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This article presents a first comprehensive evaluation of the medievalizing phenomenon in the Republic of San Marino from a comparative perspective, with a particular focus on the period between 1884 (date of the construction of San Marino's new town hall) and the years of Fascism (1922-1943), the most significant phase of San Marino's transformation into a neomedieval city. Nowadays, San Marino possesses not only a medieval history, but also a neomedieval identity. The recognition of this identity was made clear in 2008, when the historic center of San Marino was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

Keywords: Medievalism, Urban History, Republic of San Marino, History of Architecture.

A liberdade sonhada em pedra: a cidade (neo)medieval de San Marino

Este artigo apresenta uma primeira avaliação abrangente do fenómeno de medievalização da República de São Marino numa perspectiva comparativa, centrada no período entre 1884 (construção da nova Câmara Municipal de São Marino) e os anos do fascismo (1922-1943), que corresponderam à fase mais profunda da transformação de São Marino numa cidade neomedieval. Na verdade, São Marino possui não apenas uma história medieval, mas também uma identidade neomedieval. A aceitabilidade dessa proposição ficou clara em 2008, quando o centro histórico de São Marino foi inscrito na Lista do Património Mundial da UNESCO.

Palavras-chave: Medievalismo, História Urbana, República de São Marino, História da Arquitetura.

Liberty Dreamt in Stone: The (Neo)Medieval City of San Marino

Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri*

1. Approaching San Marino: The View from Medievalism Studies

The horizon line traced by Monte Titano is unmistakable, whether seen from the Apennines, of which it is the most distant offshoot, or from the Po Valley, which it flanks like a balcony: three rocky pinnacles, each surmounted by a fortress, that together comprise the independent city of San Marino.¹ Viewed from afar this landscape seems to have been fixed in place for centuries, yet as one approaches the city one quickly becomes aware of changes that have shifted San Marino's territory, urban fabric, buildings, and monuments. These transformations, undertaken primarily during the past one hundred years, occurred under the sign of modernity, but with a sense of reverence for the past—a past perceived as foundational to Sammarinese identity and that, accordingly, transcending mere restoration or even reconstruction, was to a significant degree created *ex novo*. San Marino is a settlement of ancient origins, like so many other cities on the Italian peninsula and in continental Europe that have in recent times chosen to accentuate their medieval strata, returning to being, in the eyes of visitors and residents alike, cities that evoke the heroic era that for Westerners

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¹ I thank Anna Guerra for research assistance in the Archivio di Stato di San Marino and Alison Locke Perchuk for the English translation.

both represents and performs the site of encounter between history and imagination. The three fortresses stand on the ridges of the mountain, the streets are well paved, multiple circuits of crenellated and turreted walls encircle the city, the facades of the houses and buildings are constructed with perfect ashlar blocks of sandstone, the local stone, which appears yellowish, whitish, or grey, and is expertly and artisanally carved. Everything appears neat and new.



1. San Marino's town hall (photo by author, February 2019)

The reconstruction of a city 'in medieval style' ought not be surprising: on the contrary, the practice was widely diffused in Europe during the last two centuries. In much the same manner, the "Contest of the Crossbows" (Palio delle Balestre, developed between 1956 and 1976), "Medieval Days" (Giornate Medievali, begun in 1993), and the "Tournament of Castles" (Torneo dei Castelli, begun in 2002) make

San Marino a vivid witness to the ample and widespread socio-cultural phenomenon known as “medievalism.” And, as elsewhere, they do so in a manner that denies San Marino’s specificity by means of a system that is both modular and globalized: the world is full of archers, competitions, and processions.² Nevertheless, when placed alongside other ‘remedievalized’ locations, San Marino exhibits a unique element that makes it worthy of study in and of itself: that San Marino is an independent republic confers on its constant evocation of the Middle Ages an import and purpose distinct from those of any other location. Of all the nations of the world, San Marino is the only one to have originated as a medieval township, to have consistently maintained its republican autonomy through the Early Modern and Modern eras, and to be currently recognized by the international community as a sovereign state.³ Also of interest is the manner in which the perceptions and representations of the Middle Ages, the era that saw the birth of this small republic’s sovereignty, have shifted over time. Today San Marino possesses not only a medieval identity, but also a neomedieval one. The acceptability of this proposition was made clear on 7 July 2008, when the historic center of the City of San Marino, together with Monte Titano and the historic center of Borgo Maggiore (another community in the Republic of San Marino), was inscribed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List: as stated in the citation, “In this case, the idea of the ‘medievalisation’ of the historic centre can be considered as an expression of national identity through the search for an idealised image of the historic centre.”⁴ San Marino is thus a curious case, for the ‘au-

2 On medievalism and historical recreation: Veronica Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail: The Quest for the Middle Ages* (New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 225–35; Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, *Medioevo militante: La politica di oggi alle prese con barbari e crociati* (Turin: Einaudi, 2011), 106–20; English translation: *Id., The Militant Middle Ages. Contemporary Politics between New Barbarians and Modern Crusaders* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2019), 77–87. As the bibliography on medievalism is constantly expanding, I refer the reader to the website *Medievally Speaking*, <http://medievallyspeaking.blogspot.it>. This excellent and frequently updated resource is diminished only by the fact that it presents almost exclusively Anglophone scholarship, largely ignoring detailed and important analyses of medievalism published in languages other than English.

3 “Permanent Mission of the Republic of San Marino to the United Nations”, *United Nations Permanent Missions*, <https://www.un.int/sanmarino/>, consulted 5 February 2019.

4 “San Marino Historic Centre and Monte Titano”, *UNESCO—Culture—World Heritage Centre—The List*, <http://whc>.

thenticity' of the site, which is a fundamental criterion for selection to UNESCO's World Heritage List, is seen to lie not in the conservation of any originary state, but rather in a dynamic process. Restoration and medievalizing reconstructions are elements that contribute to the cultural value of the 'monument.' In this sense, San Marino occupies a position similar to that of another celebrated monumental site: the fortified city of Carcassonne, in the Occitanie region of France, which joined the World Heritage List in 1998.⁵ Both cities are worthy of being numbered among the most important monuments of the world not only for their medieval histories, but also for their 'neomedieval' afterlives.⁶

unesco.org/en/list/1245/, consulted 5 February 2019: "San Marino is one of the world's oldest republics and the only surviving Italian city-state, representing an important stage in the development of democratic models in Europe and worldwide. [...] The defensive walls and the historic centre have undergone changes over time that include intensive restoration and reconstruction between the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, a process that can be considered to be part of the history of the property and reflects changing approaches to conservation and presentation of heritage over time. Criterion (iii): San Marino and Mount Titano are an exceptional testimony of the establishment of a representative democracy based on civic autonomy and self-governance, with a unique, uninterrupted continuity as the capital of an independent republic since the 13th century. [...] Many elements of the historic centre have been preserved or, if renewed, form part of a long tradition. The interventions carried out during the 20th century could be seen as affecting the integrity, but are also a part of the history of the property. There is a high degree of authenticity of the location and setting of the city of San Marino. With regard to functions and uses, there is a continuity related to the role of the historic city as capital of the small state. Restoration and reconstruction works carried out under the direction of Gino Zani may be considered as a part of the history of the property and an application of the theoretical principles stemming from the Romantic restoration movement. In this case, the idea of the 'medievalisation' of the historic centre can be considered as an expression of national identity through the search for an idealised image of the historic centre." Cfr. Nevio Matteini and Annio Maria Matteini, *La Repubblica di San Marino: Guida storica e artistica della Città e dei Castelli* (Rimini: Graph Edizioni, 2011), 82.

⁵ "Historic Fortified City of Carcassonne", *UNESCO-Culture-World Heritage Centre-The List*, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/345>, consulted 5 February 2019: "The Committee decided to inscribe this property on the basis of criteria (ii) and (iv), considering that the historic town of Carcassonne is an excellent example of a medieval fortified town whose massive defences were constructed on walls dating from Late Antiquity. It is of exceptional importance by virtue of the restoration work carried out in the second half of the 19th century by Viollet-le-Duc, which had a profound influence on subsequent developments in conservation principles and practice." Cfr. Lucia Mazza, "Gino Zani: San Marino come Carcassonne", *Ananke: Cultura, storia e tecniche della conservazione* 14 (1996): 17–25; Francesca Bottari, "Un medioevo a 'Perfetta regola d'arte': a margine dell'iscrizione Unesco e dell'interessante caso Gino Zani", *Identità sammarinese: Riflessioni sulla libertà e la democrazia fra politica, storia, cultura* 1 (2009): 13–29; Edith Tamagnini, "L'importanza dell'opera di Zani per il riconoscimento Unesco di San Marino quale patrimonio dell'umanità," in *Gino Zani: L'ingegnere, l'architetto, lo storico*, ed. Luca Morganti (San Marino: Centro sammarinese di studi storici, Università degli studi della Repubblica di San Marino, 2018), 21–24.

