Figure 1 Post office (center) and hotel (right), Gondar, 1936–41 (author’s photo)

Figure 2 One of numerous villas built after 1936 in the administrative district on the north side of Gondar (author’s photo)
Gondar

Architecture and Urbanism for Italy’s Fascist Empire

"Empire is our goal—to found cities, to found colonies."1
—Benito Mussolini2

Urban design was a key tool of Italian colonial policy during the occupation of Ethiopia between 1936 and 1941. Italian urbanism throughout the fascist era illustrates the disquieting compatibility between progressive planning practices and authoritarian politics.3 Cities built in Italian-occupied East Africa further demonstrate the extent to which modern urban design could participate in the coercive project of constructing imperial identities, among both Italian settlers and African colonial subjects.4 Gondar displays the themes of identity formation and ideological representation that animated urbanism in Italy’s African empire (Figure 1).5

Italian architects had long recognized that the modern practice of architecture was inseparable from the rational design of cities, and that urban planning was integral to solving the problem of housing the working class. City planners, whether Sitte-esque traditionalists from the Roman school of Gustavo Giovannoni or CIAM-affiliated modernists from the Quadrante circle, committed themselves to strengthening the city as the site of civic gathering and collective action, and aspired to use urban design to foster mass identity on the part of the citizenry, in accord with the fascist regime’s insistence on obedience and sacrifice. Italian planners and their patrons saw urbanism as one of many tools for reforming the everyday life of the public.6

Gondar expanded dramatically after the conquest of Ethiopia in 1936, for it served as a colonial administrative center for Italian East Africa.7 The city bears witness to the ways colonial authorities and their planners used urban design to reconcile the fascist regime’s demands for ideological representation with the practical needs of everyday life (Figure 2). Gondar exhibits a striking sensitivity to topography and historical preservation, yet exploits these local conditions to reinforce the colonial authorities’ policies of racial and class segregation. The city also demonstrates the diversity of Italian architecture in Ethiopia, as state, party, institutional, and private interests sought appropriate formal expression for their facilities, sometimes employing experimental construction techniques in response to the logistical difficulties of building in such a remote location. Altogether, Gondar offers a valuable example of the form and development of cities throughout Ethiopia and other former Italian colonies in Africa.

Part of the difficulty in understanding Italian urban planning in East Africa stems from the fact that the Italians were never quite sure why they had conquered Ethiopia and declared it to be the center of their new empire, and they had many, not always complementary objectives. Officially, the
state sought unification of domestic consensus in support of the regime through military adventure, the resettlement (and reform) of unemployed urban Italians as farmers in East Africa, the stabilization of African subjects under colonial rule, the cultivation of the Ethiopian highlands to supply Italy with needed agricultural products, and raising foreign capital through the export of surplus goods.8 All of these concerns impacted the design of Italian colonial cities. And like the new towns built throughout Italy during the fascist period, the settlements of East Africa were constructed with an eye toward their role in state propaganda and an emphasis on their ability to instill in their inhabitants a uniquely fascist identity. Given the importance of urban planning and architecture to Italian colonialism, the analysis of these building practices provides important insights into the aspirations and anxieties that propelled fascist imperial policy.

A Provincial Capital

Gondar served as the capital of Amhara, one of the six provinces created by the Ministry of Italian Africa to administer Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia.9 The city, sited at a key crossroads in the northern Ethiopian highlands, functioned as the administrative, legal, military, transportation, communications, and distribution center for northern Ethiopia under Italian rule. As the provincial capital, the city included offices and residences for the governorship’s civilian administration and courts, as well as a major military installation. Gondar hosted facilities for the Fascist National Party (PNF) and a range of state and party social service organizations. Major banks and insurance companies built branches in the city, and numerous private companies—among them such transport-related firms as FIAT, AGIP, and Pirelli—built offices, garages, workshops, and depots.10

Gondar sits at an elevation of roughly 2,200 meters, and is surrounded on three sides by a ring of 3,000-meter-high mountains. To the south, the landscape opens to a valley and distant views of Lake Tana, source of the Blue Nile. The city stretches along a ridge centered on a complex of castles built during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Gondar was the imperial capital of Ethiopia (Figure 3). It expanded significantly around 1635 under the rule of Fasilidas, the son of the city’s founder, Susenios.11 To build his castle, he employed Indian, and possibly Turkish, craftsmen working under Portuguese supervision (Figure 4).12 French ambassador Charles Poncet described a resplendent city after his visit in 1699, but by the time James Bruce came to Gondar in 1771, it had begun to fall into ruin.13 Gondar once had as many as 80,000 inhabitants, and forty-four of its historic orthodox churches survived into the twentieth century.14

The Italians saw great propaganda value in the city’s status as a former imperial capital, and they sought to appropriate its symbolic importance in support of its use as a regional capital in their own empire. Yet they denigrated the contemporary town as “presenting only small and miserable tukuls grouped around the ruins of the castles,” thus requiring the new conquerors “to build ex novo a city worthy of the civilization of Rome.”15 (Figure 5) The Italians frequently stressed that the castles could only have been built by Portuguese craftsmen, or under their supervision, as a way of further justifying their “civilizing mission” among the “technologically deprived” Ethiopians.16
Italian troops occupied Gondar on 1 April 1936, and within two years 2,000 Europeans lived in the city. Most of Gondar’s 14,000 Ethiopian inhabitants lived south of the main castle complex—called the Fasil Ghebbi—where the ridge slopes gently down toward the major market at the southern edge of town. The Italians concentrated their building activity north of the Fasil Ghebbi on two adjacent level areas, but separated by a twenty-meter change in elevation. The lower area served as a commercial district, with a wide, tree-lined street running north from the castles, past the cinema to the prominently sited post office (Figure 6). The higher area immediately to the east comprised the governmental district, centered on two monumental buildings for the military authorities, whose towers commanded distant views and marked the center of power in the new Gondar. The Italians exploited the dramatic change in elevation between the two areas to establish a clear hierarchy between the quotidian functions of the commercial district and the ceremonial functions of the governmental district.

