

GUIDONIA CITTÀ AERO-FUTURISTA

A RATIONALIST AND FASCIST COMPANY TOWN (1934-1938)

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Comrades.

Today, third day of the year XVI of the Fascist Era, Guidonia is starting its very life, with a baptism at once religious and martial.

The town is dedicated to the memory of General Guidoni who was one of my collaborators during the first years of the aeronautical revival. He well deserved to have his name be remembered for centuries.

This town appears in front of us with the typical aspect of Fascist architecture: solid, pleasant, and modern, worthy of our time.

Thus I must address my vivid congratulations to our comrade Calza Bini, who designed and built the city, to his immediate collaborators, and to all the workers.

Not long ago I inaugurated Aprilia, the fourth commune of the reclaimed Pontine region: the Town of the Earth (Città della terra). Today I inaugurate Guidonia, the Town of the Skies (Città dell'aria).

Between the two events there is a very intimate connection. Indeed, in order to protect the farmers and allow them to fearlessly cultivate the Italian soil, one must constantly patrol the skies of the Fatherland.

The Italian flying aces have done it in the past and will continue to do so in the future, with the legendary heroism that the world has recognized to them.¹

On October 31, 1937, Benito Mussolini inaugurated Guidonia, the new town designed to provide housing for the military and civil personal employed by the *Centro Studi ed Esperienze della Regia Aeronautica* and the adjacent airport of Monte Celio near Tivoli. The Duce had personally requested that, in proximity to the experimental center of Aeronautics, at that time one of the most important and better equipped in the world, "a new urban center rise where the most rational and economic utilization of the intellectual and industrial workforce could be achieved, and which would be built in compliance with the principle of *de-urbanization* that had to be followed wherever possible."²

In this foundational context it is important to refer to the date of May 26, 1927, that marked an momentous turning point for the Fascist urbanistic policy. In his

notorious "Ascension Day's Speech" Mussolini defined new and radical objectives for the economic, social, and urbanistic reorganization of the National State. One of the main decisions was to limit the natural urban growth and the uncontrolled geographic expansion of urban territories by re-equilibrating city and countryside. A major program of public works was initiated to restructure and modernize towns and countryside through the construction of post offices, train stations, roads and railways, and representative buildings such as Case del Fascio. The reclamation of the Pontine Marshes and the foundation of industrial towns in Istria (Astria) and Sardinia (Fertilia and Carbonia) followed directly this line of ideological and technical action. A quote from Diane Ghirardo summarizes adequately the program of which Guidonia was also a part:

The establishment of New Towns under the auspices of revolutionary Fascism was part of the promise of a presumably forward-looking political program that aimed in part to put Italy on an equal if not superior footing with the rest of the industrialized world. This modernizing trend appears most strongly in the industrial and military New Towns, where the government underwrote the development of industrial resources, but it is also a significant feature of the agricultural settlements or colonies. With both types of towns, Fascism seemed to be promising a new and bright future with up-to-date, hygienic living conditions and improved agricultural and industrial productivity.³

Reflecting on the urban foundations in the Pontine region Luigi Piccinato wrote at the time that "neither Littoria nor Sabaudia were cities in the usual urbanistic significance of the term." They were not walled or closed in opposition with the countryside, but "authentic agricultural centers, indissolubly linked to their territory and to the soil that produces." With Sabaudia and Littoria — and I would add Guidonia or Carbonia — the concept of city was made outdated in favor of a new "city-region, city-province, city-nation."⁴ Echoes of the American experiments advocated by Lewis Mumford but also of Howard's genuine concept of garden cities were thus at work in the new Fascist policy.⁵

Whereas the Pontine towns were built by the Organizzazione Nazionale degli Combattenti (ONC),

Guidonia was entrusted to the Istituto Autonomo per le Case Popolare or IACP Roma, a municipal organization created in 1904 to provide housing for the underprivileged classes and directed since 1922 by architect Alberto Calza Bini.⁶ This decision was important for two reasons: first, contrary to the ONC, the IACP had an established and experienced team of architects and collaborators; hence its plan did not result of a competition. Secondly, it provided a major testing ground for the new urban and housing policy of the regime and made Guidonia an eloquent example of the evolving — and I would add, more complex than usually presented — “politics of representation” by the Fascist state.⁷

The aeronautical city Guidoni shall be named Guidonia and its residents Guidoniani.