⁶ See also the extensive nineteenth-century interventions that restored and transformed the medieval cathedral of Roskilde, Denmark (UNESCO site since 1995), which were appraised as providing "a clear overview of the development of European religious architecture". "Roskilde Cathedral", *UNESCO-Culture-World Heritage Centre-The List*, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/695>, consulted 5 February 2019. By contrast, the role played by restoration has not been

The story sketched out in these pages is a first comprehensive evaluation of the medievalizing phenomenon of San Marino from a comparative perspective, which is to say, not from the point of view of architectural history—a discipline within which San Marino has been extensively studied—but from the perspective of medievalism studies, an approach that in its inherent transdisciplinarity requires the integration of concepts and information from a range of fields.⁷ Other studies will surely follow, but it is time to offer this initial analysis because even today the arguments here presented so succinctly are frequently swept into a corner, with a sense of embarrassment—despite the fact that they are, I would submit, fundamental to an understanding not only of the Republic of San Marino, but also of the public’s view of the role of history in the contemporary world. Indeed, few scholars have been able to frame these issues independently of a certain prejudice toward what they see as intentional forgery, and so, deeming the ‘remaking’ of San Marino an ersatz history that obscures a ‘true’ medieval past, pile sin upon perceived sin by focusing only on the most superficial and tourist-oriented manifestations—fantasy festivals, museums of torture, chastity belts—and thereby reducing to near meaninglessness a cultural phenomenon of deep-seated relevance

invoked in the evaluative criteria for other celebrated medieval monuments that have been declared world heritage sites and that have undergone significant modifications in the modern era, as for instance the Cathedral of Chartres under Viollet-le-Duc (UNESCO site since 1979) and the city of San Gimignano in Tuscany (UNESCO site since 1990). In other cases, like that of the Historic Centre of Český Krumlov in the Czech Republic (UNESCO site since 2006), which has also been widely restored and partly reconstructed, satisfaction of the criterion of authenticity is ascribed to the fact that “restoration works on the facades of the buildings are carried out in compliance with strict international standards for heritage conservation. Only traditional materials and techniques are used.” “Historic Centre of Český Krumlov”, *UNESCO–Culture–World Heritage Centre–The List*, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/617>, consulted 5 February 2019. Concerning another site, that of Telč, similarly in the Czech Republic (UNESCO site since 1992), the justification states explicitly that “the Historic Centre of Telč is of high authenticity because it escaped the mania for over-restoration of the 19th century”. “Historic Centre of Telč”, *UNESCO–Culture–World Heritage Centre–The List*, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/621>, consulted 5 February 2019: the diametric opposite of the criterion applied to Carcassonne.

⁷ This is, for example, the approach of *Postmedieval: A journal of medieval cultural studies*, founded in 2010. For other considerations, see Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, “Medievalismi. Il posto dell’Italia”, in *Medievalismi italiani (secoli XIX–XXI)*, ed. Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri and Riccardo Facchini (Rome: Gangemi, 2018), 9–28: 10–12.

and import.⁸ Sammarinesi and tourists alike remain substantially unaware of the phenomenon of medievalism or of its mimetic actions when confronted with artifacts from the medieval period. Many remain convinced—and are convinced continuously—that San Marino is an splendidly preserved testimony of a medieval past, forgetting, or never being aware of, the extent to which it has been reconstructed.⁹ But whether at San Marino, at Carcassonne, or at numerous similar sites in Italy and elsewhere, the problem is not one of intentional propagation of a false narrative or even of a counterfeit history that seeks to alter our perception of historical reality. On the contrary, the story offered by these sites, which I will here trace out for San Marino, is that of a dream of political liberty shaped into stone. The representation of the Middle Ages in the modern world (a representation that emerged not only from medieval culture but from three centuries of mythological construction) was the favored symbol for demonstrating this liberty. This representation of the Middle Ages, even if expressed in a mode that was more evocative than philologically correct, is what provides the sense of history's presence in the current day and age, and it has significant effects on the present. Without San Marino's

8 Cfr. the *incipit* of Guido Zucconi, *Gino Zani: La rifabbrica di San Marino 1925–1943* (Venice: Arsenale, 1992), 7: “Why a monograph on San Marino? Why dedicate time and labor to a case that has never been well-received by scholars of architecture? With its rebuilt fortresses, with its sparkling clean walls and monuments deprived of the patina of time, the city of Titano seems to satisfy only the less-discerning palates [...]. In the case of San Marino, judgment still turns on the trite and moralizing duality of *false/authentic* [...]” (“Perché una monografia su San Marino? Perché dedicare tempo e fatica ad un caso che non ha mai goduto di buona fama presso gli studiosi di architettura? Con le sue rocche ricostruite, con le sue mura tirate a lucido e i suoi monumenti privi di patina dell’antico, la città del Titano sembra accontentare solo i palati meno esigenti [...]. Nel caso di San Marino, il giudizio ruota ancora attorno al trito e moralistico dualismo *falso-autentico* [...]”) See also Zucconi, “L’opera di Gino Zani alla luce di nuove prospettive critiche”, in *Gino Zani: L’ingegnere, l’architetto, lo storico*, 143–50: 144–45; Luca Morganti, “Diversamente moderno. Sull’anacronismo di Gino Zani tra continuità e cesure, tra progetto e restauro,” *ibid.*, 151–78: 161–66.

9 Another example would be Gradara, a medieval fortress situated approximately 40 km from San Marino, in the Le Marche region of Italy, that was mostly reconstructed in the years 1921–1923 by engineer Umberto Zanvettori, whose rich collection of arms and armor is today housed in Rome, at Castel Sant’Angelo. A Romantic tradition sees in this fortress the site of the brutal murder of the lovers Paolo and Francesca as sung by Dante (*Inferno*, canto V, vv. 82–142). Since 2014, it has hosted the annual conference, “Il Medioevo fra noi” organized by the universities of Urbino, Bologna and Roma–Sapienza, which is the only regular meeting in Italy dedicated to the study of medievalism. See Maria Rosaria Valazzi, *La rocca di Gradara* (Urbino: Novamusa Montefeltro, 2003); Maria Chiara Pepa, “Francesca da Rimini. Mitografia di un personaggio femminile medievale”, *Studi pesaresi* 5 (2017): 18–34.

town hall and the three slender, renovated towers, the Middle Ages—in the very countryside where they *truly* had been lived—would cease to resonate in the world today. And thus they would cease to be contemporary history.¹⁰

2. The Nineteenth Century

Established as a fortified township during the thirteenth century,¹¹ San Marino constructed its modern communal myth across the span of three centuries, from the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth.¹² The republic came to universal notice as a model of political ideals when revolutionary France and Napoleon conferred upon it an exemplary status as the ancestral custodian of republican liberty—a status that determined that San Marino would be incorporated neither into the *Repubblica Cispadana* nor, subsequently, into the Kingdom of Italy.¹³ By virtue of its peculiar situation, the process of historical conceptualization that surrounds San Marino both coincides with and diverges from that of other cities in the Italian peninsula. The deep irony is that, despite being peripheral to the Grand Tour, first, and later to nineteenth-century tourism, and despite being either ignored or viewed askance by

10 “Practical need, which is the basis for every historical judgment, confers upon every history the characteristic of ‘contemporary history,’ because, no matter how chronologically distant its events may seem, it is in truth only and always history by reference to the needs and situations of the present, in which those long ago events find their echo.” (“Il bisogno pratico, che è nel fondo di ogni giudizio storico, conferisce a ogni storia il carattere di ‘storia contemporanea’, perché, per remoti e remotissimi che sembrano cronologicamente i fatti che vi entrano, essa è, in realtà, storia sempre riferita al bisogno e alla situazione presente, nella quale quei fatti propagano le loro vibrazioni.”) Benedetto Croce, *La storia come pensiero e come azione* (Bari: Laterza, 1938), 5.

11 Francesco Vittorio Lombardi, “San Marino nell’età medioevale: I rapporti fra il comune e i vescovi di Montefeltro”, in *Storia e ordinamento della repubblica di San Marino* (San Marino: Cassa rurale depositi e prestiti di Faetano, 1983), 38–61.

12 Aldo Garosci, *San Marino: Mito e storiografia tra i libertini e il Carducci* (Milan: Edizioni di comunità, 1967); Giovanni Spadolini, *San Marino: L’idea della repubblica, con documenti inediti dall’archivio di Pasquale Villari* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1989); Rodolfo Montuoro, *Come se non fosse nel mondo: La Repubblica di San Marino dal mito alla storia* (San Marino: Edizioni del Titano, 1992); Davide Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi: L’immagine di San Marino nelle guide turistiche dall’Ottocento a oggi* (San Marino: Centro sammarinese di studi storici, Università degli studi della Repubblica di San Marino, 2009).