The Italian authorities and the city’s chief designer, Florentine architect Gherardo Bosio, recognized that the castle complex, which divided the ridge in half, served as an effective barrier between the city’s neighborhoods. The Italians restored numerous monuments throughout the city and used these structures and Gondar’s existing topography within a complex zoning plan that distinguished sectors according to programmatic use and restricted access according to race and class. Ethiopian residents, whose numbers

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**Figure 4** Castle of Fasiladás, Gondar, ca.1635 (author’s photo)

**Figure 5** Fasil Ghebbi (castle complex), Gondar, aerial view, ca.1936 (*Gli annali dell’Africa Italiana* 2, no. 4 [1939])
city, along with storage facilities for food, fuel, and ammunition. This redoubt would be the last site of Italian resistance when Axis troops were routed from East Africa by Ethiopian and British forces in 1941.

In addition to its roles as a center for administration, communications, and transportation, Gondar organized agricultural production throughout the two-million-square-kilometer region of Amhara. Agricultural colonization was a central goal for the Italians, who argued that grain production in their African colonies would eliminate the need to import wheat from outside the empire. Many soldiers who had participated in the invasion of Ethiopia stayed on as colonists, with the promise of salaries, land grants, and discharge from military service.22 The empire was intended to provide food for both the homeland and itself, and to export goods that earned foreign payments for Italy.23

Gondar’s agricultural functions are especially evident outside the city, where farmhouses and warehouses line the roads into the countryside. The nearest farming area is on the slopes of the hills to the west of Gondar, across the valley formed by the Kaa River. There, along the road to the airport, the Italians built a number of typical farmhouses with stucco-clad masonry walls, hipped metal roofs, and deep porches to provide cooling shade (Figure 7). These were arranged in neat rows.

The Italian conquest of East Africa was in part motivated by a policy of demographic colonization, which sought to transplant large numbers of Italian settlers throughout the empire. The goal was twofold: on the one hand, migration to Africa would help stem the tide of emigration to the United States and other sites of the Italian diaspora, while on the other hand, demographic colonization would spark rapid

included large Yemeni and Sudanese expatriate communities, were restricted to the existing districts between the Ghebbi and market. Italians lived in the more elevated areas north and west of the Ghebbi, around the commercial and administrative precincts. The colonial authorities justified their race-based zoning policy in historical terms, noting that Gondar’s quarters had been segregated by ethnicity and religion (including separate areas for Orthodox Christians, Muslims, and Jews) since at least 1669.20

The use of zoning to manifest social and political divisions was not restricted to town planning in the colonies. Throughout Italy, architects developed residential building typologies calibrated according to the social class of their inhabitants, and they designed neighborhoods and cities with clearly delimited class identities. Italians accepted these divisions as natural, and insisted that urban design give concrete expression to social hierarchies. During the fascist period (1922–43), Italian architects were particularly concerned with the question of translating political order into built form. Colonial architecture and planning in Ethiopia, like that of earlier Italian settlements in Libya and Eritrea, added race and religion to the register of identities to be regulated by the built environment. Italian planners studied closely and benefited from the extensive colonial experiences of British authorities in East Africa and South Asia, and those of the French in North Africa and Southeast Asia.21

Italian settlements in East Africa were conceived as military bastions, agricultural depots, and industrial production centers. Because of the threat of invasion by British and French forces and the near-constant state of rebellion in Amhara, Gondar needed to be a self-sufficient garrison town. The army built a fortress in the hills above the city, along with storage facilities for food, fuel, and ammunition. This redoubt would be the last site of Italian resistance when Axis troops were routed from East Africa by Ethiopian and British forces in 1941.

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economic development in the African colonies, which would
in turn enrich Italian companies that invested in the imperial
adventure. Many colonists took agricultural jobs, although
few had been farmers in Italy. Others were entrepreneurs
attracted to Ethiopia by a mixture of patriotism, adventure,
and potential profit. The greatest impact on Ethiopian
architecture was made by building contractors, many of whom
stayed in Ethiopia after the Second World War and developed
new building practices that continue to be employed.

Constructing Imperial Identities

For those settlers drawn (or, sometimes, coerced) to Ethi-
opia by the regime’s policy of demographic colonization,
Gondar offered two things beyond the promise of a *casa
colonica* and a salary. First, the city provided familiar institu-
tions and services, including cinemas, shops, cafes, sports faci-
ilities, banks, and government buildings. Secondly, Gondar
established sites for *adunate*, the mass rallies at which the
fascist citizenry collectively and ritually celebrated the state’s
secular mythology. These spaces helped create and reinforce
the mass identity mandated by the regime, and they existed
alongside (or overlapped) the spaces devoted to everyday
commerce, recreation, and education. The large square just
north of the Fasil Ghebbi was redefined as the Piazza del Litt-
torio and configured to accommodate *adunate* (Figure 8).
Here, party and state leaders could address the assembled
crowds from the castle of Bacafà, the northernmost major
building in the royal enclosure, which was renovated for use
as the local Fascist Party headquarters.

Figure 7 Farm houses on the road between
Azozê and Gondar (author’s photo)

Figure 8 Piazza del Littorio, Gondar, 1936. (*Gli
annali dell’Africa Italiana* 2, no. 4 [1939])
Sites for mass rallies were a common feature of Italian town planning during the fascist era. In Ethiopia, these spaces assumed the further role of instilling a new identity—a specifically imperial identity—among the transplanted Italian colonists of the new African empire. Gondar’s Piazza del Littorio was set at the juncture between the new, modern colonial city and the old imperial complex of castles. As the masses rallied before the ramparts erected by the Solomonic dynasty, they symbolically re-enacted the Italian seizure of Ethiopia. Settlers became conquerors, and their rapt attention on a single charismatic speaker reinforced the political hierarchy that was headed by Mussolini. Fascism had previously sought to supplant regional identities (such as Genovese, Milanese, Roman, or Neapolitan) with a national one; now, Italians were meant to see themselves as the builders of an empire stretching from the Alps to the Indian Ocean. In Gondar, the hemispheric reach of fascism found symbolic expression in the piazza in front of the post office, a crossroads from which highways extended to the Red Sea (via Asmara and Massawa), the Mediterranean (via Sudan and Egypt), and Addis Ababa (see Figure 1).

The two buildings erected for the military authorities appropriated the forms of the castle complex in order to represent the fascist state’s incorporation of the Ethiopian empire. Built on the most prominent location in the administrative district, the Comando Truppe (military command) was one of the first major buildings completed by the Italians (Figure 9), and it was soon joined by the Circolo Militare e Coloniale, a social organization for servicemen and civilian colonists (Figure 10). Like most buildings in Gondar, these structures were erected quickly by the local authorities, and determining their authorship has proven elusive. Both structures employed tall corner towers, which were frequently used in Italian fascist architecture to denote authority and power. In Gondar, the military buildings’ towers also made reference to the turrets on the castles of the Fasil Ghebbi and Ras Biet (another royal palace). Like their Ethiopian predecessors, the new towers rose in stages and presented a stepped profile visible from a great distance. Seen together, Gondar’s towers represented the transfer of power from the empire of Haile Selasse to that of Mussolini (Figure 11).

