

# Between Rome and the Sea: Ancient & Recent Gateways to the Eternal City

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## Abstract

While traveling through the flat expanse stretching over its southwestern area, it is possible to see the unusual image of Rome as a city that overlooks the sea. In this area, rich of landfalls, many buildings act as *gateways*, some of which of international relevance, such as the “Leonardo da Vinci” intercontinental airport. Others accesses are only imagined by architects, from Karl Friedrich Schinkel’s *Laurentinum* – his reconstruction of Plinius’s Villa – to Adalberto Libera’s projects both for the seafront of Castel Fusano and for the *Gateway to Sea*. Over all, the ancient seaport of Rome is a potential engine of development and at the same time a symbol of historical memory. A perfect geometrical shape, the hexagonal port’s basin seems to imitate the planimetric shape of Rome’s historical centre that, through a translation of meaning, is cast toward the sea, in a sense prefiguring its destiny.

**Keywords:** Rome, Urban Planning, Urban Spaces, Urban Design, Trajan’s Port, Shinkel, Libera, Aymonino, Ligorio

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## Introduction

When the plane landed at Fiumicino, after flying over Fregene's pine forest, the deserted beach and the gray sea, a few scattered drops skimming the asphalt of the runway, the metallic light of the sun passing through the clouds and the hot scirocco wind were enough to immediately dissolve any illusion. During certain times of the year, Rome looks like a north-African city: under the gray sky its large suburbs become giants, the sand is blown by the wind and the moist air carries sweetish smells [...] the sky is leaden from the early morning, the sun stays hidden and the darkness of the evening never seems to come. Giorgio Montefoschi, *L'amore Borghese*. Milano: Bur, 1978.

While flying over the area than spans from the city of Rome to the Tyrrhenian Sea, before landing at the Fiumicino International airport, one might experience the sensation of drifting into the past, over a mystical area scored by looms of eucalyptuses, lined by a Cartesian networks of canals, dotted with frail agricultural structures, the heritage of an agricultural past. Some of the distinguishing features and constituent parts of this territory, spanning from the EUR district to the sea near Ostia and Fiumicino, were rendered immortal by writers such as Massimo D'Azeglio and Giosuè Carducci and painters such as Salvator Rosa, Giuseppe Raggio, Enrico Coleman – Figure 1 and Giulio Aristide Sartorio – Figure 2 of the “XXV della Campagna Romana”<sup>1</sup> group. Many other foreign artists emphasized the charm of the city and of its countryside. While Goethe saw in the sky an ethereal harmony of white and blue shadows, blended into an all-encompassing mist, Byron said that no other place on earth is as rich with emotions as Rome's countryside. Similarly, Chateaubriand saw Rome's countryside as a “spring of mysterious beauty” that inspired Lorraine and Poissin, who wished to keep it secret, in fear that it might be somehow “desecrated by vulgarity”. In a well-known book on Rome's ancient port, Goffredo Filibeck, while comparing and contrasting its present decadence to its ancient splendor, stated that:

“The Roman countryside, such as it can be seen by our eyes, lost some of its intimate and essential characteristics, the ones that endowed it with an entirely peculiar beauty. The immense uninhabited and untilled plains, the large marshy areas, the canes, the rough bushes, were in perfect harmony with the ruins of ancient Rome and with the medieval towers in ruins. Everywhere, there was a grandiose and desolate beauty that elicited the mysterious sense of infinity and eternity in our souls.”<sup>2</sup>



Figures 1 & 2, Enrico Coleman, *Meriggio nelle paludi* and Giulio Aristide Sartorio, *Malaria*, 1930.

### Tail of the Comet

Between 1934 and 1935, Gustavo Giovannoni was the first to consider expanding Rome toward the southwest, along the Roma-Ostia trajectory in a *comet tail* configuration that would have connected the historic center to the sea. Indeed, Giovannoni envisioned the first urban expansion plans to include satellite developments oriented toward the sea along Via Ostiense<sup>3</sup> and is considered to be the first to use the expression *coda di cometa* (comet tail) to describe a development vector oriented toward the sea that would have used the E42/EUR district as a joint between the “head” of the comet (the historic center) and its “tail” expanding toward the sea.<sup>4</sup>

Marcello Piacentini replied to Giovannoni’s idea by designing the EUR district, first imagined by Giuseppe Bottai,<sup>5</sup> that indeed was the first actual step toward the sea,<sup>6</sup> a step that required three pre-conditions: opening large road connections, creating a large, stable monumental *node* that would have outlasted the E42 exposition and the research of some form of continuity with the historic center. A single representative axis would have connected Piazza Venezia to the E42 and to the sea: Via Cristoforo Colombo, opened in 1938, and a new railway line opened in 1924 were a testament to that idea. Giovan Battista Milani’s *Roma lido* was also opened in 1924, followed by the seaplane base of Ostia in 1926 and Via del Mare in 1929.