13 Garosci, *San Marino*, 148–49.

numerous luminaries who, failing to see true political liberty in the mountainside municipality, omitted it from the master narrative of communal history,¹⁴ San Marino has come to symbolize the essence of the grandeur of Italian civilization understood as a civilization of free cities.

Beginning with the writings of Joseph Addison and, subsequently, Melchiorre Delfico and Giosue Carducci,¹⁵ San Marino took its proper place within the myth of the Italian communes, their Latin roots, their justice, industry, and freedom: this is how it was enshrined in Italian historical writings across the nineteenth century. That century also saw the discovery of the main legacy of Italy's glorious past in its medieval cities: opulent Florence, cradle of art; learned Bologna, mother of the University; the mighty cities of the Lombard League who, fighting as allies for independence, foreshadowed the *Risorgimento*; piously Franciscan Assisi;

14 In particular, San Marino does not appear in the celebrated essay of Carlo Cattaneo, *La città considerata come principio ideale delle istorie italiane* [1858] (Florence: Vallecchi, 1931). The city had previously been criticized by Montesquieu, Hegel and Sismondi: Albert de Montesquieu, ed., *Voyages de Montesquieu*, vol. 2 (Bordeaux: Gounouilhau, 1896), 81 (cfr. Garosci, *San Marino*, 105); Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Scritti politici*, ed. Armando Plebe (Bari: Laterza, 1961), 140 (cfr. Garosci, *San Marino*, 160ff.). The judgement of Sismondi weighs particularly heavily, not least because his text is the *Urquelle* of the nineteenth century's mythologization of the medieval Italian communes: Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Âge* [1807–1818], vol. 8 (Paris: Furne et C.ie: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1840), 237: "Three, or even four republics, if one counts San Marino, continued to reject the concept of sole rule, but without preserving their liberty, without retaining even a shadow of either popular sovereignty or of the guarantee of the rights and safety of the citizenry." ("Trois, ou même quatre républiques, en comptant San-Marino, ont continué à repousser de leur sein le pouvoir d'un seul, mais sans garder leur liberté, sans conserver aucune ombre, ni de la souveraineté du peuple, ni de la garantie des droits et de la sûreté des citoyens."); I thank Marion Bertholet for having called this passage to my attention); Sismondi, *Storia della libertà in Italia* [1832], vol. 2 (Milan: Vallardi, 1860), 76–77: "After the subjugation of Siena only three republics remain in Italy, namely Lucca, Genoa and Venice, unless one wishes to also count San Marino, a free territory, situated on the side of a mountain in the Romagna, which until our days has been equally secluded from usurpation and from history." ("Dopo l'assoggettamento di Siena tre sole repubbliche rimaneano in Italia, Lucca, Genova e Venezia, quando non si voglia tener conto anche di San Marino, terra libera, situata sulla vetta d'un monte della Romagna, che infino a' di nostri si è celata egualmente alle usurpazioni ed alla istoria.")

15 Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London: printed for Jacob Tonson, within Grays-Inn Gate next Grays-Inn Lane, 1705); Melchiorre Delfico, *Memorie storiche della Repubblica di San Marino* [1804] (Naples: G. Nobile, 1864; repr. anast. Bologna: Atesa, 1981); Giosuè Carducci, *La libertà perpetua di San Marino: Discorso al Senato e al popolo tenuto il 30 settembre 1894* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1947). On these three authors, see Garosci, *San Marino*, 93–106, 165–226 and 355–74, respectively; see also Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 41 ff., 152–54.

Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, and Venice, naval powers all.¹⁶ In this group portrait, San Marino, free throughout the centuries, appeared as a symbolic figure of a perpetual republican liberty, rooted in the bequest of Monte Titano, in the remote era of Late Antiquity, to the city's eponymous saint, and still potent in our days—but which had appropriately reached its apogee in the “medieval moment of independence.”¹⁷ Thus San Marino came to be presented as the first *comune* in Italy, established by free men who gathered together around the deacon Marino, an autochthonous township that did not need “to await the peace of Constance [1183] to draw up its own laws,” and that promulgated statutes that are “among the most ancient of Italy.”¹⁸ A township that had survived with its collective institutions intact and that—crucially—had never been compro-

16 Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, “Roma antica e il Medioevo: Due mitomotori per costruire la storia della nazione e delle ‘piccole patrie’ tra Risorgimento e Fascismo”, in *Storia e piccole patrie: Riflessioni sulla storia locale*, ed. Riccardo Paolo Uguccioni (Pesaro-Ancona: Il Lavoro editoriale, 2017), 78–101. Recent focused studies of civic myths created or resurrected during the nineteenth century include: Paolo Grillo, *Legnano 1176. Una battaglia per la libertà* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2010); Francesca Roversi Monaco, *Il comune di Bologna e re Enzo: costruzione di un mito debole* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2012); Monaco, “«Il gran fatto che dovrà commemorarsi»: L’Alma Mater Studiorum e l’Ottavo Centenario della sua fondazione. Medioevo, memoria e identità a Bologna dopo l’Unità d’Italia”, in *Medievalismi italiani*, 149–162; Francesco Pirani, “Le repubbliche marinare: Archeologia di un’idea,” *ibid.*, 131–48; on Assisi: Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, Lila Elizabeth Yawn, “Forging Medieval Identities: Fortini’s Calendimaggio and Pasolini’s Trilogy of Life”, in *The Middle Ages in the Modern World: Twenty-First-Century Perspectives*, ed. Bettina Bildhauer and Chris Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 186–215. References to San Marino occur in Ilaria Porciani, “L’invenzione del medioevo”, in *Arti e storia nel medioevo*, vol. 4., ed. Enrico Castelnuovo and Giuseppe Sergi (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), 253–79: 278; Mauro Moretti and Ilaria Porciani, “Italy’s Various Middle Ages”, in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, ed. Robert John Weston Evans and Guy P. Marchal (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 177–96: 193; Carpegna Falconieri, *Medioevo militante*, 107; Carpegna Falconieri, “‘Medieval’ Identities in Italy: National, Regional, Local”, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Patrick Geary and Gabor Klaniczay (Amsterdam: Brill, 2013), 319–45: 343.

17 “[M]omento medievale dell’indipendenza”: Garosci, *San Marino*, 12, with specific reference to the interpretations of Delfico and Carducci.

18 Delfico, *Memorie storiche*, 41; cfr. Carducci, *La libertà perpetua*, 12: “The Sammarinese plebs, even before the emergence of the tender shoots of the Italian communes, were already full grown in their liberty,” (“La plebe mariniana, pur avanti che spuntasse il verde dei comuni italiani, già era matura nella libertà,”) and 7: “When the twelfth century swept clean from the Italian annals the barbarian dust, there arose on high Titano and its seven surrounding hills—first among the republics, upright, resolute and complete—the force and the liberty of San Marino.” (“Quando il secolo decimosecondo viene a spazzare via dagli annali italiani la caligine barbarica, prima tra le repubbliche, su l’alto Titano e le sette circostanti colline, scorgesi, diritta ferma ed intera, la forza e la libertà di San Marino.”)

misled by monocratic seigniorial rule during the later Middle Ages or Renaissance.¹⁹

As is well known, during the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries much of Europe was reconstructed in a manner redolent of the medieval. In this context, the fruit of numerous cultural exchanges, various Italian cities experienced the medievalization of their built environment. This process occurred in two main phases. The first, corresponding to the last two decades of the nineteenth century, is epitomized in Italy in the work of Camillo Boito, Alfredo d'Andrade, Alfonso Rubbiani, and Luca Beltrami.²⁰ The second period matches the years of Fascism (1922–1943), an era which saw the exaltation not only of Roman Classicism but also of Italy's medieval legacy. Under Fascism Italian cities rechristened their mayors with the medieval title of *podestà*, urban celebrations of a distinctly medieval–Renaissance tenor were revived or invented, the condottieri of this long Middle Ages were commemorated and exalted, and the historic centers of cities such as Assisi, Arezzo, and San Gimignano were restored (and in certain cases, almost entirely rebuilt).²¹ Fundamentally one could say that, during

19 Delfico, *Memorie storiche*, 27; cfr. Carducci, *La libertà perpetua*, 13: “Here the republic avoided seigniorial rule [by the transformation of the two consuls into the *capitani reggenti*, limited-term heads of state] [...]. And here no one ever dreamt of raising himself up as tyrant.” (“Qui la repubblica evitò signoria [...]. E qui nessuno accennò mai di levarsi tiranno.”) Moreover, it is well known that during the later Middle Ages and the early Modern era, San Marino's government (as those of Lucca, Genoa, and Venice) changed to an oligarchy; hence the negative judgment of Sismondi cited above, n. 14. On the transformation of communal governments into oligarchic or monocratic systems, see Andrea Zorzi, *Le signorie cittadine in Italia, secoli XIV–XV* (Milan: B. Mondadori, 2010); Zorzi, *Tiranni e tirannide nel Trecento italiano* (Rome: Viella, 2013).

