a veritable slum within. And, like Ruskin, he equated that moral failing to a social problem: the palazzi,

gussied up on the exterior but rotting underneath, made the landlord rich while the renters suffered. Importantly, the moral problem was that the façade obscured the social reality, giving "a false idea about public wealth."[8] The socioaesthetic judgment is Ruskinian — or even Puginian — while the observation about the social cost of obscuring reality belong to *Verismo*.

The essay thus combines a modern urban sensibility with a nostalgic sense of the past as an antidote to modernity gone awry. The houses of the bourgeoisie of the late medieval period in Bologna were great, he maintained, because they issued from the hands of painters. Such an appeal to the picturesque was very much of its time. It set up his derogation of modernity, which he condemned for subdividing the arts until they had "lost their way." For architecture, this meant a loss of continuity. Gone, according to Rubbiani, was the total work of art as a product of all of the arts working in harmony. Gone along with it was the continuity between buildings that made his mythic medieval Bologna a total work of art in its own right. His purported *Gesamtkunstwerk,* both of building and city, belonged to a historical reality, the remains of which Rubbiani obsessively catalogued throughout Bologna. But it also offered a vision for the preservationist, namely to apply his art as the painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had composed their canvases. Restoration could be an act of creating harmonious cityscapes with a palette of surviving phrases, studied reconstructions, and vigorous inventions in the spirit of the past.

Nature provided his other great inspiration. Like Ruskin before him (although he cited the Italian Leonardo instead), he invited architects to study nature directly. He learned from Impressionism, as well, twice referencing *plein air* painting, although the immediacy of direct observation could be found in his journalistic bent — and, again, his direct reference is to the Italian Renaissance. The problem lay in moving from painting to architecture. The first can emulate nature directly, mimetically, while the second, being quite a bit more than imagery, submits to cultural needs *and* natural laws, such as shelter and gravity, respectively. Rubbiani finessed this dilemma with a discussion of the *palazzine* of the countryside, which he implicitly compared to the trees, water, and mountains, claiming that they were conceived as "ornamental accessories of the picturesque landscape." It was left for architects to transfer them into the "artificial ambit of the city." Thus were the *palazzine* akin to a painting, and, as part of nature improved, they marched into the city as natural elements.

Rubbiani leveraged the picturesque to make one more important move. In contrast to the Academy, the picturesque

was the "freedom that nature grants to the conceptions of the genius" to operate outside of laws, precedents, and artistic conventions. Thus out of something eternal — nature — the artist could find a way to move forward beyond the stale conventions of the Academy. And with this he called on architects to abandon the styles of the past, to found a modern architecture on the picturesque, as exemplified by those buildings "brought forth from the bosom of nature." Nature would guard against cultural stagnation, providing the model for a timeless architecture based in direct encounter. The sentiment falls somewhere between romantic notions of nature common to the early nineteenth century and the avant-garde dismissal that would soon culminate with the various secessions around Europe.

Beneath the appeal to nature and the opposition to the academy ran a political commentary. The subtext surfaces when Rubbiani equates the stale laws of the Academy to biblical laws and then explicitly to political ones: "when political laws are in decline, one appeals directly to natural ones." This, he claims, is the essence of the picturesque: the freedom to found new ways of doing things outside the stifling rule of precedents. The parallel would have struck a chord in Bologna, free less than twenty years from papal rule, with the brief Napoleonic interlude, replete with the code that resulted in the confiscation and destructive conversion of much of the ecclesiastical architecture and many of the palazzi of the city. It was time for new laws. The appeal to law would have had special resonance in Bologna, where the university emerged out of legal teachings, and where Roman law was revived in an effort to create a legal system in the Middle Ages.[9] In this city where precedent held sway, Rubbiani's call to break with the law must be considered a quiet call for revolution in which architecture leads the charge, a *ricorso* driven by culture. Originally trained as a jurist, Rubbiani used this language self-consciously in order to soften the power of precedent and open the door for the more liberal inspirations he favored.