At the end of 1940, Benito Mussolini gave a committee the task of developing the *Nuovo Programma Urbanistico della Capitale*, but in the year 1941, when the committee presented its work to the Duce, the increasing economic difficulties compelled them to fall back on a less visionary, more realistic solution. Hence, the urban expansion program toward the sea remained incomplete, but its trajectory proved its *illuminist vision*, probably too far ahead of its time to be accepted. Anyhow, the idea of expanding the city toward the sea was never entirely abandoned. Consider, for instance, the great projects that were developed in the subsequent years toward the southwestern direction: the Fiumicino Airport, started in 1947; the underground connecting Termini Station to the EUR; Via Cristoforo Colombo; the Casal Palocco district; the completion of E42 buildings during the fifties; the construction of the GRA segment between Aurelia and Appia in 1951.<sup>7</sup>

The city started expanding toward east with the beginning of the works provided for by the 1962 Urban Development Plan, in which directional activities were to be removed from the city center and relocated to a system of new *directional centers* to the east of the city. One of the most important project was the *Asse Attrezzato*, a large-scale infrastructural work that boosted the ongoing reflections on *urban design* and on *bigness*. The Studio Asse, founded in 1967 thanks to Bruno Zevi, developed the project and supervised the development of the *Asse Attrezzato* for four years.<sup>8</sup> The *Asse* materialized as a continuous urban string that took the shape of “Y,” connected both to the city center and to the EUR, as well as to the A1 highway. Yet, in spite of its promising design – indeed such a system would have acted as a reliable backbone for urban developments toward east and southwest – its results were not satisfactory. The *cubage* was excessive, and the value attributed to the *urban figure* was overabundant.

The idea of an infrastructure that would have consolidated the expansion of Rome toward east and subsequently toward the EUR – an important center leaning toward the sea – was never entirely realized. Rome expanded in a chaotic fashion toward many directions, often enslaved by economic interest related to land rents, interests that affected its development through compromises. As any cursory examination of the present situation would reveal, the result consist in the abandonment of any *systemic strategy* in favor of a shortsighted development policy. Hence, the initial idea of a single axis slowly morphed into to a *network model* and subsequently into a *diffused directional centers system*. Lastly, the *polycentric*<sup>9</sup> model provided for by the 2008 Zoning Plan, prefigured by Paolo Portoghesi in the year 1989,<sup>10</sup> by Alberto Samonà's tables "La Modificazione di Roma" (1985) and by Franco Purini's "Le Sette Città di Roma" (1987),<sup>11</sup> was eventually adopted see figure 3. The eighteen centers envisioned in the adopted zoning plant are still being constructed, but an insufficient network of connections renders this development vain, so that these "magnets" risk becoming a constellation of self-referential, single-purpose centers that cannot intercept the fluxes that are still pouring over the center of the city. Consequently, Rome still present itself with an image of as a self-enclosed city surrounded by its countryside.



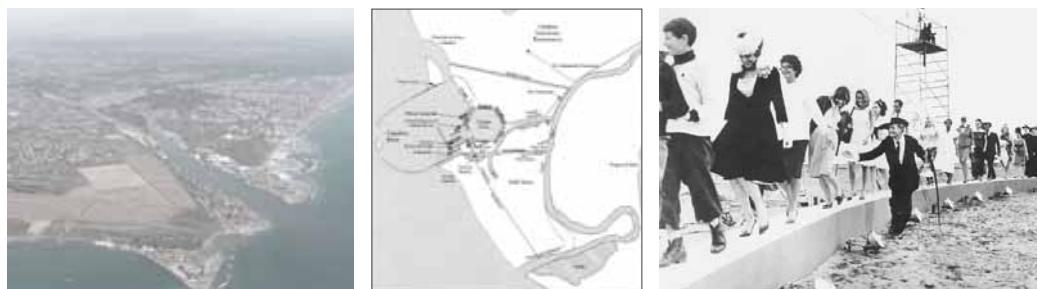
Figure 3. Franco Purini, Le Sette Città di Roma, 1987.