20 Guido Zucconi, *L'invenzione del passato. Camillo Boito e l'architettura neomedievale 1855–1890* (Venice: Marsilio, 1997); *Alfredo d'Andrade: tutela e restauro. Torino, Palazzo Reale, Palazzo Madama, 27 giugno–27 settembre 1981*, ed. Maria Grazia Cerri, Daniela Biancolini Fea, and Liliana Pittarello (Florence: Vallecchi, 1981); *Alfonso Rubbiani e la cultura del restauro nel suo tempo (1880–1915): Atti delle giornate di studio su Alfonso Rubbiani e la cultura del restauro del suo tempo (1881–1915), Bologna, 12–14 novembre 1981*, ed. Livia Bertelli and Otello Mazzei (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1986); *Luca Beltrami architetto: Milano tra Ottocento e Novecento*, ed. Luciana Baldrighi (Milan: Electa, 1997); more generally, *Arti e storia nel medioevo*. Vol. 4. *Il medioevo al passato e al presente; Medioevo fantastico: L'invenzione di uno stile nell'architettura tra fine '800 e inizio '900*, ed. Alexandra Chavarría and Guido Zucconi (Florence: all'Insegna del Giglio, 2016). Unfortunately, it was not a rare occurrence that in order to confer an appropriately medieval patina it was deemed necessary to destroy that which was truly medieval, as was the case with Bologna's medieval walls.

21 The bibliography on this topic is vast in both English and Italian. See, in particular, Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy* (Prin-

Fascism, the two eras played distinct roles in the narration of Italian history: Italy in its entirety—the *patria*, the fatherland—was seen as “Roman” (thus the return of the *fasces*, the legions, the eagle banners, the Roman salute, the Mediterranean empire...) while individual cities—the *piccole patrie*, the “little fatherlands”—were viewed as proudly medieval, the source of their glory being ascribed to the communal period.²² San Marino fits perfectly within this chronology and within this historical and historiographic process: the years from ca. 1880 to 1940 are precisely those in which its neomedieval image was being fashioned. One could even say that, during the early 1880s, “a myth constructed in verse, in oration, in works of political history, was still lacking an adequate iconography.”²³ In this poor and isolated region (as evidenced by the photographs and written accounts of various visitors²⁴), the

eton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Loretto Di Nucci, *Fascismo e spazio urbano: Le città storiche dell'Umbria* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1992); Stefano Cavazza, *Piccole patrie: Feste popolari tra regione e nazione durante il Fascismo*, 2nd ed. (Bologna: il Mulino, 2003); D. Medina Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Lasansky, “Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric: The Fascist Redesign of San Gimignano”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 3 (2004): 320–53; Carpegna Falconieri and Yawn, “Forging Medieval Identities”; Carpegna Falconieri, “Roma antica e il Medioevo”, 86 ff.

22 Carpegna Falconieri, “Roma antica e il Medioevo”.

23 “[A]l mito costruito in versi, in orazioni, in saggi di storia politica, mancava [ancora] un’iconografia adeguata”: Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 8. See also Garosci, *San Marino*, 348, citing Tullio Massarani, *Diporti e Veglie* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1897), for whom the architect Francesco Azzurri was “passionately devoted to the matter of translating into a poetry of stone this other, secular poem of a peaceable community” (“appassionatamente devoto all’assunto di tradurre in un poema di pietra quest’altro secolare poema d’una pacifica comunanza”; 491).

24 See, for example, Oreste Brizi, *Quadro storico statistico della Serenissima Repubblica di San Marino* (Florence: Stabilimento artistico Fabris, 1842), 44: “This little city is composed of different neighborhoods, almost all of which are steep and badly paved, and of various little piazzas flanked by the occasional large building but, more commonly, by houses that promise little from the outside, but that on the inside are assembled rather tastefully” (“Questa piccola città si compone di diversi borghi quasi tutti scoscesi e mal lastricati e di varie piazzette fiancheggiate da qualche palazzo ma in generale da case che poco promettono all’esterno, ma che nell’interno sono montate anzichenò con gusto”; cfr. Garosci, *San Marino*, 246); Edmond About, *Rome contemporaine* (Paris: M. Lévy frères et C.ie, 1861): a village “poorly built, poorly paved and poorly maintained” (“mal bâti, mal pavé et mal tenu”; cfr. Garosci, *San Marino*, 246); Corrado Ricci, “San Marino e San Leo”, *Nuova Antologia* 122 = 3rd ser., no. 38 (1893): 242–57, 256: “On the three peaks of Titano gloomy towers loom. The capital of the ancient republic extends westward along the slope of the mountain. All is silent in this eagle’s nest, in the streets all is shuttered, all is deserted.” (“Sulle tre penne del Titano sorgono fosche torri. La capitale della vetusta repubblica si stende nella pendenza del

by-now codified ideological construction was still lacking a symbolic apparatus that could be rapidly assimilated: an artistic, urbanistic, and monumental counterpart that would render immediately perceptible the distant origins of the republic's statehood and independence.

San Marino's new town hall responded perfectly to this exigency.²⁵ Following the abandonment of an earlier project in a Neoclassical style (1836), the new seat of the most important institutions of the republic was constructed between 1884 and 1894 according to the designs of the Roman architect Francesco Azzurri (1827–1901). Recently invested with the presidency of the Accademia di San Luca, Azzurri was instructed to draw inspiration for the project from medieval architecture.²⁶ The president of the commission charged with overseeing the construction of the town hall was the Sammarinese painter and patriot Pietro Tonnini (1820–1894). A wealth of correspondence preserved in the Archivio di Stato di San Marino enables us to follow in detail the progress of the building's construction and decoration, as well as to reconstruct the network of personalities involved in various

monte, a ponente. Tutto è silenzioso in quel nido d'aquila, tutto chiuso, tutto deserto nelle vie.") The text of this last is reproduced together with suggestive photographs in *Il Montefeltro: Trentadue tavole fotografiche di Alessandro Cassarini illustrate da Corrado Ricci* (Bologna: Stab. Tip. Zamorani e Albertazzi, 1894). On the isolated location of, and difficult access to, San Marino and the overcoming of these obstacles, see Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 131–51.

25 On the town hall: *Repubblica di S. Marino: Inaugurazione del nuovo palazzo del Consiglio Principe Sovrano, 30 settembre 1894: numero unico* (Rome: E. Perino, 1894); Onofrio Fattori, *Il nuovo palazzo governativo della repubblica di San Marino* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1894); Garosci, *San Marino*, 348–51; Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 8; Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 91–92, 151 ff.; Leo Marino Morganti, *Il patrimonio dello Stato: L'architettura storica della Repubblica di San Marino* (San Marino: AIEP, 2001), *ad indicem*; a useful Web resource is Francesca Michelotti, *Storia palazzo pubblico*, www.consigliograndeegenerale.sm/on-line/home/listituzione/palazzo-pubblico/storia.html, consulted 14 February 2019. The most thorough recent account is *Un palazzo medievale dell'Ottocento: Architettura, arte e letteratura nel palazzo pubblico di San Marino*, ed. Guido Zucconi (Milan: Jaca Book, 1995).