He would submit architectural precedent to a similar thinking. Rubbiani's answer to the rental palaces was to look back to the houses of the bourgeoisie for inspiration. Uncontrived, flexible, and informal, for Rubbiani they directly reflected the people who built them. He encountered these architectural characters on his walks through the city. In some sense an Italian Baudelaire, Rubbiani the flâneur glorified the everyday, setting it against the "eternal jumble of orders" of the Academy. The latter, dedicated to the monumental exemplars from ancient Greece and Rome, failed to consider what was right under its nose, in the very streets of Bologna.

This endless quarry of ideas drawn from Bologna's historic center became the source for his theory of restoration. The late medieval housing stock of the city, "disfigured obscenely for the privations of centuries," could stimulate both a program of creative preservation and a new architecture for the age. Thus he tied preservation directly to the central question of the mid-to-late nineteenth century: in what style shall we build?[10] The answer, to look back to late medieval Bologna, sprang not merely from nostalgic medievalism or a commitment to local, regional, or national manners of building (as one finds in many nations in the period) but also from a dynamic sense of what made this architecture great, while always embedding the argument in a socioeconomic critique. The houses of the bourgeoisie of Bologna of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries possessed a "felicitous eclecticism" born of centuries of practical restoration and expansion. In other words, these buildings grew picturesque naturally, his logic went, as generations of unselfconscious inhabitants adapted them to the times: they had been part of a continuous process of renovation.

The resulting architecture could both give direction to restoration, since its palimpsest provided evidence for a liberal (and native) mode of intervention, and it offered an aesthetic for a new architecture. The point is terribly important, for it articulated a creative theory of preservation based on close study of exemplars but quite distinct from archaeological exactitude, while also delivering a protomanifesto for the architecture of the future, both of which emerge from the same ethical position, social process, and design method.[11] It made the Gothic Revival in Bologna into an exquisite corpse of sorts, composed of fragments of preexisting buildings and literary accounts, liberally elaborated, and finished with flights of fancy executed in the same spirit. While the Bolognesi of Rubbiani's day surely recognized the conceit, few modern Bolognesi, let alone tourists, have any idea that the historical core is neither an immaculate survivor nor the archaeological simulacrum of modern preservation. This inability to discern medieval Bologna from what was creatively reworked by Rubbiani and others in the decades around 1900 is not just about the virtuosity of their performance. If one looks closely, Rubbiani's hand is obvious. As stage scenery, however, the illusion is masterful.

Rubbiani chose important historical monuments at highly visible moments in the city (Figure 2). Among his earliest projects, he worked with the artist Alfredo Tartarini to restore the Loggia della Mercanzia, which was begun in 1384 by architects Antonio di Vincenzo and Lorenzo Bagnomarino to serve as a customs and toll house (Figure 1, G in Figure 2). From the balcony over the loggia, the guild of medieval merchants

2. Map of Bologna, adapted from Pianta di Bologna, Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1933. Courtesy of the Map Collection, University of California, Berkeley. *A.* Church of San Francesco. *B.* Tombs of the Glossatori. *C.* Palazzo dei Notai. *D.* Palazzo Comunale. *E.* Palazzo del Podestà and Palazzo di Re Enzo. *F.* Due Torri. *G.* Mercanzia *H.* Rubbiani interventions between the Mercanzia and the Due Torri. *M.* Via Malcontenti. *V.* Via Manzoni.

proclaimed their edicts to the city. Rubbiani began restoring the building in 1888 to coincide with the eight-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the university, thus tying the university to the merchants who funded it and ran Bologna as a free city.

Rubbiani would go on to remedievalize the Palazzo Comunale, the Palazzo di Re Enzo, and the Palazzo dei Notai, three of the central civic buildings of medieval Bologna, all on the Piazza Maggiore (Figure 3), the central square. Coaxing the medieval commune to emerge from the veneer of later changes and additions was at the heart of his project. In breaking from feudalism, and in the prominent buildings built under its aegis, the commune represented the beginnings of the free city and a local patrimony worthy of recall.