### Fly Over

While traveling through the flat expanse stretching over Rome's southwestern area, along a stretch of the river Tiber enclosed between the Portuense and Ostiense roads, we come across some substantial segments of the directional and logistical system of the capital city. This almost entirely linear trajectory, interspersed with large green areas and with some aggressive, almost ravenous urban developments, seem to paint one of the most incisive pictures of the city. It is a periphery void of any developmental logic, erected by complying with economic or political interests, favoring large landowners and the aims of influential private investors.<sup>12</sup>

This area is characterized by different morphological systems: *large environmental bodies*, such as the monumental pine forest of Castel Fusano, the presidential estate of Castel Porziano and the green belt surrounding the river Tiber, as well as large road infrastructures, railways and the *centuriel system* created by a network of canals, developed during a large land reclamation projects during the first

years of the twentieth-century. In this area, see figure 4, the regular mesh of the canals constructed during the afore-mentioned land reclamation, the farm paths and the rows of eucalyptuses seem to have had an influence on the urbanization process larger than the one the roadway system had, by establishing alignments, rhythms and geometries, by measuring land and limiting the extension of properties. But some large man-made marks, such as airports, ports and highways, were superimposed over that ancient image, thus altering the internal balance of the landscape.<sup>13</sup> The area that was once delimited by ancient pre-existing natural formations (such as the salt marshes and ponds of Ostia and Maccarese, Tiber's dry bend and the ancient coastline) is presently delimited by some large inhabited "turfs" that seems to emerge and disturb the quiet Roman countryside, violating the noble monumental-archeological complexes of Ostia, Portus (the complex constituted by the ports of Claudius and Trajan) and the Necropolis of Isola Sacra, among the largest and least promoted archeological complexes in the world - figure 5. Not far away is the area encompassing the mouth of the river Tiber, stretching between Idroscalo and Isola Sacra, from where the two branches of coastline reaching Ostia on one side and Fregene on the other split. This last offshoot of Rome toward the Tyrrhenian, these borderlands seem to guard Rome's nostalgic, poetic and oneiric collective imagination, made famous the world over by the movies directed by Pier Paolo Pasolini and Federico Fellini – figure 6.



Figures 4-6 from left to right. The Tiber's mouth, the area of Portus in the Trajan age and Federico Fellini's scene from the movie *Otto e mezzo*, 1963.

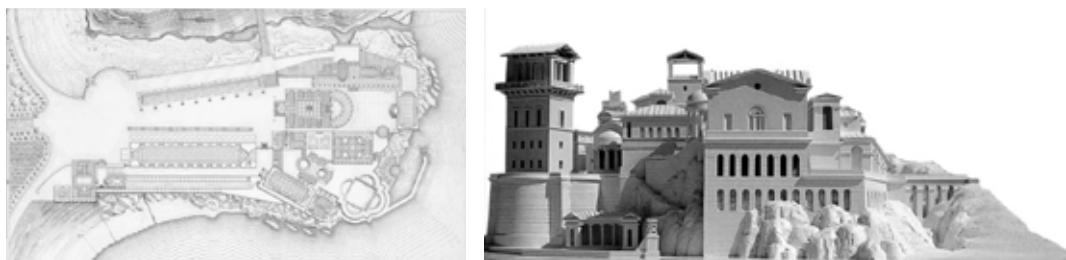
### Thresholds – An Imagined Rome

The unusual image of Rome as a city that overlooks the sea had one of its most striking representations in Karl Friedrich Schinkel's *Laurentinum*, his reconstruction of Plinius's Villa – figures 7 & 8. Yet, before talking about *Laurentinum*, one needs to take a step back on the Flavian-Severian ancient Rome's coast road, built by Septimius Severus. The track of this road was not laid out in a single project, but rather, it was the result of a process that unified a number of tracks that connected imperial properties or natural landing places to pre-existing settlements. The decision to give coastal traffic a more regular road was set into an imperial economic renewal project that provided for connecting and thus enhancing Porto and Terracina, two of the most important ports of the Tyrrhenian Sea. For that reason, a number of services related to commercial exchanges and passenger transportation were located along the road, such as temples and thermal baths, whose ruins now dot the areas surrounding the road. Indeed the famous Plinius's Villa, a residential complex constituted of constructions built at

different heights and set on natural or artificial rises, was found along the ancient Via Severiana. The Villa inspired many architects and artists such as Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Leon Krier. Schinkel re-imagined the villa as a romantic construction – after being inspired by a letter wrote by Plinius to his friend Gallus – reflecting in the sea, whereas Krier re-imagined the Laurentium as a fortified garrison located on a hill, suspended between the image of Villa Malaparte in Capri and the plan for Pio II Piccolomini's city, a postmodern compendium of an acropolis, a medieval suburb and a Renaissance city. See figures 9 & 10.