When Attilio Teruzzi, the Minister of Italian Africa, paraded through the streets of Gondar on 3 February 1940, his motorcade traced a route north from the Ras Biet to the Comando Truppe. This path effected a symbolic transfer of imperial power from the “heirs of Solomon,” represented by the castle, to the House of Savoy, for whom the new state and religious buildings served as avatars. The symbolic route was aptly named Viale Re Imperatore, the Street of the Emperor King. This south-north axis, like the one that joins the Fasil Ghebbi and the post office, recalled the Via dell’Impero (Street of the Empire), on which troops marched from the Colosseum, a symbol of imperial Rome, to Mussolini’s office facing the piazza Venezia.

The Comando Truppe and the Circolo Militare also framed an axis leading north from the Fasil Ghebbi, past the Ras Biet and terminating at the site of the proposed—but unrealized—Catholic cathedral (Figure 12). A cross axis consisting of a boulevard with a lush park down the center led east from the two military buildings past a series of small palazzi to a piazza in front of the governor’s residence. The city’s chief designer, Gherardo Bosio, referred to this area as the “representative” zone, whose governmental buildings represented the authority of the fascist state in its African empire. Just below the Comando Truppe, a broad monumental stair led down to the commercial district.

The most prominent building in the commercial district is the post office, which commands a large piazza at the juncture of the tree-lined avenue leading south to the Fasil Ghebbi and the main road connecting the city with the rest of the Amhara province (see Figures 1, 6). The post office served an ideological function just as important as that of the military buildings above it. Postal service embodied the extension of Italian imperial authority across East Africa, and its headquarters in Gondar demonstrated the city’s importance as a center for communications and administration. The extension of a communications infrastructure across Ethiopia was a tangible demonstration of Italian control (an illusion in the case of rebellious Amhara province) and reflected the equation of technological modernization with civilizing colonization. The post office’s monumental entry faces the Fasil Ghebbi across an axis which, like the Viale Re Imperatore, served to normalize the assumption of power by the fascists.

The rapid construction of colonial cities—like the Pontine marsh towns south of Rome—was portrayed widely in the press as proof of the government’s claim that fascism produced a level of progress unknown under Italy’s parliamentary democracy. Richly illustrated publications, like the two-volume Nuova Italia d’oltremare and the quarterly Annali dell’Africa orientale, convincingly wove a (generally fictional) narrative in which Italy had made the barren land flower and brought the region’s disparate peoples under consensual rule through a benevolent program of public works and charities. Newspapers and popular magazines echoed official accounts of new buildings and towns rising quickly on the difficult terrain of the Ethiopian highlands. Outside of Italy, the seizure and colonization of Ethiopia (in defiance of the
Figure 9 Comando Truppe (military command), Gondar, 1936–37 (author’s photo)

Figure 10 Circolo Militare e Coloniale (Social organization for servicemen and civilian colonists), Gondar, 1936–37 (author’s photo)

Figure 11 Parade on the Viale Re Imperatore through Gondar’s administrative district, from the Ras Biet (the embattled building visible in the distance) past the Circolo Militare e Coloniale (on the left) to the Comando Truppe (on the right), 3 February 1940 (Gli annali dell’africa italiana 3, n. 3 [1940])
League of Nations) bolstered Italian foreign policy and won Mussolini an unprecedented level of international prestige. Architecture and urbanism in Ethiopia provided tangible proof of the state's power and served as valuable elements of a sophisticated propaganda campaign.

The promotion of tourism in East Africa had less to do with encouraging Italian civilians to spend their holidays in the new empire, than with consolidating fascist power in Italy.\textsuperscript{28} The invasion of Ethiopia produced a groundswell of patriotism that Mussolini exploited to increase public support for his regime. The creation of a tourist infrastructure (guidebooks, hotels, airlines, cruise ships, and bus service) conveyed the erroneous sense that the military had completely defeated the Ethiopians and that the civilian administration had won the support of the populace.

By the time the Touring Club Italiano printed its 1938 guide to Italian East Africa, Gondar boasted two small hotels with fourteen rooms and at least four restaurants.\textsuperscript{29} A year later, the imaginatively named Albergo C.I.A.A.O. (Compagnia Immobiliare Alberghi Africa Orientale) completed a thirty-seven-room hotel whose dining terrace opened onto “an enchanting panorama” centered on the picturesque ruins of the Ghebbi (Figure 13).\textsuperscript{10} The Albergo C.I.A.A.O. was designed by a Roman engineer, Arturo Hoerner, who also codesigned the chain’s hotel in in the southern Ethiopian city of Jimma with architect Antonio Diamanti.\textsuperscript{31} The stylish lines of the Gondar C.I.A.A.O. competently approximated the elegant art moderne associated with international travel, but it lacked the refinements of the C.I.A.O.O. hotels in Asmara and Dessié, designed by another Roman engineer, Rinaldo Borgnino.\textsuperscript{32}

Figure 12: Amhara Provincial Office of Technical Services, Plan of Gondar, 1936. The cathedral was sited at the north end of the axis in the upper right part of the plan (Gli annali dell’Africa Italiana 2, no. (1939))
The state highway agency completed the road connecting Gondar to Asmara and the Red Sea coast in 1938, enabling regular bus service to Gondar by the Gondrand Company. Photographs and newsreels of the firm’s five hundred vehicles traversing Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia reinforced the image of a pacified, tourist-friendly empire in East Africa and reminded the Italian citizenry of two projects that Mussolini pursued to evoke the image of imperial Rome: building roads and plundering antiquities. “After our troops entered Addis Ababa,” claimed one work of propaganda, “the first order given by the Duce to His Excellency [Viceroy Pietro] Badoglio for the glory of the Empire was: roads, roads, roads.” State propaganda lauded the valor of road workers and engineers who carved the road network into the hard igneous rock of Ethiopia’s mountainous terrain, and equated these highways with the imperial roads established by ancient Roman emperors. The Gondrand Company helped Mussolini mimic another Augustan act by transporting to Rome, aboard one of its three ships, a stele looted from Axum (and called an “obelisk” to evoke the Egyptian antiquities that had been relocated to imperial Rome).