His work on the Piazza Maggiore began with the Palazzo di Re Enzo (1244–1246, restored 1905) (E in Figure 2), originally called the Palatium Novum because it added to the older buildings of the commune, especially the adjoining Palazzo del Podestà, the first municipal building erected by the burghers of Bologna. Soon after its erection, it became the palatial prison of King Enzo of Sardinia, the son of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, after he was captured in 1249 at the Battle of Fossalta, where Guelph forces led by Bolognese soldiers repulsed a Ghibelline army. While this battle was of little

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3. Piazza Maggiore from the Torre Asinelli, Bologna. The massive church of San Petronius with its unfinished façade anchors the piazza to the south; the Palazzo dei Notai sits astride it to the west. The Palazzo Comunale fills the west side of the piazza, with the complex of the Podestà and Palazzo di Re Enzo to the north; the Podestà faces the piazza. Photograph by the author.

consequence, capturing the Emperor's son boosted the city's prestige. The building was thus a symbol of city government, military power, and resistance to foreign, imperial rule. Among the changes he directed, Rubbiani crowned the building with crenellations, filled in postmedieval windows, cut pointed arches where there were none, and opened up the loggia overlooking the cortile (Figures 4 and 5).

The work was strategic on an urban level (Figure 6). From the Via dell'Indipendenza, the main north–south artery that connects the train station to the north with the Piazza Maggiore, the Palazzo di Re Enzo is the first building of the historic core that one encounters. It also cuts the Piazza Maggiore off from the Via Rizzoli, which, because of the width of this modern boulevard, gives the building a sense of being a mid-space object sitting in the square rather than simply bounding its northern edge. While this work was severely attacked in its day for being arbitrary and overly romantic, the crenellations and arches were more than picturesque whimsy; they articulated a shift from the commercial modern city to the civic historic city, a shift in urban grain and historical time.[12]

From the same opening where the Via dell'Indipendenza meets the Piazza Maggiore, one can see another Rubbiani project, the Palazzo dei Notai (restored 1908) (Figure 7, C in Figure 2). This was the institutional home of the medieval notaries, who established the basis of communal authority in the city in 1282 with the writing of the Sacred Ordinances by renowned notary Rolandino Passageri. This was the first example of "guild-based Republicanism," predating Florence's slightly later model.[13] As B. R. Carniello has written, because of the reforms in the guild of the notaries in the 1280s, "an administrative elite emerged within the popular coalition that had been previously dominated by an elite of wealthy merchants

4. Palazzo di Re Enzo, before restoration. From Alfonso Rubbiani, *Il Palazzo di Re Enzo in Bologna* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1906), 19.

and bankers. The notaries became the articulators and enforcers of communal authority, now under popular government, and its reform programme."[14] The Palazzo dei Notai, however, a diminutive and much-altered product of multiple building campaigns, had little of the grandeur that one might expect of such an important institution. Rubbiani all but erased evidence of the distinctly different (if attached) buildings of 1287 and 1442. Basing his changes on the later design, he scraped away some additions from the eighteenth century and made the building appear as if it were built at once by stringing a continuous run of crenellations across the top and opening up a row of pointed arches on the third story. A faint line to the right of center on the main façade and a raised crenellation marks the seam between the two older campaigns, but the illusion holds sway.

Next Rubbiani turned his attention to the Palazzo Comunale, or Accursio, the largest building on the Piazza Maggiore (Figure 8, D in Figure 2). A massive building with a complex history, it was taken over by the municipality in 1293 and over time turned into the seat of city government. More importantly, it had become a papal residence after Julius II took the city in 1506, remaining so until Napoleon took the city in the eighteenth century. Rubbiani's project of 1908 was thus an especially symbolic act, an attempt to wipe centuries of papal rule

5. Palazzo di Re Enzo, after restoration. From Alfonso Rubbiani, *Il Palazzo di Re Enzo in Bologna* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1906), 28.

from the façade. He punched particularly exuberant pointed arches and *bifora* into the façade; Guido Zucchini completed the courtyard according to Rubbiani's plans in 1933–1934. Rubbiani left some post-Gothic elements alone, including the spirited portal to the courtyard that hoists up a niche for San Petronius, the patron saint of Bologna. Nonetheless, while

6. Palazzo di Re Enzo (1244–1246, restored 1905). Photograph by Francesco Ceccarelli.

numerous Renaissance and Baroque additions are unmistakable, the general aspect is of a great, fortified medieval palazzo.