Figures 7 & 8 left to right. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Laurentinum, Plinius's Villa front & plan view, 1826.



Figures 9 & 10 left to right. Leon Krier, Laurentinum, Plinius's Villa plan & front view, 1981.

The image of Plinius's Villa reflecting on the Tyrrhenian Sea probably was the source of inspiration for one of the most suggestive projects for Rome's sea: Adalberto Libera's seafront of Castel Fusano (1933-34). It is condensed into a single perspective, which is a sort of table for an ideal Rationalistic city. A timeless dimension, almost a mystical one, seem to pervade this project, in which the immense brown pine forest acts as a background for the towers near the sea – a memory of the ancient coastal towers of Lazio. The pine forest seem to elicit the same sensations one might feel by walking into Dante Alighieri's "dark wood" – an impenetrable physical place – with a volumetric impact similar to that concretion of buildings that were located before the entrance to St. Peter square and that acted as the last visual obstacle before the ecstatic, absolute vision of the great, empty sacred space – figure 11.



Figure 11. Adalberto Libera, Seafront of Castel Fusano, 1933-34

Similarly, the mysterious pine forest of Castel Fusano acts as a pause between the city and the sea, a separation that increases anticipation by transforming the horizon into something unknown. Like the *inverted aqueduct* of Castel Fusano, the colossal arch of E42, seen by Adalberto Libera as the ritualization of a passage, is the *Gateway to Sea* (1937-40). Placed on Via Imperiale, close to the lake, it should have acted as a monumental entrance – as well as a symbol – to the Universal Exposition of Rome, which was expected to open in 1942 – figure 12.



Figure 12. Adalberto Libera, Gateway to Sea, 1937-40.

Unlike Libera's visionary ideas, Alfio Susini's project for Castel Fusano (1940)<sup>14</sup> is a subtle investigation on the subject of thresholds and proposed a new system for accessing the city from the sea. Like Libera's sea front, Susini's *propylaia* seems to appear in their lone splendor. They seem to define the boundaries of a metaphysical square, an expression of the desire to rationalize the landscape through architecture, in clear contrast with the labyrinthine nature of the pine forest – figure 13.

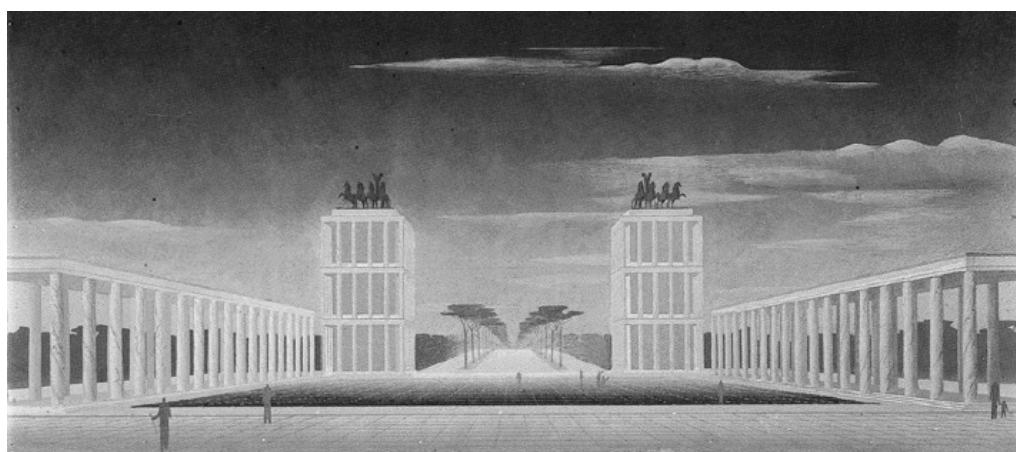


Figure 13. Alfio Susini, Seafront of Castel Fusano, 1940.