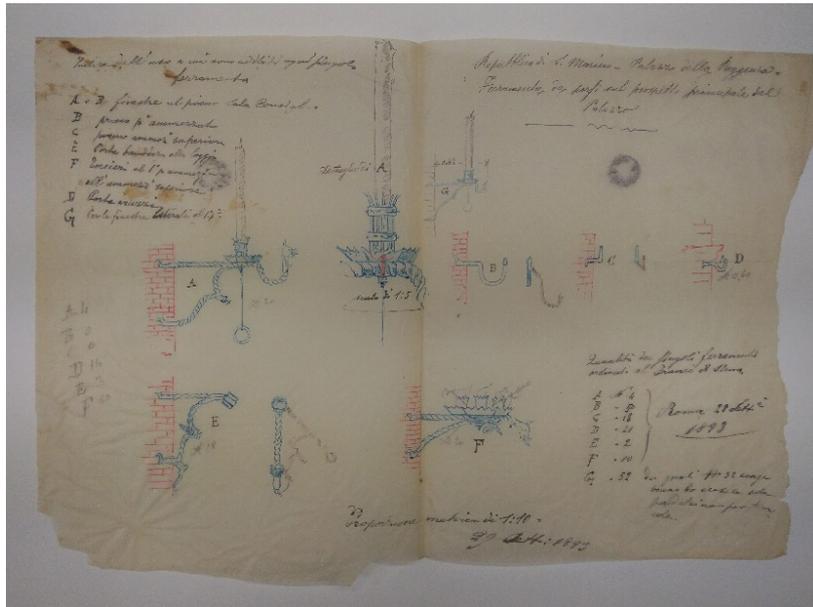
26 Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 8; Michelotti, *Storia palazzo pubblico*. On the architect, who is commemorated in a bust dated 1903 and placed at the town hall's entrance: Marida Talamona, "Francesco Azzurri architetto romano", in *Un palazzo medievale*, 35–58. Azzurri served two terms as president of the Accademia di San Luca, 1880–82 and 1893–95, his tenures bracketing the construction in San Marino; "Presidenti dell'Accademia di San Luca", *Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, http://www.accademiasanluca.eu/docs/accademici/elenco_2015/presidenti_san.luca.pdf, consulted 5 February 2019. Azzurri designed numerous edifices in Rome, including the hospital of S. Maria della Pietà; he also designed the bell-tower of San Marino's Borgo Maggiore (1896).

capacities in the enterprise, from the chief of works Giuseppe Refi, to Marino Fattori, Carlo Malagola, and Marin-Joseph-Gaston Noël des Vergers.²⁷

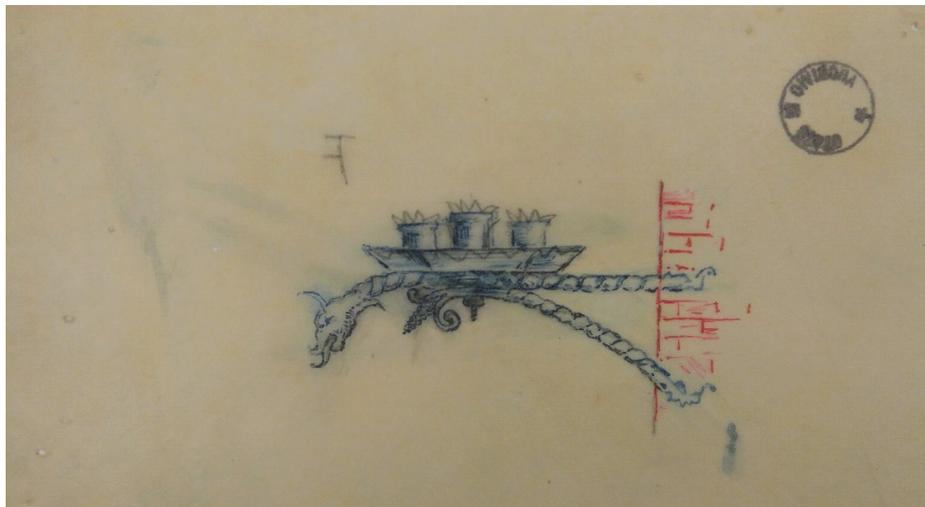


2. Pietro Tonnini (?), sketch for the façade of San Marino's town hall, AS RSM, *Fabbrica del palazzo pubblico, Disegni, piante, corrispondenza* (F. Azzurri), b. 56. © Istituti culturali RSM

²⁷ Repubblica di San Marino, Archivio di Stato (=AS RSM), *Fabbrica del palazzo pubblico, Disegni, piante, corrispondenza* (F. Azzurri), b. 56, fasc. 2 (drawings), 3 (sketches, various correspondence) and 4 (145 letters from Tonnini to Azzurri dated between 1881 and 1894 [unfortunately Azzurri's responses are not preserved in the AS RSM]; various correspondence dated 1886 to 1895, including several letters from Carlo Malagola). The letters clarify the role of Tonnini: he directed the work and shared with Azzurri—who remained in Rome where he served as Consul General of the Republic of San Marino—architectural suggestions and technical problems. Among the numerous relevant letters, a few can serve as examples: discussion of Malagola (e.g., 26 October 1886), discussion of Noël de Vergers (2 August 1892, 7 August 1894), discussion of the designs for the dais for the *capitani reggenti*, San Marino's heads of state (31 January 1891). The AS RSM also preserves a set of 13 large-format drawings, discovered in 2008, containing some of Azzurri's planning drawings for the town hall.



3. Francesco Azzurri, sketch for wrought-iron lamps, “Ferramenta da porsi sul prospetto principale del palazzo,” dated 1893. AS RSM, *Fabbrica del palazzo pubblico, Disegni, piante, corrispondenza* (F. Azzurri), b. 56. © Istituti culturali RSM



4. Francesco Azzurri, sketch for a wrought-iron lamp, AS RSM, *Fabbrica del palazzo pubblico, Disegni, piante, corrispondenza* (F. Azzurri), b. 56. © Istituti culturali RSM



5. Francesco Azzurri, sketch for three windows, AS RSM, *Fabbrica del palazzo pubblico*, *Disegni, piante, corrispondenza* (F. Azzurri), b. 56. © Istituti culturali RSM

This “undertaking of pure late romantic fantasy,”²⁸ through which the core institutions of the Republic of San Marino cloak themselves in medieval guise, must be read, even in the modesty of its dimensions, alongside other celebrated instances of Neogothic architecture constructed for analogous purposes: above all, London’s Palace of Westminster, seat of the Houses of Parliament (1840–1865), the city halls of Munich (1867–1908) and Vienna (1872–1883), and the Hungarian Parliament Building in Budapest (1883–1902). More city-state than miniature nation, the immediate model for San Marino was that which was perceived as the medieval republic *par excellence*: Florence. Despite its

28 “[O]perazione di pura fantasia tardo romantica”: Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 8.

significantly smaller scale, the Sammarinese town hall evokes the Tuscan republic's Palazzo della Signoria, attributed to Arnolfo di Cambio. Dating to the early fourteenth century (though the charming mullioned windows in its facade are Neogothic), the Palazzo della Signoria had not many years previously served as the first seat of the parliament of the Kingdom of Italy, from 1865 to 1871.²⁹



6. Those responsible for the town hall's construction, as represented on a contemporaneous stamp (detail)

²⁹ According to Garosci, *San Marino*, 358, the town hall references, albeit rather imprecisely ("arieggia"), the Palazzo della Signoria. By contrast, according to Tullio Massarani (cit. from Garosci, *San Marino*, 349) the edifice hearkens back to the Florentine Bargello ("fa subito pensare, ragion tenuta delle dimensioni, a quel palazzo del Podestà, detto oggi del Bargello, in Firenze"). Pietro Tonnini alludes to the use of models from the medieval Casentino, a historical region to the north of Arezzo, for the town hall's decoration; AS RSM, *Fabbrica del palazzo pubblico*, b. 56, fasc. 4, letter of 22 September 1893.



7. San Marino's town hall today (photo found online, with Creative Commons license)



8. Florence, Palazzo della Signoria (photo found online, with Creative Commons license)

Republican Florence was certainly the flower of the medieval communes. But it was also opulent. The construction of the town hall of San Marino in imitation of the Florentine one points to a juncture of politics and culture that underpins the grand urbanistic interventions of the first decades of the twentieth century: the passing over of an opportunity to celebrate the liberty of a frugal rural community—a model stretching back to Republican Rome—in favor of the glorification of a wealthy city, urban and urbane.³⁰ The years of the construction of the town hall were those of the first projects designed to bring tourism to San Marino.³¹ They also coincided with the publication of *L'archivio governativo* of Carlo Malagola,³² which provides the chronological foundation for modern histories of San Marino, identifying, surveying, and ordering the documents of the republic's Archivio di Stato, the protagonists of which are now memorialized in the names of San Marino's streets and piazzas.³³ The famous archivist, whose correspondence with Tonnini is now included among the papers of archive he so carefully catalogued, was from Bologna. And it was now to Bologna—to the neomedieval city of the palace of King Enzo, of the Aemilia Ars, the Italian equivalent of the Arts and Crafts movement, and the eighth centenary of the university—that San Marino turned: not only to the archivist Malagola, but also to the jurist Pietro Ellero and, above all, to the celebrated poet and

30 Cfr. Garosci, *San Marino*, 350.

31 Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 85 ff.

32 Carlo Malagola, *L'Archivio governativo della Repubblica di San Marino riordinato e descritto: Aggiunti gli statuti sammarinesi dal 1295 alla meta del secolo XIV* (Bologna: Fava e Garagnani, 1891; anastatic reprint San Marino: Biblioteca di San Marino, 1981).