The activist restorer was finally rebuffed in 1910, when Rubbiani's plans for the Palazzo del Podestà were thwarted (Figure 9, E in Figure 2). In the original Podestà of the early twelfth century, as with similar buildings in Padua and Vicenza, the arcades at the street level housed shops and artisans. Notaries filled the main stairs that led to the great hall that takes up the *piano nobile*. The original Romanesque façade was transformed in the late fifteenth century by designs attributed to Aristotile Fioravanti. Rubbiani had plans to return this to medieval splendor with the usual crown of crenellations that would have linked it visually with the Palazzo di Re Enzo. Had he been successful, all of the buildings on the Piazza Maggiore would have been transformed, save the resolutely Renaissance Palazzo dei Banchi by Vignola (1565–1568) and the Gothic San Petronio, creating a formidable ensemble of Gothic, Gothicized, or medievalized buildings.

In spite of this defeat, in 1910 Rubbiani worked with Gualtiero Pontoni on a master plan for the zone between the Piazza Maggiore and the Mercanzia. The project would have connected his work on the piazza with the medieval market area of the city and a shock of medieval towers near the Mercanzia, creating an impressive expanse of historical and historicized urban fabric. The project included the Due Torri (Figure 10, F in Figure 2), perhaps the best-known symbol of Bologna. He restored the base of the Asinelli Tower (early twelfth century),

the taller of the two, which had fallen into the hands of the commune in the thirteenth century and thus stood as a symbol of the end of the internecine wars that had led noble families to erect towers in the first place. In the twelfth century, Bologna was a city of towers, with as many as one hundred of them creating a skyline.[15]

The towers operated urbanistically on several levels. They terminated the enlarged and modernized Via Rizzoli (Figure 11), the major east–west axis of the historic center, creating a pivot at the site of the former Roman gate. From here, four diagonal streets splay out like spokes cutting through the onion of the medieval city to the later medieval walls and beyond (F in Figure 2). The cluster of lesser towers rose to the southwest of the Due Torri, across from the Mercanzia and in dialogue with a turn in the urban fabric that Rubbiani also restored (Figure 12, H in Figure 2). The Due Torri marked the edge of the Roman city, created a link to the neighborhood of threatened towers (which would be destroyed in 1917), and further drew attention to the Mercanzia and its surrounding buildings — a small but continuous stretch of "Rubbiani" that operated scenographically as it simultaneously brought out the concentric diagram of medieval Bologna (Figure 13).

In these interventions Rubbiani worked with teams of artists and architects, although he himself was officially neither. Rather, as a journalist, he researched, propagandized, and provided much of the inspiration for the work, relying on the talents of others to realize his vision. The circle of artists and collaborators around him created luminous presentation drawings and designed the vast array of decorative arts required to carry out the work. Like Ruskin, he started a guild and was at the center of the local Arts and Crafts Movement, Aemilia Ars (founded 1898), which was responsible for a medieval revival of terracotta, tile, metalwork, and other crafts that supported the restoration work of the period.[16]

One of his earlier and less heralded projects vividly reveals his working method, which was based on a combination of artifact, historical research, literary suggestion, conjecture, and invention. In 1887, before his work on the Piazza Maggiore, Rubbiani coordinated the erection the tombs of the *glossatori,* the medieval professors named for the "glosses" they put in the margins of texts. The tombs stand out as totally invented urban scenography. Having found fragments of some tombs in the process of restoring his masterpiece, the church of San Francesco (A in Figure 2), Rubbiani mounted them on raised platforms based on the Mausoleum of Helicarnassus and thrust them to the edge of the new avenue opened up by the destruction of the old wall, just outside the Porta Nova on the western

edge of the old city (Figure 14, B in Figure 2). The precedent for raised tombs could have come from medieval examples in Verona. For the precise source, however, he reasoned that medieval sculptors on the Crusades might have seen the Mausoleum of Helicarnassus, which was ruined in 1404.