The subject of *gateways* or *accesses* to the city is central in many large-scale urban visions. Consider, for instance, Dario Carbone's project for developing the areas surrounding the river Tiber and for the expansion of Rome toward the sea (1912)

and Mario Fiorentino's project for the Rome-Sea metropolitan sector (1972). A comparison between these two projects appears to be of interest, as each project assigned the leading role for the expansion of Rome to a different bank of the river Tiber. More specifically, Carbone's project was the one in which the future developments were best prefigured, as it envisioned an industrial and economic development for the area, focusing on the right bank of the river. The project included a seaport, the new San Paolo quarter, the "city at sea" of Fregene and a railway to Rome.<sup>15</sup> The seaport, located to the north of the mouth of the Tiber, had a corresponding hinterland river port in San Paolo, where a new residential quarter, a kind of high-density utopian city, was envisioned.<sup>16</sup> The project also provided for a new bathing city starting from the pine forest of Fregene and extending up to the electric railway station of the Roma-Fregene line, which would have reached the Termini station, thus connecting the city to the sea – figure 14.



Figure 14. Dario Carbone, project for developing the areas surrounding the river Tiber and for the expansion of Rome toward the sea, 1912.

On the contrary, Mario Fiorentino's study for the development of the whole area extending from the GRA toward the sea focused on the left bank of the river Tiber and took advantage of the pristine beauty of the large forests of Castel Fusano, close to the city doors. In four steps, Fioretino designed: a system of parks to preserve and enhance the existing natural and archeological resources; a coastal system acting simultaneously as the city's "facade on the sea" and as an horizon for the park; a service system that would provide boundaries to the park; a port that would encompass Ostia Lido, also acting as a margin for the natural preserve. The project aims to give the area a clearly recognizable mark, an *image-mark* that is "costituita dal tracciato di distribuzione a forma di S caratterizzante visivamente l'intero disegno."<sup>17</sup> It is, therefore, an organic project in which the area's existing energies and resources – that is, its proximity to the sea and to international exchange infrastructures, the presence of monumental archeological areas and of an ancient, miraculously well-preserved landscape – are collected and conveyed into the city – figure 15.

### Landfalls

In this area rich of landfalls, many buildings or urban system act as gateways to the city, some of which of international relevance, such as the "Leonardo da

Vinci" intercontinental airport, while others are specialized citadels, such as the Interporto, the Fiera di Roma and Alitalia Magliana direction center, connected by large infrastructures, such as the Grande Raccordo Anulare (Rome's main ring road), as well as highways, railways and the river Tiber. However, the "Leonardo da Vinci" international airports, one of the main accesses to the city from the sky, still shows its ambiguous nature, as it is one of the largest airport in the Mediterranean, yet one of the least connected to the local and regional transport networks. The seaports are still an unresolved matter: the plan, coordinated by Bruno Minardi, provided for the construction on the banks of the Isola Sacra, an area that would have to be entirely reclaimed.



Figure 15. Mario Fiorentino, Project for the Rome-Sea metropolitan sector, 1972.

In ancient times, the river Tiber was one of the southern accesses to the city and, more specifically, it was Rome's via triumphalis. Although the archeological excavations at Isola Sacra and Ponte Galeria demonstrated that in the past many monuments faced the river directly, thus demonstrating its importance, the city has entirely lost its relationship with the river, so much so that just seeing the river has become increasingly difficult, as demonstrated by the unlawful occupation of its banks.

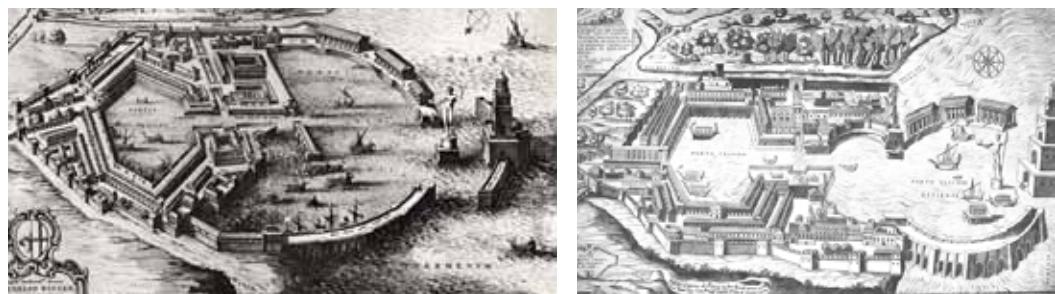
Portus, the complex comprising the ports built by Claudius and Trajanus (18) and one of most ancient systems of access to the city, was simultaneously a gateway, a seaport and a center that balanced the polarity of Ostia Antica on the opposite side of the Tiber.