33 According to art. 3 of the Legge 26 settembre 1980, n. 75, *Adeguamento continuo nell'ordinamento topografico ed ecografico*, the Giunte di Castello (organs equivalent to city councils, one per administrative district) are responsible for San Marino's toponyms, which must be approved by the Archivio di Stato. The *Ordinamento stradale approvato dal consiglio grande e generale con la legge 74 del 26 settembre 1980* [sic.], 58–59, mandates that the names of San Marino's streets, piazzas, and other civic spaces be divided into distinct groups, several of which are rooted in medieval documents housed in the AS RSM. Among these are Groups 7 (names drawn from the *Placito feretrano*, a document dated 885 and considered to be the oldest attestation of the liberty of San Marino), 8 (from the *inquisito* of Raniero, abbot of S. Anastasio, on the meaning of liberty, dated 3 July 1296), 9 (from the document dated 10 February 1320, which transformed the men residing in Busignano into inhabitants of San Marino), 11 (the acquisition of Pietracuta, dated 28 December 1375), and 12 (from the third statute of 1353). Other medieval persons linked to the history of San Marino are included in Groups 27, 28 and 30.

professor at the University of Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum,” Giosue Carducci, who was invited to present the inaugural address at the town hall’s official opening on 30 September 1894. His address was deemed so important for the history of San Marino that until recently school-children in the republic were required to memorize its opening chapter.³⁴

3. The Twentieth Century

The years of the construction of the town hall were also those of the Arengo movement, which culminated in the meeting of 25 March 1906 at which the assembly of the heads of San Marino’s families became the municipality’s formally recognized electoral body, effectively ending oligarchical rule.³⁵ While the creation of a communal assembly was certainly a democratic innovation, this too was proposed in a format that evoked the Middle Ages. Specifically, it was couched as a *return* to the *arengo*, an assembly of the citizens of the commune which had not met since the sixteenth century, and thus to the purest form of medieval participatory democracy. That which was new came to be proposed as old, change was presented as a renewal of tradition: a process that was widely diffused in contemporary Italy, and that is met again in San Marino’s history in 1925, with the extension of the title of “captain of the Castle” (*capitano di Castello*), already present in three of San Marino’s boroughs, to all ten of the republic’s newly established administrative districts, termed Castles (*Castelli*).³⁶ In this manner a

34 Carducci, *La libertà perpetua; Repubblica di S. Marino: Inaugurazione del nuovo palazzo*; Fattori, *Il nuovo palazzo*; AS RSM, *Fabbrica del palazzo pubblico*, b. 56, fasc. 5: Libro d’Oro per l’inaugurazione del nuovo palazzo pubblico (Golden Book for the inauguration of the new town hall). See Garosci, *San Marino*, 327–75; Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 151–54. Pietro Tonnini could not take part in the town hall’s inauguration as he had passed away the previous 24 August.

35 Renzo Bonelli, “Gli istituti fondamentali della costituzione sammarinese e la loro evoluzione – dall’arengo al referendum”, in *Storia e ordinamento della Repubblica di San Marino*, 164–75; Bonelli, *Gli organi dei poteri pubblici nell’ordinamento della Repubblica di S. Marino* (San Marino: A.T.E., 1984), 19 ff.; Giordano Bruno Reffi, “Pietro Franciosi e il movimento pro Arengo”, in *La tradizione politica di San Marino. Dalle origini dell’indipendenza al pensiero politico di Pietro Franciosi*, ed. Elisabetta Righi Iwanejko (Ancona: Il Lavoro editoriale, 1988), 473–85.

36 Legge 16 marzo 1925, n. 10. Before that date only Fiorentino, Montegiardino, Faetano, and Serravalle were known as Castelli. The districts’ current names were established with the Legge 30 novembre 1979, n. 75, *Riforma delle Giunte di Castello*, which also reduced their number from ten to nine, with the merger of Montale and Fratta as “Città.”

public office equivalent to mayor was established in the Republic of San Marino with a title—captain of the Castle—of pellucid medieval resonance. This decision was followed shortly by a similar one effective across the Kingdom of Italy as a whole, when on 4 February 1926 the title of *podestà* was established to designate the head of a municipal government.³⁷

The phase of San Marino's most profound transformation into a neomedieval city corresponded with the years of Fascism³⁸ and with the activities of Gino Zani (1882–1964), a Sammarinese civil engineer.³⁹ Trained in Bologna—a cultural background as apparent in the twentieth-century remedievalization of San Marino as it was in the nineteenth-century construction of its town hall⁴⁰—Gino Zani was a pioneer in the use of reinforced concrete. A practical and rational individual with socialist tendencies, a Mason for a few years and then a somewhat reluctant fascist,⁴¹ Zani had worked for many years on the rebuilding

37 Carpegna Falconieri, “Roma antica e il Medioevo”, 91–92, 100.

38 There is a robust literature on the complex relationships between medievalism and Italian fascism; see Carpegna Falconieri, “Roma antica e il Medioevo”, and Davide Iacono, “Condottieri in camicia nera. L'uso dei capitani di ventura nell'immaginario medievale fascista”, in *Medievalismi italiani*, 53–66. Several papers on this theme pertaining to various nations were presented at the international conference, *The Middle Ages in the Modern World*, Rome, 21–24 November 2018 (e.g., Davide Iacono, Pedro Alexandre Martins, and Andrea Tomedi), <https://themamo.org/>, consulted 5 February 2019. On fascism in San Marino, which had almost exactly the same duration (1923–1943) as that in Italy: Anna Lisa Carlotti, *Storia del partito fascista sammarinese* (Milano: Celuc, 1973); by contrast, discussions of medievalism in fascist San Marino are limited exclusively to the literature on Gino Zani, for which see *infra*.

39 *L'architettura di Gino Zani per la ricostruzione di Reggio Calabria, 1909–1935*, ed. Massimo Lo Curzio (Reggio Calabria-Rome: Gangemi, 1986); Laura Rossi, *Gino Zani, ingegnere 1882–1964* (Repubblica di San Marino: SUMS, Busto Arsizio: Nomos, 2015), and now: *Gino Zani: L'ingegnere, l'architetto, lo storico*, which contains the acts of a conference held in 2014 on the fiftieth anniversary of his death. A well-built and useful website is *Istituto ingegnere Gino Zani*, <https://www.ginozani.org/>, consulted 14 February 2019.

40 Rossi, *Gino Zani, ingegnere*, 28–31; Laura Rossi, “Il contesto storico-politico di San Marino e la figura di Zani dai primi anni del XX secolo sino all'assunzione di incarichi per gli Istituti culturali”, in *Gino Zani: L'ingegnere, l'architetto, lo storico*, 41–85: 63; Zucconi, “L'opera di Gino Zani alla luce di nuove prospettive critiche”, 144; Morganti, “Diversamente moderno”, 154–56; Morganti, “Opere e progetti”, in *Gino Zani: L'ingegnere, l'architetto, lo storico*, 179–304: 182–84.

41 The political positions of Gino Zani, who tended not to accept political appointments, have yet to be fully made clear: Rossi, *Gino Zani, ingegnere*, 106–10; Gino Zani, “Gino”, in *Gino Zani: L'ingegnere, l'architetto, lo storico*, 35–40: 38–39; Rossi, “Il contesto storico-politico”, esp. 61–66, 71–73; *contra*, Massimo Lo Curzio, “L'opera di Gino Zani a Reggio Calabria”, in *Gino Zani: L'ingegnere, l'architetto, lo storico*, 87–122: 91, 113.

of Reggio Calabria in the wake of the devastating earthquake of the Straits of Messina (28 December 1908). Several of his works for private clients at Reggio already exhibit an interest in forms that fit within a medieval and Renaissance eclecticism.⁴² The twentieth century brought to San Marino a quantitative escalation of medievalizing work when compared to the era of Francesco Azzurri. It is no longer a question of rebuilding a single edifice—no matter how symbolically relevant—but rather of the reconstruction of an entire city. This totalizing approach by an architect endowed with an overall architectural vision coincided with the theories regarding monuments and their essential relationship to the surrounding environment then being championed by Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1947) and Corrado Ricci (1858–1934)—theories that led, in 1939, to the passing of an important law regarding the preservation and management of cultural heritage.⁴³ The ties between Zani and Ricci, in particular, are well attested. Ricci, a resident of Ravenna (another city with an important medieval and medievalizing architectural past), was president of the Commissione governativa per la conservazione dei ricordi storici sammarinesi e delle antichità, which was established in 1916 to oversee the preservation of San Marino’s cultural heritage and in 1919 began the restoration of its perimeter walls. A well-known character in Italy’s cultural history, Ricci was enchanted by the Montefeltro and by San Marino, of which he left vivid descriptions.⁴⁴ He was the first to realize that the integration of the city of San Marino within its broader territory should become the guiding

42 *Ibid.*, 103–04. It has been noted that Zani’s stylistic transformations were the opposite of the normal sequence for his time: he passed from art nouveau (in its typically Italian incarnation known as Liberty style) to neomedievalism, instead of the much more common opposite movement: Morganti, “Diversamente moderno”, 170.