The notion gave him license to transform private tombs into public monuments, which he did with larger urbanistic intentions. As people emerged from the *porta,* which was part of the medieval wall, into the wide avenue, they encountered the stunning but rather antisocial east end of the church. The *porta,* newly formed piazza, and new expansive boulevard that had displaced the glacis demanded a grand gesture. Simple tombs would not do. Acting in the spirit of the picturesque and the mania for monuments then common in European and American cities, Rubbiani made urban monuments of the tombs.[17] Calibrated to the scale of the space, rather than to the intimate uses of tombs, and marched out to meet the new boulevard, they provided a transitional screen for the church, an interstitial space in which the *glossatori* could narrate the connections between civic life, religion, and learning.

8. Palazzo Comunale, Bologna, project of 1908, with Palazzo dei Notai to left. Photograph by Francesco Ceccarelli.

This flair for urban theater made his projects stand out against the less historically sensitive urbanism of the day, with its larger buildings, wider streets, and tendency toward destruction. By contrast, Rubbiani's work was more medieval than medieval Bologna had been. The wider ramifications of this are more complicated than they first might seem. To take the example of the *glossatori* again, they served as an indigenous group of citizens around which a myth of the greatness of the city might be built.[18] They became the heroic founders of the first university. In the early 1880s, Rubbiani and his circle established the date as 1088, which gave the group several years to plan a momentous eight-hundredth anniversary celebration. The claim is erroneous, although it is still widely believed today. With this he hoped to make Bologna the "capitale del mondo studioso."[19] If Bologna could not be the national capital, or the *caput mundi,* it could lay claim to being an intellectual capital.

In other words, his acts of preservation were especially vivid social acts, offering an "imaginary" of modern citizenship based on traditions partly invented from an actively and

9. Palazzo del Podestà, Bologna, project of 1909. Photograph by the author.

creatively reconstructed past.[20] Rubbiani's most important work attempted to posit a modern identity for Bologna in the wake of the Risorgimento. To accomplish this he did not leap backward over the early modern period and nineteenth century so much as look to the centuries before papal rule, but after the end of the internecine conflict between Guelphs and Ghibellines, when Bologna flourished as a free city. As instruments for the creation of an ostensibly retrieved, but ultimately invented, identity, his restorations remain convincing presumably because the people of Bologna want to buy into the social program they represent.

Rubbiani's architectural *medioevo* raises an issue about how the Gothic Revival was different in Italy, at least in Bologna, from how it was in many other nations of Europe. While one finds Gothic Revival buildings built *ex novo,* as with Camillo Boito's work in Padua, so much of the Gothic Revival came in the form of creative interventions, in which buildings that had been radically altered over time were simply altered once more, but with an interest in restoring the spirit of the medieval core for modern purposes.[21] For Rubbiani, this meant clearing away the "pestilence of the seventeenth century" and the "epidemic of the Baroque" and then building anew based on the faintest fragments. He transformed round arches into pointed ones, sprinkled crenellations liberally on rooflines, pressed molded terracotta around windows and doors, and

10. Due Torri, Bologna, twelfth century.
Photograph by Patrick Clenet.

11. Asinelli Tower, Bologna, early twelfth century. Photograph by the author.

12. Loggia della Mercanzia from the top of the Torre Asinelli, Bologna. The run of buildings in the left foreground that curves toward the tower are all Rubbiani restorations. In 1917 the building in the lower right took the place of a cluster of medieval towers. Photograph by the author.

paraded balconies over streets where medieval people never would have gazed. The inspiration came from the exquisite corpse that time had already made of Italian buildings. In other words, his theory of preservation simply took its cue from the reality of the architectural inheritance of Bologna and its region, and this same reality, stamped with the authority of the protomodernist *Verismo,* promoted a new architecture. Medieval buildings, their creatively restored cousins, and the modern buildings inspired by both are all so closely related

13. Interventions by Rubbiani that connect the Mercanzia to the Due Torri (H in Figure 1). Photograph by the author.

14. Church of San Francesco, absidal view with tombs. I. B. Supino, *L'Architettura Sacra in Bologna nei Secoli XIII e XIV* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1909), plate 3.

that it can be difficult, even for a trained architectural historian, to parse them.