Svetonius's account of the construction of the port built by Claudius – whose docks appear to be echoed by Bernini's St. Peter colonnade – and some faint traces, still visible in the archeological area close to the Fiumicino Airport, are all that is left of that important structure. From the faces of some coins minted during Nero's era and thanks to some reconstructions, we now know that the image of the port was characterized by two large magnificent docks, separated by a lighthouse. According to some sources the lighthouse, remembered in Carlo

Aymonino's project for the *Colosso di Nerone*, was a large statue, similar to Rodi's Colossus.

Trajan's port included an hexagonal dock<sup>19</sup> (each side measuring approximately 360 meters) surrounded a proper seaport composed of piers, canals, warehouses, temples, thermal baths that were surrounded by walls (the so called Costantine's walls) starting from the second half the fifth century. Designed by Apollodorus of Damascus, author of many trajaneian architectures, the port seems to have some similarities with the Markets of the Trajan's Forum, which is characterized by the use of Platonic solids and exact geometries, with the planimetric layout of the ancient port of Civitavecchia (Centumcellae) and with the morphology of the exedra and of the cryptoporticus in Trajan's Thermal Baths on Colle Oppio. So many similarities seem to reveal the existence of stylistic recurrences in the works of the architect.

Thanks to its extraordinary architecture, Trajan's port was source of inspiration for many scholars, who interpreted it in many different manners. Consider, for instance, Sangallo's plans (1485-1514); the axonometric views drawn by Pirro Ligorio (1554) and by Du Perac (1574) – figure 16; Peruzzi's sketches (1525); Labacco's sketches (1567); the tables drawn by Mesiner (1678) and by Danti (1582); Garezz's reconstructions (1835); the surveys of the ruins prepared by Canina (1827), Lanciani (1867), Gismondi (1933), Testaguzza (1965) and Keay (2005). In particular, Pirro Ligorio executed three different drawings of the "Porto Ostiense". The first one is a perspective drawing, edited in Venice by Michele Tramezino in 1554 and engraved by Giulio De Musis. The second one is a perspective drawing included in the Turinese writings and the last one is a plan on parchment – figure 17. Rodolfo Lanciani rediscovered two of these drawings, bought them in 1902 and reported that "Pirro Ligorio, architect of Pius IV, had prepared two splendid drawings on parchment, an iconographic [...]. These precious autographs... have come recently to enrich my collection of prints and drawings..."<sup>20</sup> A peculiar anecdote proves that this unique construction – and possibly also the equally peculiar interpretation provided by Ligorio – was a surprising source of inspiration for other works. Vittorio Amedeo the 2nd, the heir of Carlo Emanuele di Savoia, probably found Pirro Ligorio's *Portus* drawings in Turin in the family library (in Piemonte, as Lanciani wrote).



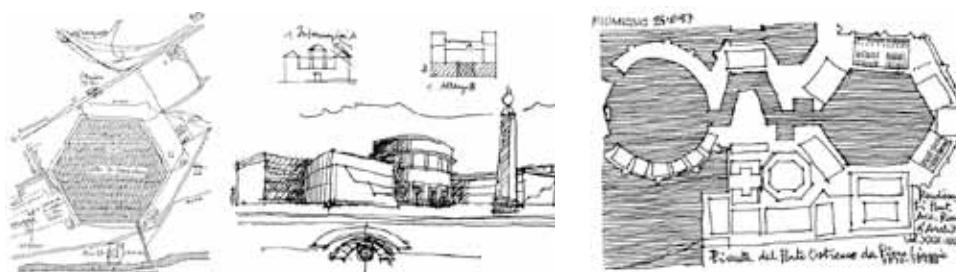
Figures 16 & 17 left & right. Stefano Du Perac, *Portus*, 1574 and Pirro Ligorio, *Nova Descriptio Regni Neapolitani*, 1557.

These drawings certainly influenced Filippo Juvarra's project for the royal palace in Stupinigi.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, by observing the palace from above, one can notice that is almost exactly a transfer of the image of the port drawn by Ligorio: a hexagonal body connected to a semicircular one. A palace that echoes a port shaped like a palace – figure 18.



Figure 18. Palazzina di caccia di Stupinigi.