It is with these words that Mussolini launched the new town project in 1934. General Alessandro Guidoni (1880-1928) — a hero of the First World War, aviator, soldier, inventor, engineer and test-pilot — had crashed at the very entrance of the future town when a parachute that he was testing had failed to open.⁸ The new municipality was established on April 27, 1935, on the seventh anniversary of his death. Construction started on the first of November 1936 and was completed in “Fascist speed” in 425 consecutive working days. About two 2,500 residents lived there in 1937, half of the projected four to five thousands.

The absence of a competition had no significant impact on Guidonia’s town design and layout. His main architects Giorgio Calza Bini (son of IACP’s director Alberto Calza Bini), Giuseppe Nicolosi, and Gino Cancellotti had been involved in the new town program earlier, Calza Bini as an original member of the Gruppo degli Urbanisti Romani (GUR) and in competition for Aprilia and Pomezia, Nicolosi for similarly interesting competition entries. They belonged to a new generation of young architect-urbanists who had graduated from the School of Rome, the first generation of “integral architects.” As Giorgio Ciucci reminds us in his book “Gli architetti e il fascismo,” the term was coined in 1916 by Gustavo Giovannoni who affirmed the necessity to change the traditional figure of the “dilettante architect” and make him or her an “architetto integrale”⁹ In his words the “integral architect” was to be “a genuine architect, who is simultaneously artist, technician, and cultivated individual.” In 1932 he further defined the figure as an architect “who needs to be prepared to the most acute constructional problems as well as to the development of an artistic concept, to the preservation of monuments, and to an urbanistic task.”¹⁰

The first indication of a projected residential area appeared in the masterplan (piano regolatore) of May 4, 1931, for the development of the Experimental Center near the military airport. The plan clearly indicated the presence of a small garden district to be connected to the new entrance of the airport by a large piazzale flanked by villas and additional public buildings. To the academic and linear arrangement of the military installations contrasted a weak and a-hierarchical grid of streets and lots made up of groups of three houses attached together.¹¹

An undated pencil drawing found in the archives of the IACP — that can probably be attributed to Giuseppe Nicolosi’s hand in 1935 — appears to be the very first sketch of a full-fledged new town. Whereas some features of the final plan can already be identified — i.e., the two perpendicular main streets and the piazza — this initial plan showed a more picturesque approach in design, particularly in the definition of a series of neighborhoods where one can see reminiscences of the foundation and expansion plans for Littoria respectively by Frezzotti and Nicolosi. The second project, described by Nicolosi in *L’Ingegnere* of August 1936, abandoned the picturesque principles for a cardo-decumanus structure. It was partially modified during construction and the completed town was presented in details in the April 1938 issue of Piacentini’s *Architettura*.¹²

Let’s focus on these plans and how a comparison between these three versions clearly point out to the increasingly rational vision developed by Giorgio Calza Bini and Giorgio Nicolosi. Not surprisingly Guidonia’s plan and urban features can be strongly related to the original model of Sabaudia, to the built town of Aprilia as well as to other entries of the controversial competition, and to the then in planning Pomezia. These projects and realizations were all characterized by a new interpretation of the Roman colony structure based upon the cardo and the decumanus. It was a highly identifiable and symbolically charged center whose geometric design and asymmetrical composition responded strongly to Sitte’s principles and their redefinition by Giovannoni and Piacentini and was based on a group of functionally identified squares (three with the exception of Aprilia); a system of park and protected green spaces creating the equivalent of a greenbelt; blocks of townhouses and apartment houses whose modern layout was close to the German Siedlungen of Taut and Gropius. Diane Ghirardo noticed that these principles ran generally counter to the English garden city concepts. She was undoubtedly right, but I would go further and state that the “integral architects” of Gruppo Urbanisti Romani and others — not unlike Bruno Taut in his Berlin Siedlungen — invented a genuine “Italian” version of the garden city whose very urban image was provided by the central square and its Roman-inspired diagram.¹³