The fascist regime successfully employed cinema as a tool for building domestic consensus around the colonization of Ethiopia, and colonial architecture and urbanism contributed valuably to the filmmaking. Ethiopia provided a setting, both directly and allegorically, for numerous films that supported Italian imperialist policies by reminding the country of the value of collective sacrifice. For example, *Scipio l’Africano*, an cinematic allegory of Italian conquest and subjugation of African nations, held a mirror up to the Italian colonists in Ethiopia, portraying their daily activities in heroic terms.

Gondar’s two movie theaters were among the fifty-five built by various enterprises throughout Italian East Africa. Many Italian cinemas were privately owned, like Gondar’s Cinema Impero, while others were established by the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro for recreational and instructional use by local workers. Gondar’s Dopolavoro cinema was built on a prominent site midway along the boulevard between the Fasil Ghebbi and the post office (Figure 14). The building’s two corner turrets are ringed with simple stringcourses that evoke the battlements of the nearby castle complex, demonstrating the ideological importance of the film viewing experience. Admission to Gondar’s two theaters was restricted to white patrons; Ethiopians watched movies projected outdoors from.

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*Figure 13* Arturo Hoerner, Albergo C.I.A.A.O., Gondar, 1939 (*La rete degli alberghi C.I.A.A.O. in Africa Orientale* [Rome, June 1940—XVIII])
specially equipped trucks, which the Italians provided throughout their African colonies.

A key stakeholder in the development of Gondar was the National Fascist Party (PNF), which, although fully integrated into the affairs of state, remained autonomous from government agencies. During the occupation of Gondar the party operated out of provisional quarters from which the Segretario Federale dell’Amara administered political activities throughout the province, including certain social services agencies in the city. Operating funds came directly from Mussolini’s office, which collected huge financial tributes from Italian companies following the Declaration of Empire and redistributed the money to local officials throughout East Africa. Of the 300,000 lire offered to Mussolini by Fiat in 1936, for example, 50,000 lire was directed to Gondar to furnish the new Casa del Fascio.39

Another significant patron of architecture in East Africa was the public agency that administered housing for state employees, the Istituto Nazionale per le Case degli Impiegati dello Stato (INCIS).40 In anticipation of building facilities throughout the colonies, the organization sponsored a “competition for housing for Europeans in Italian East Africa,” which stressed the need to use locally available materials to create buildings of “lasting construction.”41 INCIS administrators often found their work stymied by high transportation costs in the Ethiopian highlands. This was the case in Gondar, where concrete—a staple of Italian construction—was five to eight times more expensive than in Italy.42 Local officials also frequently delayed construction while awaiting the definitive version of each city’s master plan. In the case of Gondar, INCIS only initiated construction of much-needed housing in late 1938, following the completion of the road to Asmara and Massawa (site of a new cement factory) and the approval of the city’s development plan. INCIS then commissioned engineer Giacomo Rubino to design seven apartment buildings in Gondar, of which four (comprising twenty-four dwelling units) were built on adjacent plots north of the Comando Truppe between October 1938 and January 1939.43

The City Plans

While Gondar grew largely along the lines of a master plan prepared by Bosio in 1938 and implemented that year, the colonial city’s form is a synthesis of numerous plans by Bosio and others and the city’s existing morphology, which had evolved over the previous four centuries. The Italian authorities commissioned at least five master plans during the first three years of occupation, beginning with competing plans hastily prepared by the provincial office of technical services and Bosio in 1936 and including a short-lived attempt to relocate the capital to the nearby city of Azozò in 1937. The diversity of these schemes reflects the changing priorities of a succession of viceroy, provincial governors, mayors, and planners, along with a shifting set of imperatives from the Ministry of Italian Africa. Taken together, the changing plans represent the rapid transformation of Italian colonial policy during the brief imperial period following the conquest of Abyssinia.

Bosio’s 1938 master plan (Figure 15) was the third of three proposals by the Florentine architect and professor, and it incorporated the administrative core of the city and the road leading west to Azozò as already laid out by the provincial office of technical services (see Figure 12). It also
showed a number of streets and buildings that had been built during the rapid expansion following the city’s takeover in April 1936. While much of the city was built or under construction before this final master plan was approved, and though Bosio complained that the authorities ignored the plan while continuing to expand Gondar, Bosio’s design provided a blueprint for growth and organization that guides the city’s growth to this day.44

Bosio began preparing plans for Gondar in the summer of 1936, just months after the town was occupied, and before he was given a formal contract for the work by General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli, the military governor of Amhara (Figure 16).45 Bosio was serving in the army and he and Pirzio Biroli were based in Asmara at the time. An accomplished and well-connected architect, Bosio would design master plans for several Ethiopian cities, as well as the Italian city of Rieti and the Albanian capital, Tirana, between 1936 and 1941.46 Alessandro Lessona, the Minister of the Colonies, approved Bosio’s appointment on the recommendation of Alessandro Pavolini, President of the National Confederation of Fascist Professionals’ and Artists’ Guilds, and he quickly endorsed the architect’s master plans for Gondar and Dessié, another city in the Amhara region, in October 1936.47

Bosio’s first plan unrealistically presupposed that he could impose a grid of streets on the uneven site. He sought to bring order and hierarchy to the city by defining a center and a periphery, with the principal government buildings gathered around a great piazza on a leveled area between the Fasil Ghebbi (the main castle complex) and the Ras Biet, just to the north.48 “The Governorate building,” Bosio explained, “symbol of conquest and power, must architectonically dominate the whole city and surround itself with the most important public buildings . . . in a zone which architecturally forms an urbanistic hierarchy for the entire city.”49 The new governorate building would sit between “the ruins of the
Fasil Ghebbi, organized as a public park, and the Ras Biet, restored as a museum of war, which will represent the Roman [i.e., modern Italian] conquest for centuries amidst the memories of Fasil’s Solomonic dynasty. Bosio intended the principal streets of the city center to be lined with colonnades and densely planted with trees, much like he was able to achieve later in the southern city of Jimma. A peripheral road would encircle the new city and offer panoramic views of the valleys below and Lake Tana in the distance.