Another project, which was inspired by the figurative, geometric and symbolic power of the ancient seaport of Rome is Carlo Aymonino's proposal for transforming the monumental-archaeological complex of Portus in a gateway to an archaeological park. The main idea of the project "Porto dei Porti" (1998) was to stress the uniqueness of the "double harbour" – composed of two linked and complementary basins – an uniqueness that had been already sensed by Pirro Ligorio. While Aymonino imagined the new archaeological and naturalistic park of the Trajan's Port and Via Severiana he on the other hand, desired creating a new entrance and a junction node located in the existing Portus Station. While the Trajan's Port was to become a wide service center with cultural and recreational facilities, the renewed Portus Station, as a new entrance to the area of Portus, was to be equipped with conference rooms, exhibition areas, offices, laboratories for restoring and cataloguing archaeological remains.<sup>22</sup> – figures 19-21.



Figures 19 &20. Carlo Aymonino, sketches for Porto dei Porti, 1998.



Figure 21. A Carlo Aymonino, sketch for Porto dei Porti, 1998.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the ancient seaport of Rome is still now an object ripe with mystery: on one hand, it is a potential engine of development and on the other a symbol of its historical memory, characterized by floods and land reclamations, declines and recoveries. A perfect geometrical shape, the port basin's hexagonal configuration seems to imitate the planimetric shape of Rome's historical centre that, through a translation of meaning, is cast toward the sea, in a sense prefiguring its destiny – figure 22.



Figure 22. Ricardo Bofill, Taller De Arquitectura, project for Parco Leonardo, Fiumicino.

The entrances to the city, concentrated in its peripheral areas, are central to Rome's renewal process exactly because of their peripheral location. Yet, Rome's urban landscape is marked by conflicts, characterized as it is by dispersion, incommunicability and by the somehow heroic spectacle offered by the ongoing conflict between fragments of ancient inhabited networks, emerging from the soil, and new urban developments, attempting to plant their roots in the soil.

In this territory, all building developments seem to escape any governmental overseeing and thus become self-referential monads that further destabilize the existing unstable balances. Moreover, the artificial division between the right and the left bank of the river Tiber seems impervious to any substantial modification and the urban countryside project does not appear to be a useful instrument for attempting to reconnect the enclaves. Although a large-scale zoning project might help sewing back all the peripheral patches of this area together, one must also consider that it is indeed characterized by its separated areas, composed of parts and pieces that are waiting to be configured. Lastly, the poetic nature of a fragment – the intrinsic separation of any peripheral space – cannot generate any continuity but by negating its very self – figure 23.

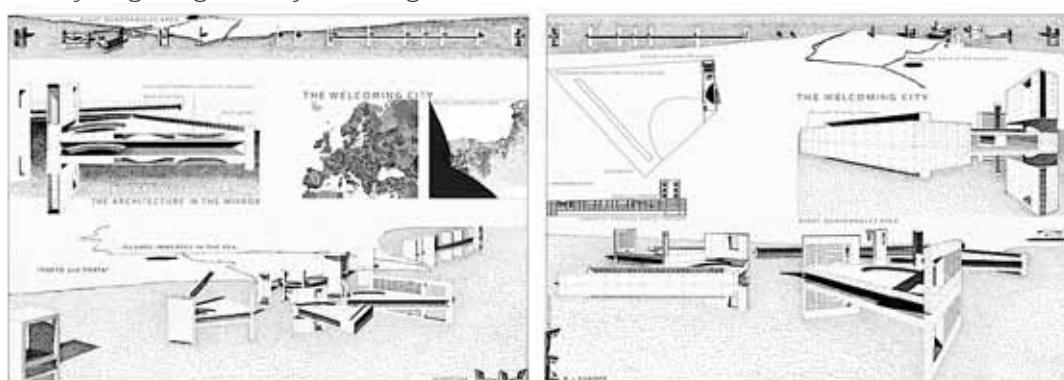


Figure 23. Lina Malfona, Castel Fusano. L'architettura allo specchio, San Sosti 2012.