43 Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 26; Tamagnini, “L’importanza dell’opera di Gino Zani”, 21; Alessandro Galassi, “Gino Zani e l’identità della Città-Stato”, in *Gino Zani: L’ingegnere, l’architetto, lo storico*, 25–28: 27; Rossi, “Il contesto storico-politico”, 55; Lo Curzio, “L’opera di Gino Zani a Reggio Calabria”, 91; Gilberto Rossini, “Gino Zani. La trasformazione della città dal 1927 al 1963”, in *Gino Zani: L’ingegnere, l’architetto, lo storico*, 131–42: 141; Zucconi, “L’opera di Gino Zani alla luce di nuove prospettive critiche”, 145–49; Morganti, “Opere e progetti”, 237–38. The law referenced is no. 1089, dated 1 June 1939.

44 Ricci, “San Marino e San Leo”, 242–57; Ricci, *Il Montefeltro: Trentadue tavole*; Ricci, *La Repubblica di San Marino* (Bergamo: Istituto d’arti grafiche, 1903); Ricci, “Nostalgie feltresche”, in *Id.*, *Figure e fantasmi* (Milan: Hoepli, 1931), 327–52. On Ricci’s ties to San Marino: Garosci, *San Marino*, 343–48.

principle for Sammarinese identity, which would no longer be determined solely by the forbidding Monte Titano or individual buildings to be reconstructed along neo-medieval lines, but by the entire city inserted within its full and unique environmental context, an approach embraced fully by Zani. Ricci wrote the preface to Zani's *Le fortificazioni del monte Titano* (1933), an essay on historical reconstruction and a profile of the architectural project that preceded by only a few years the author's massive reconstruction of San Marino.⁴⁵



9. The walls of San Marino (photo by author, February 2019)

⁴⁵ Gino Zani, *Le fortificazioni del monte Titano*, with preface by Corrado Ricci (Naples: Istituto arti grafiche G. Rispoli, 1933); anastatic reprint, with an introduction by Guido Zucconi, San Marino: Banca agricola commerciale della Repubblica di San Marino, 1997).

Many years later, in a second historical work published shortly before his death, Zani described the skyline he had envisioned for San Marino:

Seen with the eyes of fantasy, the fourteenth-century Ghibelline stronghold on Monte Titano seems romantic and worthy of admiration, crowned by three fortresses and three slender pennons, guarded by high walls, by even higher towers, by swallow-tail crenellations whose profiles are etched, iron-grey, against the sky.⁴⁶

This phantasmagoria is what we see realized today. Zani located San Marino's distinctiveness precisely within its system of fortifications, stating explicitly that he found "in the system of fortifications the cornerstone of the identity of San Marino, the equivalent in stone of its mythic civil and religious cohesion."⁴⁷ He rebutted those who noted the preponderance of Renaissance and sixteenth-century elements within the walls by pointing out the "uniformly fourteenth-century" character of the defensive constructions, ensuring that the fortifications were reconstructed in forms deriving primarily from that era.⁴⁸ This—and not the preservation through the ages

46 "Visto con gli occhi della fantasia poté sembrare ammirabile e suggestivo il trecentesco castello ghibellino del monte Titano, sormontato da tre rocche e da tre penne, munito di alte mura, di torri ancora più alte, di merli a coda di rondine, che profilavano sul cielo le loro sagome ferrigne": Gino Zani, *Il territorio di San Marino attraverso i secoli* (Faenza: F.lli Lega, 1963), 155.

47 "Nel sistema di fortificazioni, l'elemento cardine dell'identità di San Marino, l'equivalente in pietra della sua mitica coesione civile e religiosa": Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 26, quotation on 237. See also Rossi, "Il contesto storico-politico di San Marino", 59, and Morganti, "Opere e progetti", 237.

48 "[U]niformemente trecentesco": Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 33, 39. See to this effect Zani, *Le fortificazioni del monte Titano, passim*; Zani, *Il territorio di San Marino*, 152: "In the fourteenth century the *castello* of San Marino reached its greatest productivity, and its inhabitants knew how to command the esteem and respect of the surrounding towns" ("Nel secolo decimoquarto il castello di San Marino raggiunse la sua maggiore efficienza, ed i suoi abitanti seppero acquistarsi la stima e il rispetto dei paesi circostanti"), and 154: "Based on what I have presented thus far, there can be no doubt that the golden age for the fortifications of Mount Titano was the fourteenth century, the only century in which the Commune had a complete and organic system of fortifications aligned with the needs of the time." ("Da quanto ho fin qui esposto, nessuno potrà dubitare che il periodo aureo per le mura castellane del Monte Titano sia rappresentato dal secolo XIV, l'unico secolo durante il quale il Comune abbia avuto un completo ed organico sistema di fortificazioni, conforme alle necessità del tempo.")

of purely medieval structures—is the real reason for which the fortresses and walls of San Marino, in contrast to the military architecture of other centers of habitation in the region (e.g., Rimini, Pesaro, Urbino, or even closer at hand, Montescudo and, naturally, San Leo⁴⁹), present themselves not as Renaissance structures but as medieval ones.

The immense labors involved lasted from 1923 to 1940. When Zani's works ended, an entire perimeter wall had been added, a fortress had sprung up *ex novo* around the Torre della Cesta, a veritable triumph of bartizans and barbicans, glacis and battlements, arches and crenellations and covered escapeways. After the walls and the three towers came the turn of the residential area; it too was subjected to an extensive and detailed medievalization.⁵⁰ Imposing projects were carried out at the church and city gate of San Francesco,⁵¹ the facades of houses and public buildings alike were refashioned, streets and piazzas were transformed into an interlinked system of terraces, stairways, and balustrades.⁵² The final result was a city that diverged in important ways from its historical appearance, with its primary entrance from below (porta San Francesco), a city that was now homogeneous, clean and rational even in its neomedieval essence.⁵³ The result appeared erudite and rooted in historical study,⁵⁴ but it was not overly philological in its approach, leaving space for artistic invention. In the words of Luca Morganti, “A sort of lightness in the overall organization of the fortress produces an estranging effect that reveals an oneiric ancestry linked to the imaginative capacity of play.”⁵⁵

49 On San Leo, see Daniele Sacco and Alessandro Tosarelli, *La Fortezza di Montefeltro: San Leo: Processi di trasformazione, archeologia dell'architettura e restauri storici* (Florence: all'Insegna del Giglio, 2016).

50 “[M]edievalizzazione capillare”: Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 46–47.

51 Gino Zani, “I restauri della porta di San Francesco,” extract from *Libertas perpetua* 4, no. 2 (1936): 1–14.

52 A chronology of Zani's projects appears in Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 90–91. See also Morganti, “Opere e progetti”, 236–58; for works undertaken in the other *Castelli* of the Republic of San Marino, *ibid.*, 301–04.

53 Rossini, “Gino Zani. La trasformazione della città dal 1927 al 1963,” 136; Morganti, “Opere e progetti”, 275–76.

54 On Zani as a historian: Rossi, “Il contesto storico-politico”, 78 ff.

55 “Una sorta di leggerezza dell'organizzazione generale della rocca produce un effetto stranante che rivela ascendenze oniriche legate alla capacità immaginativa del gioco.” Morganti, “Diversamente moderno”, 161.