Bosio sought to relocate many of Gondar’s Ethiopian residents from the area around the Ghebbi to a new village south of the city, making room for the monumental core of government, party, and institutional buildings. This area, along with commercial and “semi-intensive” residential zones, would be ringed by a broad greenbelt. Buildings in the city center would include amply planted courtyards, linked to the adjoining streets through the continuous line of porticoes. Outside the city center, new “satellite urban nuclei of a residential character” would house many of the city’s Italian residents on the hills to the west, on either side of the River Kaà, with industrial centers arranged on the slopes below.

Pirzio Biroli proved to be an enthusiastic client. In November he wrote to the Fascist Party secretary in the northern Italian city of Como to ask for drawings and photographs of the recently completed Casa del Fascio by Giuseppe Terragni—which would become the iconic work of Italian Rationalism—to guide the construction of Gondar’s Fascist Party headquarters. Bosio included designs for a Casa del Fascio, inspired by Terragni’s building, in his second Gondar master plan, which abruptly relocated all of Gondar’s administrative functions to a new development at Azozò, twelve kilometers to the southwest.

The rationale for relocating the provincial capital remains obscure. Pirzio Biroli made the decision at some point in early 1937, and he commissioned Bosio to design the new city, which, although situated alongside the existing town of Azozò, would be named Gondar. Bosio responded with a plan that was fully consonant with the principles of modern urban planning enunciated in CIAM’s Athens Charter, and which treated the site as a tabula rasa, unencumbered by a historical context. The architect separated the city into a series of “nuclei” defined by their programmatic functions. A monumental zone of government buildings stretched along a gentle S-curve at the city’s heart, surrounded by “satellite” districts of class-segregated housing, educational and civic institutions, commercial facilities, churches, and military installations. The lushly planted interstitial spaces that separated the various quarters would comprise an enormous public park, which, Bosio argued, obviated the need for conventional parks.

Bosio saw the new Gondar as a model for cities to be built throughout the Italian empire. Like the metropolis he envisioned taking form on the hills above Azozò, these would
be “concentric cities with urban zoning plans centered around a knoll or spur, where, as though it were an acropolis, the buildings of government, the element of conquest and domination, will constitute the urban hierarchy of the city which should formally make evident the predominance of white over black, and visually admonish that every piazza seek our supremacy over the infantile, primitive indigenous population.”

Bosio's second plan, for an all-new Gondar, immediately attracted considerable interest among architects and urban planners. He published the official relazione, describing the relocated Gondar (along with a contemporary plan for Dessié), in the May–June 1937 issue of Urbanistica, and reproduced the plans for Gondar, Dessié, and Jimma in the December issue of Architettura, the official journal of the national architects' guild. Bosio illustrated both articles with plans, perspectives (both street-level and aerial) and suggestively abstract models. The following February, the architects' guild invited Bosio to exhibit the three master plans in the Esposizione di Architettura Coloniale in Rome.

Bosio had exhibited the first master plans for Gondar and Dessié in April 1937 at the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica in Rome, at the invitation of Giuseppe Bottai, a key government minister and patron of modern architecture who had served as the first governor of Addis Ababa following its capture in May 1936. Concurrent with that earlier exhibition, he delivered a lecture at the I Congresso Nazionale dell’Urbanistica in Rome, which was printed as an essay in Architettura. When Alberto Sartoris published the third edition of his landmark survey of modern architecture, Gli elementi dell’architettura funzionale, he chose Bosio’s second plan for Gondar—not the more recent, and definitive, 1938 scheme—and the contemporary plans for Dessié and Jimma to represent Italian colonial urbanism to an international audience (Figure 17).

Yet while numerous state and private concerns erected buildings in the new Gondar in 1937 to replace or supplement their facilities in vecchia Gondar, and despite the plan’s critical acclaim, the Azozzo site was abandoned in March 1938 due to the intervention of the newly appointed viceroy of East Africa, Amedeo di Savoia, the duke of Aosta. The viceroy insisted on retaining old Gondar as the provincial capital because of numerous practical reasons, and because the city’s historical role as an imperial capital gave it such great symbolic importance in the context of fascist Italy’s imperial aspirations. Amedeo, a member of the royal family and the third viceroy in the empire’s first two years, recognized the symbolic and aesthetic value of the city’s architectural heritage and argued for the preservation of the Ethiopian imperial buildings. The castles, he contended, were central Ethiopia’s “only true works of art,” and he endorsed a plan by the new governor, General Ottorino Mezzetti, to renovate them for use by government. He urged the Minister of Italian Africa “to build a new Italian city alongside the ancient capital, as has been done in Addis Ababa.”

The duke of Aosta had expressed a personal interest in Bosio’s plans for Gondar and other Ethiopian cities at least a year before his appointment to Addis Ababa, and he likely helped the architect retain the commission for the final master plan.

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Figure 17 Bosio, second master plan for Gondar, relocated to new site in Azozzo, 1937 (Alberto Sartoris, Gli elementi dell’architettura funzionale: sintesi panoramica dell’architettura moderna: Africa Orient. Italiana, Albania, Algerie [Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1941], 87)
In the summer of 1938, Mezzetti, who succeeded Pirzio Biroli as Amhara’s second governor, commissioned Bosio to design his third master plan for Gondar (see Figure 15). The new project incorporated the governmental zone that had been begun before the relocation of the capital was mooted. The city was now designed to accommodate an eventual Italian population of 20,000—twice that envisioned in the 1936 plan—based on the actual growth observed in other Ethiopian urban centers. Bosio also responded to a reduced budget for construction imposed by the Ministry of Italian Africa, which had failed to anticipate adequately the costs of colonization. Among the cost saving measures was an increased respect for the site’s natural topography.

Like Pirzio Biroli and the duke of Aosta, Mezzetti appreciated the propaganda potential of Gondar’s ruins. Pirzio Biroli had commissioned architect Orfeo Rossato in 1937 to restore “the two best preserved castles in the Fasil Ghebbi,” the castle of Fasiladas and the chancery of Emperor Yohannis, for use by the provincial administration. The Ministry of Colonies (precursor to the Ministry of Italian Africa) had also proposed fitting out another of the castles as a hotel. Mezzetti expanded this effort in May 1938, ordering the restoration of the castle of Fasiladas, several smaller castles, and numerous other structures in the royal compound for the use of government and party bodies. Pirzio Biroli, Mezzetti and the duke of Aosta were likely influenced in these endeavors by Bosio, whose 1936 project had advocated turning the ruins of the Fasil Ghebbi into a public park and converting the castle of Ras Biet into “a museum of war, which will signal for centuries the Roman conquest among the Ethiopian population of 20,000—twice that envisioned in the 1936 plan—based on the actual growth observed in other Ethiopian urban centers. Bosio also responded to a reduced budget for construction imposed by the Ministry of Italian Africa, which had failed to anticipate adequately the costs of colonization. Among the cost saving measures was an increased respect for the site’s natural topography.