### Endnotes

- 1 Humble subjects become sacred in the painting of Giulio Aristide Sartorio, Enrico Coleman, Duilio Cambellotti and Onorato Carlandi; consider, for instance the "Mostra dell'Agro Romano" display – presented during the Universal Exposition of Rome in 1911 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Italian Unification – in which subjects such as malaria infested swamps and desolate countrysides first began appearing.
- 2 Lugli, Giuseppe and Goffredo Filibeck. *Il porto di Roma Imperiale e l'Agro Portuense*. Bergamo: Officine dell'Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1935. 219-220.
- 3 Cf. Giovannoni, Gustavo. "L'espansione di Roma verso i colli e verso il mare". AA. VV. *Il Piano Regolatore provinciale*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1934. N. p.
- 4 Cf. Quilici, Vieri. *Roma capitale senza centro*. Roma: Officina Edizioni, 2007. 97-98.
- 5 In the year 1935, Bottai sent a letter to Mussolini in which he proposed constructing an Exposition "open to all sciences, all arts, all types of works or activities, over the area the stretches toward the sea of Ostia". Rossi, Piero Ostilio. *Roma. Guida all'architettura moderna 1909-2000*. Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2005. 134.
- 6 Cf. Piacentini, Marcello. "L'Esposizione Universale dell'anno ventesimo e la più grande Roma del piano imperiale." *Il Giornale d'Italia* 14 October (1936). N. p.

7 Cf. Quilici, Vieri. *Roma capitale senza centro*. Op. cit. 95-112.

8 The studio was founded by Vincio Delleani, Mario Fiorentino, Riccardo Morandi, Lucio e Vincenzo Passarelli for the Studio Passarelli, Ludovico Quaroni e Bruno Zevi. Cf. Quaroni, Ludovico. "Il cuore della città. La problematica del Sistema Direzionale a Roma dall'impostazione del CET ad oggi." *L'Architettura. Cronache e Storia* 238-39 (1975).

9 According to Vieri Quilici, Rome is "genetically polycentric" and is composed of a "system of locations". Cf. Quilici, Vieri. *Roma capitale senza centro*. Roma: Officina Edizioni, 2007. 151-52.

10 Cf. Portoghesi, Paolo, Laura Bertolaccini and Fabio Mecenate. "Il progetto direttore per il Sistema Direzionale Orientale di Roma." *Bollettino della Biblioteca della Facoltà di Architettura* 48-49 (1993).

11 Cf. Purini, Franco (1987). *La città politica. Il parlamento e i nuovi ministeri*. Moschini, Francesco and Gianfranco Neri (edited by). *Dal Progetto*. Roma: Kappa, 1992. 253.

12 Cf. Malfona, Lina, EUR, Europarco, Euroskey. Lenci, Ruggero (edited by). *L'enigma di Euroskey*. Roma: Gangemi 2014. 22-25.

13 Cf. Malfona, Lina. *Tra Roma e il mare. Storia e futuro di un settore urbano*. Melfi: Libria, 2014.

14 It is the project for the transformation of the coastal section of Castel Fusano, commissioned by Roman Governatorato to Alfio Susini. Cf. Strappa, Giuseppe. "La fine dell'impero disegnata nel sogno." *La Repubblica*, Wednesday 28 agosto 1991.

15 Cf. Rossi, Piero Ostilio and Susanna Pasquali. *La sistemazione del Tevere e lo sviluppo di Roma verso il mare*. Typewritten document, October 1987. 19-24.

16 Cf. Fraticelli, Vanna. *Roma 1914-1929. La città e gli architetti tra la guerra e il Fascismo*. Roma: Officina, 1982.

17 Cf. Moschini, Francesco (edited by). Mario Fiorentino. *La casa. Progetti 1946-1981*. Roma: Kappa 1985. 203.

18 Cf. Malfona, Lina (2014). "Un parco archeologico-naturalistico per la via Severiana". Rossi, Piero Ostilio and Roberto Secchi (edited by). Roma. *VISIONI dalla Coda della Cometa*, monographic number of *Rassegna di Architettura e Urbanistica* 141 (2014). 116-126.

19 The hexagonal shape is explained by Trajan's desire to give the port a symmetrical shape and to integrate some of the pre-existing structures related to Claudius' Port. Moreover, the port of Rome needed a large number of warehouses to store goods temporarily and that specific shape would have guaranteed an optimal spatial distribution.

20 Lanciani, Rodolfo. *Storia degli Scavi*. Roma: Ermanno Loescher, vol. III, 1902. 216.

21 Cf. Plahte Tchudi, Victor. Negotiating time in print. Arrhenius, Thordis, Mari Lending, Wallis Miller and Jérémie Michael McGowan (edited by), *Exhibiting Architecture*. Zürich: Lars Muller Publishers 2014. 171-181.

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