In Guidonia the eccentric disposition of the diagram suggestively opened symbolic interpretations such as, Sarti Ruinas’s in his propaganda book *Le città di Mussolini*:

*{Guidonia} is like a luxuriant tree spread out in the air with all its fronds; the trunk—pine and mimosas in the center, red oleanders in bloom on the two sides—is the main street that bears the name of Leonardo. The light between the leaves are the grassy spaces that surround the houses. The square is the great crown, the top which projects in the sky as a tower, candlestick of a gigantic pine.*¹⁴

Yet it is seen from the air that — like in an abstracted aerofuturist vision — that Guidonia evocatively appears to delineate the form of an airplane, whose fuselage would be the viale Leonardo da Vinci and the wings the perpendicular axis. Similarly, at the end of the main

avenue, the black and shiny municipal tower seems to be taking off toward the sky, an impression which is accentuated by the ascending terrain.

Guidonia's center is the square, the Piazza del Comune, "inspired from the traditional type of the classic Italian squares, but without simplistic reminiscences of styles."¹⁵ The transformation that affected it between the published version of 1936 and the eventual realization points out to the increasing process of rationalization pursued by the architects. In the first version the plaza was organically integrated to the town, as a wide opening at the intersection of the two main axes; two arcaded barres led the visitor to the piazza where the Casa del Fascio displayed a palazzo-type courtyard plan with an attached tower, a configuration similar to the Palazzo del Comune in Sabaudia; the axis of the viale Leonardo da Vinci did not tangent the piazza but bisected it more or less in two equal parts while the porticoed backdrop building made a semi-transparent screen to the park laid out at the back.

That idea was maintained in the final version although the closure of the piazza toward the street seriously diminished its impact. Indeed the final version of the square was built as an enclosed space on its four sides. This was made possible by creating two separate buildings for the town hall, built by Nicolosi, and the Casa del Fascio, raised by Calza Bini on a travertine plinth and supported by travertine-clad pilotis. In the final scheme the plaza became like an appendix to the street.¹⁶ The displacement of the tower at the very intersection of the *cardo* and *decumanus*, although more spectacular from afar does not remedy the feeling of isolation and semi-publicness. Observers like Ruinas emphasized this feeling: "The square is closed, like a strongbox: words spoken here must sound and resonate like a clapper in the bronze of a bell."¹⁷

To the period or contemporary visitor, the contrast between the "Italian" character of the piazza as a space and the modernity of its architecture must have been, and remains, the most striking element. The pilotis of the Casa del Fascio, the coldness of the tower connected to the Casa by a glass bridge, the Palazzo del Comune and its abstract reinterpretation of the loggia and of the facade treatment of the Doge Palace in Venice, Calza Bini's church of 1938 for the Madonna di Loreto, patroness of aviators — which suggests, beyond its traditional form tainted by Art Deco and from its raised position overlooking the town, the image of a modern airplane taking off — the shops around the plaza "whose ground floor seems like a birdcage or an aquarium: a line of shops, all windows," all of these give Guidonia a somewhat stern air that fits well in the ideological substratum of the place.¹⁸ This particular metaphysical dimension — mixing Italianity and rationalism, thus different from Sabaudia — this collective program of both solitude and community, was unequivocally interpreted by Sergio Poretti:

In compositional terms the compatibility between Italian and rational, on the one hand reassumes the dialectical between tradition and innovation—a debate already at the center of the conflict between academic and rationalist, on the other hand

*translates into operational ground the generic identification of a 'state modern architecture.'*¹⁹

The same ambiguity was described in *Architettura* in the following terms:

*Inasmuch as Guidonia houses a population made up, not only, of farmers, but also of soldiers, intellectuals and technicians, as well as of workers of the most modern weaponry, one can even more appreciate the particular character of its architecture, devoid of any "ruralism," absolutely modern, yet without the idiosyncrasies of transient fashions: i.e., sober, distinguished, even stately, but within the parameters of a severe economy of autarchy.*²⁰

At the heart of this paper I tend to concur with Riccardo Mariani when he writes:

*...the Fascist theory can be found in its concrete realizations, built, physical, and almost never in its enunciation; no theory in a certain way thus. Nobody will ever know what was the real vision of architecture for the fascism and for Mussolini in particular; it is in the built works, taken all together and not separately—exceptions to this rule are rare—that one can catch the real sense of fascist architecture.*²¹

According to Mariani there were three types of state architecture: the public one (the best known and the one too often associated by historians as "fascist"), the bourgeois one (Gio Ponti's residential architectural as an example) and the popular or working-class one. Guidonia was the first accomplished example of the latter and the precursor of many other districts and *borgate* built in the late 1930s. I would venture to say that if Guidonia was so rarely discussed after the war it owes it to its totally modern, in fact quite alienating, architecture and planning. Marcello Piacentini clearly recognized its significance when he published Guidonia in his very momentous article of 1941 "Onore dell'architettura italiana." Under that title he distinguished "the architectures that satisfy the needs, and those that satisfy the greatness; both architectures that were born from the same spirit, within the same social and political environment."²² Beyond their differences, what connected all these architectures was their "italianity." In the words of Piacentini, "Super classical in spirit, super modern of realization: an Italian actuality."²³

In an article where he described his education in Rome under Nicolosi, architect Federico Gorio unequivocally recalled the main issue of the time: "thus there were modern forms of architectonic language with which it was possible to express the tradition; thus if they existed, why did we have to liberate from the latter?"²⁴ It is thus fascinating to read Gorio's account of Guidonia:

Nicolosi had just completed for the Istituto delle Case Popolare the housing projects in Latina, the third phase of Tiburtino in Rome, and even more

recently, the construction of the town center of Guidonia. He took us personally, his students, to visit Guidonia, in company of Gustavo Giovannoni. To describe the town center Nicolosi had reminded us of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, with the "gothicizing" of its full facade, put on the lace of the gallery, and the voids of its portico; he had also recalled, as source of inspiration, the idiosyncratic diagonal diamond-tiling of the facade ...²⁵

The housing part constituted the most rational section of Guidonia and one must emphasize how truly modern was the manner that the "integral architects" used simple, articulated and thin barres typical of the Modern Movement to create well-defined public spaces. Whether Rationalist like in Guidonia or Sabaudia, or more vernacular and rural as in Aprilia and Carbonia, these barres created traditional public spaces in a typologically new way, i.e., not as carved public spaces out of a tight fabric but as a group of object buildings connected to create spaces in a manner that had been pioneered in German Baroque urbanism of the eighteenth century such as at the Rondellplatz and Pariserplatz in Berlin, or at the Schlossplatz in Potsdam.²⁶ Furthermore, the competition for Aprilia demonstrated unquestionably that the new generation of Italian architects had totally assimilated the lessons of the German experiences of the 1920s while reinventing them.²⁷

In Guidonia the rational organization of the housing units went well beyond Sabaudia's: in it all references to the traditional block structure — still very much present in Sabaudia and Littoria — have disappeared: housing barres still defined the main axes of the town but, outside of those, the urban spaces opened up and dissolved in the landscape. Similarly, for those who are familiar with the urban realizations of the IACP at Trionfale, Garbatella, Aniene or Tiburtino, where Innocenzo Sabbatini had demonstrated the quasi-infinite capacity of typological re-invention offered by the Roman block, Guidonia marked a point of no return which is still influencing the contemporary practice.