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Bosio’s final master plan indicates a high level of racial anxiety on the part of the Italian authorities, who—officially, at least—considered it a priority to segregate their colonial towns in order to guard against interracial fraternization, which had been restricted by the racial laws of 1937 and 1938. Mussolini was concerned enough about the issue by November 1937 to ask the duke of Aosta to restore the “racial dignity of the Italians” who had “behaved so badly in Italian East Africa.” Bosio’s plan employed broad green belts to separate the areas designated for Christians and Muslims and projected “the complete isolation, downwind and downstream, of the indigenous zones from those for Italian residents.” Bosio again described the castle complex as a screen separating the city racially. He also planned separate major roads for African and European residents, such as the “spine” leading south from the Ghebbi toward the “indigenous market which forms the heart of the black city.”

Bosio abhorred the seeming “lack of discipline” evident in the area’s traditional settlement patterns, and sought to “bring order” to the Ethiopian districts by defining the market with a circular ring of buildings and using linear buildings to line the major street linking the market and the Ghebbi, as well as its tributaries. Whereas the 1936 plan proposed using courtyard-centered blocks, in the 1938 plan all of Bosio’s buildings had become linear, allowing complete visual surveillance of the city’s outdoor spaces. In response to the ministry’s concern with sanitation, the new plan placed greater emphasis than Bosio’s earlier plans on furnishing fresh water and sewerage in the housing for Ethiopians.

Ethiopian Christian neighborhoods in Gondar were organized according to the trades of the inhabitants. Artisans were given housing and shops closer the Ghebbi. The Italian authorities maintained the existing Muslim and Jewish districts as part of their divide-and-rule policy, but they added amenities for these previously second-class communities in order to present colonial governance as benevolent. Gondar’s new mosque, one of at least fifty new masonry mosques built nationwide, served the Italian policy of courtizing Ethiopian Muslims in order to generate native consent for foreign rule, especially among many non-Amhara ethnic groups (Figure 18). Like the mosques and market square built by Guido Ferrazza in Harar, as well as the “Muslim villages” constructed in Libya, Gondar’s new mosque addressed its intended audience with an orientalist aesthetic that revealed a patronizing attitude toward the indigenous population. The Italians also restored the most important Orthodox churches in Gondar and gave their clergy regular stipends.

Like the two earlier schemes, the 1938 plan codified segregation by social class within the Italian population. Villas for upper class residents were to be set in the hills above the city, reflecting their owners’ ability to afford private transportation. Workers’ housing, industrial plants, and agricultural facilities were located across the Kaà, in a neighborhood wrapped in verdure and gardens and centered on a market and a school. Midway between the main city and its satellite districts, the sports and recreation zone took shape in a greensward alongside the ruins of the Baths of Fasiladas.

In addition to the changing roster of governors, viceroys, and ministers who weighed in on the plans, Bosio and other designers in Gondar had to contend with the design review
board constituted by the Ministry of Italian Africa and material exigencies, including high construction costs and a scarcity of materials and labor. The review board—known formally as the Consulta Centrale per l’edilizia e l’urbanistica—included many of Italy’s most prominent urban planners and architects, and their detailed critiques of the Gondar plan (such as a request for more flexible zoning and increased green space in the indigenous quarters) compelled numerous revisions on Bosio’s part. The architect also responded to extensive input from official bodies in Gondar and Addis Ababa.

The Italian government anticipated building and reorganizing many cities in African and other colonies (such as Albania and the Dodecanese Islands), and they assumed that close supervision of local building committees by a central design review board was necessary to ensure high quality and uniformity. The commission’s charter suggests they desired to achieve formal consistency in architecture and urban design throughout the empire, including the colonial centers and the new towns being built in Italy. In accordance with the 1933 law regulating the review of urban planning throughout Italy and its territories, each local building commission had to include the local archaeological expert, the provincial medical officer, the municipal engineer, two experts nominated by the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, and an expert from each of the syndicates for architects, engineers, and artists.
In Gondar, the breadth of input from clients and interested parties improved the city plan in tangible ways. It was Governor Mezzetti, for example, who asked Bosio to pay closer attention to the relationship between the Fasil Ghebbi and the new buildings to the north, which may have prompted the architect to establish the axial connections between the castles and the commercial and governmental districts. The sensitive scale relationship between the Fasil Ghebbi and the surrounding buildings responded to a critique by the Consultà. Bosio submitted the final scheme for Gondar for review numerous times between March and September 1938, each time incorporating responses to suggestions from a range of constituencies. The designer formally presented the master plan to the ministry on 1 October 1938, and it was approved conditionally two months later. Various state agencies (such as INCIS) and private companies quickly initiated building projects in conformance with the newly adopted plan. The mayor of Gondar, citing its design guidelines, immediately banned the use of wood and sheet metal for all construction and mandated the exclusive use of masonry.

Some work remained to be done on the city plan, however. The Consultà’s approval came with several recommendations, which Bosio failed to address in a timely fashion. As a result of his intransigence, he was removed from the project by the ministry in April 1939. While Bosio’s zoning framework, street network and design regulations guided the subsequent development of Gondar, his designs for individual buildings were followed only schematically, if at all, and it remains difficult to ascribe specific authorship to most of the buildings erected during the Italian occupation. Local public works officials, facing the exigencies of difficult terrain, scarce materials, pressing schedules, and lean budgets, frequently deviated from the Florence-based designer’s elaborate plans. As a result, few buildings in Gondar resemble the portico-fronted prisms that line the boulevards in the carefully staged perspectives Bosio prepared in Florence.

Gondar and the cities built by the Italians in East Africa need to be understood in the larger context of Italian city-building throughout the fascist era. Contemporary propaganda presented the new cities in the homeland—such as E’42, outside Rome—alongside their monumental counterparts throughout the empire, including Tripoli, Asmara, and, especially, Addis Ababa. As in the new urban centers constructed in Italy, such as the Pontine marsh cities and Guidonia, the spatial relationships between major buildings and public spaces in colonial cities were designed to foster mass identity and the veneration of Mussolini. Earlier Italian experiences with urban planning in Libya informed the design of Gondar and other Ethiopian cities, which in turn influenced the design of Tirana and other cities in Albania, Istria, and the Dodecanese Islands.