10. San Marino, Porta San Francesco (photo found online, with Creative Commons license)

But what motives underpinned the launch and the completion of a project of such grand dimensions and notable consequences? Zani's ambitious project responded to numerous exigencies. First and foremost, it sought to remedy the objectively dismal physical conditions of San Marino's architectural patrimony. The walls were in disastrous condition and the entirety of the old city was in need of a general sprucing up to make it suitable for modern habitation. Zani's concept of a complete and detailed reconstruction of the city prevailed over a second, competing proposal, which would have consolidated San Marino's walls and fortresses but left them in a state of ruin, in homage to a Romantic aesthetic that was no longer widely shared.⁵⁶ Second, the

⁵⁶ This Romantic solution was championed, in particular, by the architect Vincenzo Moraldi; see *Gino Zani. L'ingegnere, l'architetto, lo storico, ad indicem.*

scope of the works promised employment to construction workers and stone-carvers, following a politics of employment through vast public works that aligned with policies in fascist Italy, more widely diffused in the political and economic context of the 1930s. The rebuilding of San Marino, together with the construction and expansion of its infrastructure, above all the railway link to Rimini, was intended to support the development of tourism to the republic.⁵⁷ In addition to drawing heritage tourism, the decision to accentuate the city's medieval features during the city's reconstruction served as an effective strategy to represent the political and social power held by the provincial intellectuals and members of the Sammarinese ruling class, who at that time distinguished themselves by membership in the fascist party. In comparison with its Italian counterpart, San Marino's fascist party lacked revolutionary tendencies, staking out instead a conservative position that championed a return to pre-1906 oligarchic government; for this reason too, it supported a recuperation of the city's 'medieval' appearance.⁵⁸ But, as was the case across Italy, this 'return to the Middle Ages' was widely embraced, even by the middle and working classes who loved the costume festivals promoted by the state and for which Italy's restored and reconstructed medieval centers served as a worthy stage.⁵⁹ One cannot understand the case of San Marino in its entirety without keeping in mind that this same period saw such related projects as the near-complete rebuilding of Assisi and San Gimignano, the launch of the "Saracen Joust" of Arezzo (Giostra del Saracino; 1931) and the *Palio* of Ferrara (1937), and the reconstruction in Verona of the house (and balcony!) of Romeo's Juliet (1939).⁶⁰ Indeed, beginning in 1935, a true and proper tourist route came to be established in San Marino,

57 Rossi, "Il contesto storico-politico", 58–59; Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*.

58 Morganti, "Diversamente moderno", 171. Likewise in Italy, the local fascist elites who during the 1930s (re)created medieval and Renaissance style festivals belonged largely to the old class of traditionalist, non-industrialized agrarian landholders: Cavazza, *Piccole patrie*, 205.

59 *Ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*, *passim*; Carpegna Falconieri, *Medioevo militante*, 106–20; Carpegna Falconieri, "Roma antica e il Medioevo"; Elisa Bernard, "La Casa di Giulietta di Antonio Avena. Quando l'architettura diventa 'coup de théâtre'", in *Medioevo fantastico: L'invenzione di uno stile nell'architettura tra fine '800 e inizio '900*, 74–85. Analogous examples abound, above all in central Italy; here it suffices to mention, e.g., Gubbio, Perugia, Ravenna, Spoleto, and Todi.

one “that was offered [...] to a nascent mass tourism and that came to form part of the [city’s] traditional image.”⁶¹



11. Rocca della “Guaita” of San Marino (photo found online, with Creative Commons license)

Thus we can say that the ‘remedievalization’ of the historic center of San Marino was important above all for political reasons, aligning with the fundamental tenet of fascist culture that architecture is an instrument for governing.⁶² The operations undertaken at San Marino, financed in part by the Italian government, were promoted in particular by Giuliano Gozi (1894–1955), Secretary of State for matters foreign and domestic and the effective head of the Republic of San Marino during the entire fascist period.⁶³ Gozi became personally involved in the project, intervening in the plan of development and furnishing Zani with site plans and suggestions. Gozi, wrote Guido Zucconi, understood “the necessity of accelerating the medievalization of the old town, in the name of a recovered historical identity. He successfully articulated a concept that determined the architectural destiny of the city of Monte Titano: Fascism offered the only means by which it was possible

61 “[C]he viene offerto [...] al nascente turismo di massa e che entra a far parte dell’immagine tradizionale”: Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 39. The same author, in his most recent study, “L’opera di Gino Zani alla luce di nuove prospettive critiche,” underlines the degree to which the case of San Marino is *not* atypical: 143 ff.

62 Morganti, “Diversamente moderno”, 173.

63 *Gino Zani: L’ingegnere, l’architetto, lo storico, ad indicem.*

to create an urban image suited to its history.”⁶⁴ The same scholar observed, moreover, how it was “paradoxically during the twenty years of Fascism, or rather, during the historical moment in which its centuries-long autonomy was reduced to a minimum, that San Marino was subjected as never before to a process of symbolic self-glorification.”⁶⁵ Looking to Italy, this medievalization on a grand scale is possibly linked to the political and cultural activities of Pietro Fedele, medieval historian and Italy’s Minister of Public Education from 1925 to 1928,⁶⁶ and it is certainly to be compared to analogous initiatives undertaken in other cities on the peninsula with the same triple objective of encouraging tourism, expressing the self-fashioning of the provincial ruling classes, and reinforcing civic identity, defined as a sense of the *piccola patria*, the hometown as the fatherland. This last, in particular, was the fundamental impulse driving Gino Zani’s project for San Marino, where city and nation perfectly coincided. His intensive campaign of public works, conceived from the outset as a unified project, had the stated objective of, in Zani’s own words, “giving a face to a republic that has survived intact into the present day in its spirit and in its medieval institutions.”⁶⁷

Even the use of local sandstone carried a strong message of civic identity, for its regional origins, for permitting the recourse to traditional construction materials and techniques, and for honoring the republic’s namesake, St. Marinus (in Italian, San Marino), who had himself been a stone-cutter.⁶⁸ This material was not intended to be used only for the oldest part of San Marino, the medieval zone that would now also become neomedieval, but for the city as a whole, both within and without the walls—and indeed this is what

64 “[L]a necessità di accelerare il processo di medievalizzazione del borgo antico, nel nome di una ritrovata identità storica. Giunge ad affermare un concetto determinante per i destini edilizi della città del Titano: il fascismo rappresenta l’unico tramite attraverso il quale è possibile creare un’immagine urbana adeguata alla sua storia”: Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 23, 19–26 discuss the Fascist period as a whole. On travel guides of the period: Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 105–10, 163–68.

65 “[P]aradossalmente, proprio nel ventennio fascista, ossia nella fase storica ove la sua plurisecolare autonomia si riduce al minimo, San Marino viene come non mai sottoposta ad un’opera di autoesaltazione simbolica”: Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 23.

66 On Fedele, see: *La figura di Pietro Fedele intellettuale, storico, politico*, ed. Cesare Crova (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 2016).

67 “[D]are un volto ad una repubblica che si è conservata intatta fino ad oggi nel suo spirito e nelle sue istituzioni medievali”: Gino Zani, quoted in Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 7.

68 *Ibid.*, 8–9.

came to pass. This broad deployment of cut stone masonry is the primary difference, in quality as well as quantity, between San Marino and the other ancient cities of the Italian peninsula that were ‘remedievalized’ during the 1930s. In San Marino, hand-cut stone, with its capacity to generate a sense of a homogeneous urban fabric, would be used not only for the historic centers but also for the new urban expansions. Thus unified, the urban landscape as a whole would be imbued with the evocative force of the past.⁶⁹ As Pugin and Ruskin had claimed decades earlier for the Gothic style in England, the role that Zani attributed to his own neomedieval architecture was that of recuperating and revivifying a ‘typical Sammarinese’ style, the national style of a little population stubbornly rooted in their mountain.⁷⁰ A population—and consequently an architectural style—that in Zani’s own words was “rugged, simple, [and] poor,” made of the same stones quarried from the mountain on which the city arose.⁷¹ And it seems to me that in this endeavor Zani, the engineer son of a stonemason father, was successful.



12. Gino Zani at his desk. © Archivio Zani, San Marino

69 Zucconi, “L’opera di Gino Zani alla luce di nuove prospettive critiche”, 148.

70 Morganti, “Diversamente moderno”, 161 ff.

71 “Ruvido, semplice, povero”: Gino Zani, *La chiesa vecchia di San Marino* (San Marino: Arti grafiche F. Della Balda, 1935), 11; cfr. Zucconi, *Gino Zani*, 14; Morganti, “Diversamente moderno”, 158.

The anti-Fascist purges of the Postwar period did involve, to a certain degree, the persons behind San Marino's neomedieval transformation, but it had no effect on the architectural fabric of the city. To those who criticized the Fascist administration for having wasted vast resources on constructing crenellations and castles instead of workers' housing, Gino Zani, not a fascist but a practical man, replied that it was precisely his crenellations that led to tourists' appreciation of San Marino—a result quite other than unproductive.⁷² As indeed it was then, and as it is still today.⁷³

⁷² *Ibid.*, 77–78; Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 247–48. In 1950 Gino Zani was appointed overall director of the cultural institutions of the Republic of San Marino, a post that he held until his death. On his activities in this role, see Rossi, “Il contesto storico-politico di San Marino”, 77–85.

⁷³ Bagnaresi, *Miti e stereotipi*, 183–244, on San Marino's representation in travel and tourism literature from the Postwar period to the present day; in particular, see 204–14 for the connections among identity, appropriation of the past, and folkloric recreations (mostly in relation to the Corpo dei Balestrieri and to museums of arms and armor). San Marino entered the world of theatrical fiction in the immediate postwar period with the film *Prince of Foxes* (1949, dir. Henry King) starring Tyrone Power, Orson Welles and Wanda Hendrix (cfr. Morganti, “Diversamente moderno”, 255–56).

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