Considering the collective nature of the work being produced at the IACP in those years, it is not easy to attribute a clear responsibility to this change of orientation. Yet, and in regard to the status of the IACP archives I would argue that Giorgio Calza Bini and even more so Giuseppe Nicolosi were the true artisans of that revolution as can be seen in their borgate of the late thirties at Trullo, Tiburtino, and Santa Maria del Soccorso. Moreover the Ascension Day discourse had been prepared by Alberto Calza Bini himself in 1927 in an important report on the activities of the Institute where he had emphasized the need to differentiate "popular" architecture from the "bourgeois" references of the 1920s.²⁸

In Guidonia, the architectural language expressed for the first time in an uncompromising manner the reality of the new social needs and the values of the new society.²⁹ Yet it would be erroneous to see in the modern architecture of Guidonia a purely political statement that opened the way for other housing districts of the period. Guidonia was first and for all a company town for the aeronautical industry. During the first phases of

construction of the experimental center the choice was made to express the principles of order, organization, and scientific content, all concepts best embodied at that time in the Roman version of the Novecento movement. The main Administration building, among others, best represented that architecture and its connections to European Art Deco. The first rationalist building was built in 1932 by architect Traverso and marked the beginning of a series of modern buildings such as the Radio Complex, the edifice of the Mensa that recalled Sartoris' volumetries, the electric power plant and the "gallery with double return" that recalled "the expressionist gesture of Mendelsohn at the Astronomical Observatory of Potsdam, the Einstein Tower."³⁰ The most impressive was the hydrodynamic "basin" — the *vasca aerodinamica* — that featured a horizontal window that made the whole length of the building, i.e., 460-meter long. Along its interior canal (three-meter deep and six-meter wide) a crane, carrying a complete aircraft model for the study of takeoff and landing, could reach a dazzling speed of 80 miles/hour.³¹ The research of a new dimension — speed — ideologically united the activities of the experimental center with the grand futurist movement, which happened to go at that time through a stimulating revival.

The violent, warmongering and machine-obsessed first phase of Futurism had ended in 1915 and it is only at the end of the 1920s that the futurist movement became interested again in the city. It is not a coincidence if Marinetti, the day after the first transatlantic *Crociera* by Italo Balbo from Italy to Rio de Janeiro in 1931, made a exhilarating speech whose futurists overtones paid homage to the courageous aviators.³²

Here are the Italian aviators, at once elements and artistic creators of the new arts — aeropainting and aeropoetry — imagined by us futurist poets and painters, more than twenty years ago. Prodigious aerial perspectives, products of the genius of speed! ... Artistic force when they trace in the skies a flight "in bow-tie" to obstruct the enemy hunt, or when they dance like corks under the jet of the shells of the anti-aerial batteries ... They perfect the landscape. The large bay of Rio de Janeiro with the powerful corpulence of its promontories, of its islands, and so often covered of insignificant gray skies. Like a thunderbolt the aerial squadron of Balbo finishes it with a thundering ceiling of steel and the heroic Italian genius.³³

As Marc Bedarida wrote in *La Ville*, "paradoxically, this return to the urban scene was more the work of painters like Fillia or Tullio Crali than architects."³⁴ Unfortunately I have yet to locate any aeropainting or drawing of Guidonia. Thus it is the very rare book *Guidonia* by Marcello Gallian in 1940 that revealed to me the futurist and concomitant metaphysical aspects of the city.³⁵ Gallian was a prolific writer and moved in the important circle of the magazine *900* led by Massimo Bontempelli who developed in its columns the concepts of "magical realism," a literary equivalent of metaphysical painting and Novecento movement of De Chirico and Giovanni Muzio.³⁶ In his exalted and Baroque language Gallian

described the importance of the city for the future of the Italian nation:

Everything gives the sense of expectation, the preparation to the genuine activity of the city: the flight. The city is a parenthesis, exceptional and gigantic. And if its dimensions might appear to some not that large — not metropolitan in fact — the proportions and dimensions of Guidonia reach to the sky: and then one sees a flying machine, free in the high sky, disfigured by the sun, the sky invades the city from top to bottom, Guidonia, unique in all Italian cities and now by unexpected fate, city of celestial atmospheres and ambiance. A small boy in Guidonia is an angel, just born and who fled down to the square; a street cleaner, at dawn that day, was wiping the square, silent like a piece of sky robbed to the earth, like a terrestrial refuge, like an aircraft carrier enlarged to the dimension of a huge bench or sidewalk.³⁷

Further toward the end of the book, he wrote:

Guidonia is a city where is emphasized not only the opportunities of the man of the future, but also the constitution of the necessary cities. . . . The vision of an Italy of the future can be clearly observed in Guidonia: it has a specific odor, predominantly the odor of fatigue, of sweat, of essential aliments, of benzene and dusts.³⁸

The end is well known: "There are no more cities to paint. The 'aero-painters' contemplated them for the last time, just before the bombs explode."³⁹

NOTES

All translations from Italian are by the author.

- ¹ The only contemporary publication of the city and its architecture is: "Guidonia: la città dell'aria." *Architettura* XVII (April 1938), pp. 193-238. Mussolini's quote is on page 198.
- ² "Guidonia: la città dell'aria," op. cit.: p. 194. The English name of the center is "Research and Experimental Center of the state-owned aeronautical company."
- ³ Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).
- ⁴ Piccinato, Luigi. "Il significato urbanistico di Sabaudia." *Urbanistica* I (January 1934); Reprinted in Sabaudia (1933-34), (Electa, 1985), pp. 90-93.
- ⁵ In particular Radburn and other projects later published in *Toward New Towns in America* (*).
- ⁶ The ONC was a veterans' organization of the first World War whereas the IACP was the social housing arm of the municipality of Rome. Alberto Calza Bini (1881-1957) was active in the fields of restoration and housing. He held many official positions, particularly as director of the IACP Roma from 1922 to 1940. Among his works are the urban reorganization and the restoration of the Theater of Marcellus, the headquarters of the IACP on Lungotevere Tor di Nona.
- ⁷ See for instance Marcello Piacentini, "Onore all'Architettura Italiana" in *Architettura* XX, no. 7 (July 1941), pp. 263-4.
- ⁸ Letter by Mussolini, 15 December 1934 (on the cover of the book *Guidonia* by Marcello Gallian, 1940).
- ⁹ See Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: Architettura e città, 1922-44* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1989) p. 9. The referred work is Gustavo Giovannoni, *Gli architetti e gli studi in Architettura in Italia* (Roma, 1916), p. 12.
- ¹⁰ Giorgio Ciucci, op. cit.: 10. The quote from Gustavo Giovannoni is in *La Scuola di Architettura di Roma* (Roma, 1932), p. 9. Trained by and often assistants of Piacentini and Giovannoni, these young architects—among whom were also Piccinato, Montuori, Petrucci, etc.—participated, between 1926 and 1942, to more than 180 competitions for "piani regolatori" for cities of all sizes.
- ¹¹ See Mariano Ranisi, *L'architettura de la Regia Aeronautica* (Roma: 1991) and by the same author. "Guidonia-Montecelio, un'analisi architettonica e urbanistica," *Rivista Aeronautica*, no. 2 (1990), p. 24-31.
- ¹² Giuseppe Nicolosi, "Il Piano Regolatore di Guidonia." *L'Ingegnere*, no. 8 (August 1936), pp. 393-397. The referred documents were discovered during my research in Rome in March-May 1997 in the archives of the IACP in Rome. Also see Giuseppe Nicolosi, "Studio per un piano regolatore di ampliamento di Littoria," *L'Ingegnere*, no. 6 (June 1934). For unknown reasons the presentation of Guidonia in post-war historical books has been scarce and somewhat imprecise. For instance the axonometric drawing published by Giorgio Ciucci in *Gli architetti e il fascismo* is erroneously dated to 1938 and does not represent the final version of the town as built.
- ¹³ Ghirardo, op. cit. On tradition and modernity and Taut's works see my essay "From Hellerau to the Bauhaus: Memory and Modernity of the German Garden City," *The New City* #3 (Modern Cities, 1996), pp. 50-69.
- ¹⁴ Stanis Ruinas, *Viaggio per le città di Mussolini* (Milano: Bompiani, 1939), pp. 328-329.
- ¹⁵ *Architettura*, op. cit., p. 198.
- ¹⁶ The result is in fact a psychologically quite unpleasant space, a space that appears to be under surveillance from the long residential balconies that face it.
- ¹⁷ Ruinas, op. cit., p. 329. A similar redesign affected the church of the Beata Vergine: the church square is in the first version more organically linked to the housing bars, while the final version replaced the bars with a double arm of porticoed loggias marked at their angle by two "art-deco" campanile: an valid architectural solution but definitely not as powerful as urban space.
- ¹⁸ Ruinas, op. cit., p. 329.
- ¹⁹ Sergio Poretti, "Edilizia popolare e razionalismo italiano. L'attività progettuale di Giuseppe Nicolosi dal 1925 al 1940." *Rassegna di Architettura e Urbanistica* XIX, no. 55 (April 1983), pp. 24-44. Quote on page 35.
- ²⁰ *Architettura*, op. cit., p. 196.
- ²¹ Riccardo Mariani, *Fascismo e città nuove* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1976), p. 199.
- ²² Marcello Piacentini, "Onore all'Architettura Italiana." *Architettura* XX, no. 7 (July 1941), p. 263-264.
- ²³ Piacentini, op. cit., p. 264.
- ²⁴ Federico Gorio, "Ricordo d'una scuola d'altri tempi." *Rassegna di Architettura e Urbanistica* XIX, no.55 (April 1983), p. 5-13.
- ²⁵ Gorio, op. cit., p. 7.
- ²⁶ See in particular Paul Zucker, *Deutsche Barockstädte* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1927). The formal relation between Baroque urbanism and the Modern Movement remains a quite unexplored and fascinating track of research.