The concern with identity formation shown in the planning of Gondar is typical of Italian colonial cities in East Africa, yet the unique historical and topographical contexts of each site prompted diverse plans. Ferrazza’s plan for Harar, the capital of the homologous region in eastern Ethiopia, defined a new city centered on a monumental administrative district. It was located beside the old city’s walls at a point chosen for its symbolic importance, drawing on earlier Libyan examples like Tripoli. In Jimma, the capital of the southern region of Galla Sidama, the lack of a significant existing settlement allowed Bosio to design a city nearly ex novo. Dire Dawa, a railway city laid out by French engineers in the early twentieth century, saw only minor
emendations under Italian rule. The grandiose plans for Addis Ababa, the capital of Italian East Africa, established axial relationships among new buildings and existing monuments on a scale akin to that of Rome.\(^88\)

Numerous individuals and constituencies combined to shape Gondar during its five-year occupation. Strikingly absent from the conversations that guided the city's growth, however, were the voices of its Amhara, Tigrinya, Yemeni, Sudanese, Muslim, Jewish, and other residents.

The city which emerged between 1936 and 1941 exemplifies imperial urbanism under Italian fascism (Figure 19). Like cities and neighborhoods built in Italy during the fascist era, Gondar gave physical form to the values and aspirations of the regime. The city's composition and spatial relationships manifested the symbolic presence of the Duce atop the fascist hierarchy, legitimized the single-party state, and instilled in the masses a fascist identity, in which national loyalties replaced regional affiliations and enthusiasm for collective action and sacrifice was kindled. As a colonial center and provincial capital, Gondar segregated its population according to race and class, emphasized the surveillance of both residents and the surrounding countryside, and normalized foreign domination over a sovereign state. From its details to its broad strokes, Gondar was the very model of a modern imperial capital.\(^89\)

The visual representation of the East African empire in contemporary Italian popular literature attests to the role of colonial cities as instruments of fascist and imperial identity formation. Aerial views, a popular representation of urban centers, demonstrated surveillance, hierarchy, and collectivity, while celebrating industrial technology and equating the totalizing gaze of the urban planner with that of the military authorities. The omniscient view from above implied domination over both a territory and its inhabitants. The common images of Italian piazzas densely packed with ecstatic crowds, all focused on a single speaker, seemed to substantiate Mussolini's repeated claim to possess a popular mandate for his rule, and they inspired the design of new public spaces like Gondar's Piazza del Littorio, presided over by a prominent rostrum or balcony that awaited the arrival of the dictator or his envoy. The symbolic use of historical architecture, in which monuments, seen from above, acted as emblems for cities or regions, primed Gondar's residents to read the axial relationships among the castles and new buildings in their city as the embodiment of Italian colonial policy.

Notes
1. This essay began with the kind invitation of Steven Rettinger to visit him in Addis Ababa. My work on Ethiopia has benefited from generous input by Fasil Giorgis, Jim McCann, Mia Fuller, Mariella Casciato, Sean Anderson, Kathy Wheeler, Gray Read, and John Stuart, and from extensive feedback to early versions presented as lectures at the ArchiAfrica conference in Kumasi (2007), the ACSA Annual Meeting in Houston (2008), the EAUH Annual Conference in Lyon (2008), the From Africa to the Balkans conference at Columbia University (2008) and the FIU Department of History (2008). A fellowship at the Wolfsonian-FIU and a Wolfsonian Affiliated Fellowship at the American Academy in Rome provided invaluable archival research. Careful editing by David Brownlee and the valuable critique of an anonymous reader have significantly improved this article. I am deeply indebted to Dott.ssa Marie Lou Busi Magenes for granting me access to the Bosio Archive, and for generously sharing her knowledge of Bosio's work.
2. “L'impero è la nostra meta—fondare città, fondare colonie,” postcard (Buenos Aires: Martino d'Italia, 1925); Wolfsonian-FIU Library.
6. In this regard, the writings of Piero Bottoni, Enrico Griffini, and other members of the Quadrante circle are typical. See, for example, Piero Bottoni and Enrico Griffini, “Elementi di case popolari alla V Triennale.” Quadrante 3 (July 1933), 25–33, and Piero Bottoni and Gino Pollini, “Relazione della attività del gruppo italiano del Cirpac durante l’anno XII.” Architettura, supplemento sindacale della rivista del Sindacato nazionale fascista architetti, XIII, 11 (Sept. 1934), 127. See also Piero Bottoni, Urbanistica (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1938). For a patron’s perspective, see Adriano Olivetti, Architettura al servizio sociale: piano di un quartiere nuovo a Ivrea (Milan: Editoriale Domus, 1936); and Adriano Olivetti, ed., Piano regolatore della Valle d’Aosta (Ivrea, 1937).

8. In recent years, scholars (including Alberto Scachchi, Haile Mariam Labore and Angelo Del Boca) have detailed numerous disparities between the Italian government’s ambitious goals for colonization, and their disappointing results.

9. The six provinces and capital cities were Amhara (whose capital was Gondar), Eritrea (Asmara), Harar (Harar), Somalia (Mogadishu), Scioa (Addis Ababa), and Galla-Sidama (Jimma). Addis Ababa was made capital of Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI, or Italian East Africa).

10. The Gondar branch of the Banco di Roma opened on 24 March 1937, in a ceremony attended by the provincial governor, Pirzio Biroli, along with high-ranking military officers and important political and civic figures. Giuseppe Pietro Veroi (Banco di Roma) to Benito Mussolini, 26 March 1937, Archivio Centrale dello Stato-Segreteria Particolare di S. E. il Capo del Governo (hereafter ACS-SPD) 599.380 Banco di Roma.


13. Poncet was the emissary from the court of Louis XIV. Touring Club Italiano, Guida all’Africa Italiana Orientale (Rome, 1938), 351.


15. “presentava solo pochi e miser i tucul raggruppati attorno ai ruderi dei castelli, si trattava quindi di costruire ex novo una città degna della civiltà di Roma.” Gli annali dell’Africa Italiana, Anno II, Numero 4 (1939), 401. Identical language can be found in other sources, such as La rete degli alberghi C.L.A.A.O. in Africa Orientale (Rome, June 1940–XVIII), a thirty-six-page booklet advertising the CIAAO hotel chain in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

16. Touring Club Italiano, Guida all’Africa Italiana Orientale, 350.

17. Ibid.


20. Touring Club Italiano, Guida all’Africa Italiana Orientale, 350.

21. Numerous articles on French and British colonialism appear in Italian periodicals dedicated to colonial issues, such as L’Italia coloniale, a monthly supplement to Illustrazione Italiana.