To do so is to dispel the illusion of wholeness that Bologna's historic center exudes, and this, ironically, is to undermine the modernist quest for a totalized environment, one in which the helter-skelter urban interventions of the nineteenth century have been adjusted or suppressed into relative tranquility. To put this another way, the same city of industrial and later consumer capitalism that the high modernists — Le

Corbusier, Gropius, Mies, and others — rejected and sought to rebuild anew on the model of the machine, Rubbiani transformed by medievalizing at key junctures, creating a near urban *Gesamtkunstwerk* with more affinities to modernist sensibilities than to the often backward looking Gothic Revival. His preservation was thus not an antidote or resistance to the incursion of modern infrastructure and architecture but rather an Italian vernacular of creative reassembly driven by modern impulses.

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Endnotes
For Richard Tuttle, whose Bologna endures. I would also like to thank Francesco Ceccarelli for his generosity in sharing his knowledge of Rubbiani, and Jason Miller of the Audio Visual Resources Library at the University of California, Berkeley.
[1] English sources on Rubbiani are rare. See Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), 203–4; Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy,* vol. 1 (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 214–16; and Axel Körner, *Politics and Culture of Liberal Italy: From Unification to Fascism* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 111–14. Although much has been written on Rubbiani in Italian, the most sympathetic source is Francesco Ceccarelli, "Bologna e la Romagna," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. L'Ottocento,* vol. 1, ed. A. Restucci, 142–65 (Milan: Electa, 2005).
[2] The article originally appeared as "Le case dei borghesi" in *La Pace* [Bologna] (June 6, 1879).
[3] This is a major theme in Ceccarelli's "Bologna e la Romagna." See especially 155.
[4] *Verismo* was a nineteenth-century movement in Italian arts and literature that celebrated the everyday, the working classes, and the gritty realities of modern urban life.
[5] Richard Bernheimer, "Gothic Survival and Revival in Bologna," *Art Bulletin* 36, 4, (December 1954): 263–84.
[6] Ibid., 266. See also Elena Dellapiana, "Il mito del medioevo," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. L'Ottocento,* vol. 1, ed. A. Restucci (Milano: Electa, 2005): 400–21.
[7] Medina Lasansky, "Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric: The Fascist Redesign of San Gimignano," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 3 (September 2004): 320–53. See also her *Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2004).
[8] Quotes from Rubbiani, unless otherwise noted, are from "The Houses of the Bourgeoisie" in this issue of *Future Anterior.*.
[9] See Peter Stein, *Roman Law in European History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 45–53.
[10] Heinrich Hübsch, *In What Style Should We Build?* trans. Wolfgang Hermann (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992).
[11] For discussion of the change from archaeological fidelity to a freer interpretation of the Gothic in nineteenth-century Italy, see Guido Zucconi, "Il medioevo degli architetti italiani, tra scienza e arte (1860–1940)," in *Neomedievalismi: Recuperi, evocazioni, invenzioni nelle città dell-Emilia-Romagna,* ed. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli (Bologna: CLUEB, 2007), especially 26–28.
[12] See Körner, *Politics and Culture of Liberal Italy,* 113.
[13] B. R. Carniello, "The Rise of an Administrative Elite in Medieval Bologna: Notaries and Popular Government, 1282–1292," *Journal of Medieval History* 28, no. 4 (December 2002): 319–41.
[14] Ibid., 319.

[15] Architects in Rubbiani's circle created a model of the many-towered city that is now in the Collezioni Comunali d'Arte.

[16] On Aemilia Ars, see the exhibition catalogue by Franco Solmi and Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, *Alfonso Rubbiani: i veri e i falsi storici* (Casalecchio di Reno: Grafis, 1981), and Carla Bernardini, Doretta Davanzo Poli, and Orsola Ghetti Baldi, eds., *Aemilia Ars: 1898–1903: Arts and Crafts a Bologna* (Milan: A+G, 2001).

[17] He erected other tombs in the same manner in front of San Domenico. For a discussion of "statuemania," see Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870–1997* (London: Reaktion, 1998), especially 49.

[18] This rather neglected part of the Gothic Revival can be found throughout Europe, where cities erected statues to mythical and historical founders.

[19] The story is told in Ceccarelli, "Bologna e la Romagna," 160.

[20] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[21] See the writing of Camillo Boito, who influenced Rubbiani, including the contemporaneous *Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1880).