- ²⁷ Marcello Piacentini, "Aprilia," *Architettura* XV (May 1936), pp. 193-212.
- ²⁸ Alberto Calza Bini, *Il fascismo per le case del popolo: l'opera dell'istituto per le case popolari in Roma, nel primo quadriennio d'Amministrazione Fascista* (Roma: Tipografia Sociale, 1927).
- ²⁹ After his period at the IACP Roma, Nicolosi had a long teaching career in Rome and Bologna. Among his most noted post-war works figured the redesign of the Piazza del Duomo in Spoleto as well as several restored and new buildings for the University in Perugia (1950s-1960s).
- ³⁰ Ranisi, Mariano. *L'architettura de la Regia Aeronautica*. (Roma: 1990), p. 309.
- ³¹ Ranisi, Mariano. Op. cit., p. 147.
- ³² Mario Ranisi. Op. cit., p. 33.
- ³³ Marinetti, quoted by Ranisi 33; note 13.
- ³⁴ Marc Bedarida, "Tullio Crali (1925-)," *La ville: art et architecture en Europe 1870-1993* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou), p. 334.
- ³⁵ Marcello Gallian, *Guidonia* (Torino: Arione-Rotocalco Dagnino, 1940). The book is part of a series titled *Le città di Mussolini* that also includes the cited work by Stanis Ruinas. The book in the collection of The Wolfsonian in Miami Beach does not appear in any other computerized library catalogue in the U.S.
- ³⁶ Gallian was also the popular author of successful novels with titles such *Il soldato perduto* whose Fascist connotations all but helped eliminate his name from most post-war dictionaries of literature.
- ³⁷ Marcello Gallian. Op. cit., p. 15.
- ³⁸ Marcello Gallian. Op. cit., p. 87.
- ³⁹ Anne D'Elia. "La Ville selon les Artistes 1919-1945," *La Ville*, op. cit., p. 204.