23. Alberto Scachchi’s rigorous archival research has demonstrated that these promises were usually unmet. Alberto Scachchi, Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941 (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1997), 103.

24. Adunate were frequently staged to mark significant anniversaries, such as the March on Rome (28 October), the occupation of Gondar (1 April) and the Declaration of Empire (9 May).

25. It remains unclear who designed the Comando Truppe and the Circolo Militare, though evidence suggests they were built by the Amhara regional office of public works between 1936 and 1938.

26. Gli annali dell’Africa Italiana 3, no. 3 (1940), unpaginated.

27. As of yet, no documentation has been found to identify the architect of the post office. Authorship of most buildings in Gondar has been difficult to attribute.


29. Touring Club Italiano, Guida all’Africa Italiana Orientale, 350.


32. Ibid.

33. Carta Progressiva delle Costruzioni Stradali, 1940. ACS-MAI. See also “Le opere stradali,” Gli annali dell’Africa Italiana 2, no. 4 (1938), unpaginated.


35. Viva il Duce (Rome: La Rivista Illustrata del Popolo d’Italia, 1939), unpaginated.


38. Getahun, A History of the City of Gondar. See also Ben-Ghiat, 56.

39. Financial records indicate that numerous companies which, like Fiat, benefited from the war in Abyssinia and its subsequent occupation, made obsequious donations to Mussolini following the Declaration of Empire on 9 May 1936. These funds were earmarked for PNF use in both the colonies and the metropole. ACS-SPD, 167.898 Gondar.


41. “Bando di concorso per abitazioni per europei in A.O.I.,” n.d. ACS-MAI, b.89.

42. Mario Folinéa (President of INCIS), promemoria to the Minister for Italian Africa, 30 March 1938, ACS-MAI, b.90. In a promemoria of 23 December 1937, Folinéa recommended using lightweight prefabricated building systems to provide housing in Gondar. ACS-MAI, b.89.

43. Ibid. See also Governo dell’Amara to INCIS, September 1941, ACS-MAI, b.89. Rubino was assisted by engineer Giovanni Del Rio.

44. Bosio to Ministro per l’Africa Italiana, 15 September 1939. Bosio Archive, Florence, box 7. Bosio complained repeatedly to the Ministry of Italian Africa that his designs for buildings and city plans were ignored by the local authorities in Gondar, Gimma and elsewhere, despite having been approved by the ministry in Rome.

45. The first master plan (Piano Regolatore di Gondar) was dated 20 August 1936. Bosio was nominated for the job on 1 September (Gen. Alessandro Biroli to Alessandro Lessona, Ministro per le Colonie, 1 September 1936) and approved on 1 October (Lessona to Bosio, 1 Oct. 1936). ACS-MAI, b.106.

46. Carlo Cresti, ed. Gherardo Bosio: architetto fiorentino, 1933–1941 (Florence: Angelo Pontecorbo, 1996), 13–14, 37, 133. Bosio enjoyed the patronage of numerous important public figures who commissioned him on private projects, including Costanzo Ciano, Rodolfo Graziani, Alessandro Pavolini, Edda Ciano Mussolini, Alessandro Lessona, Zenore Benini. Pavolini, in his role as president of the Azienda Autonoma di Turismo di Firenze, commissioned Bosio to design the club house of the Ugolino golf club, as part of his campaign to expand an elite tourism. Graziani hired the Florentine architect to design the winter garden in the viceregal palace in Addis in 1937, and to decorate the sala de pranzo in his villa in Tripoli in 1938. For Lessona, he designed an unexecuted villa in Civitavecchia in 1937.

47. Alessandro Lessona to Gen. Alessandro Biroli, 1 October 1936; Alessandro Pavolini, Presidente della confederazione nazionale dei sindacati fascisti professionisti e artisti, to Alessandro Lessona, Ministro per le Colonie, 21 September 1936; lessona, telegram to R. Governo dell’Amara, Governo Generale in Addis Ababa and Ministero delle Colonie in Rome, 16 October 1936, ACS-MAI, b.106. The Ministry of the Colonies later became the Ministry of Italian Africa.
64. Bosio, “Progetto di massima per il piano regolatore di Gondar,” Architettura 16, no. 7 (Dec. 1937), 769–76.
67. Plinio Marconi to Bosio, 23 February 1938, ACS-MAI, b.106.
68. Bosio to the Minister of the Colonies, 4 March 1937, ACS-MAI, b.106.
72. Col. Volpini (Aide-de-camp to the duke of Aosta), telegram to Giuseppe Buselli, Minister of the Colonies, 10 Sept. 1936, ACS-MAI.
73. Bosio, Relazione, 5.
74. Ibid., 7.
77. Ministro delle Colonie to Direzione R. Governo dell’Amara, Affari Civili e Politiche, Gondar, 5 May 1937, ACS-MAI, b.106.
78. Touring Club Italiano, Guida all’Africa Italiana Orientale, 351.
80. Sbarchi, Ethiopia under Mussolini 56.
82. Ibid., 21.
83. Ibid., 4–5.
84. Sbarchi, Ethiopia under Mussolini, 162–63.
86. Bosio, Relazione, 12.
87. Ibid., 13.
88. Ibid., 12.
89. Teruzzi (Direzione Generale Affari Civili, Ministro dell’Africa Italiana) to Governo dell’Amara and Governo Generale dell’A.I., 23 Dec. 1938, ACS-MAI, b.106.
91. ACS-MOP, b.108.
93. Teruzzi (Direzione Generale Affari Civili, Ministro dell’Africa Italiana) to Governo dell’Amara and Governo Generale dell’A.I., 23 Dec. 1938, ACS-MAI, b.106.
94. Ibid.
96. Consulta generale per l’edilizia e l’urbanistica, meeting minutes of 5 and 6 April 1939. ACS-MAI, b.106.
99. Like the work of other modern architects who collaborated enthusiastically with the Mussolini regime, Bosio’s urban planning has been absolved of “fascist content” by some scholars. See, for example, Lucia Billeri, “I piani urbanistici di Bosio per alcune città dell’Africa orientale italiana,” in Cresti, 57–74.