

A detailed architectural line drawing of a large, multi-level atrium. The drawing is rendered in a light blue-grey tone. It shows a central walkway with people walking in various directions. On the right, there are multiple levels with balconies and stairs. A person is sitting at a table in the bottom right corner. The drawing uses fine lines to define the structure and shading to indicate depth and light.

Post-war Architecture between Italy and the UK

Exchanges and transcultural influences

Edited by Lorenzo Ciccarelli
and Clare Melhuish

 **UCLPRESS**

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Postmodernism: 1977–1991 and supervised by Professor Jean-Louis Cohen, is the first book-length study devoted to the subject. He has given conference talks on the international legacy of Superstudio's radical design, the convergence between postmodernism and a politicized regionalism in the architecture of the Soviet 'peripheries', references to Japanese Metabolism in late Soviet architecture, and other topics. His essay 'The First World War and Nationalist Primitivism in Russian Architecture', analysing the use of architecture as war propaganda, will appear in *States of Emergency: Architecture, urbanism, and the First World War*, which is forthcoming with Leuven University Press.

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The complexity of cultural exchange: Anglo-Italian relations in architecture between transnational interactions and national narratives

Paolo Scrivano

British and Italian cultures have interacted for several centuries, and often with fruitful results, as plenty of studies have well documented. They have moulded a history of exchanges that includes examples of both 'high' and 'low' culture and that extends to recent times, embracing literature, art, music and even cinema and sports.¹ It is also a history that at times encompasses misunderstanding, ambiguity and stereotyping, if not plain prejudice. In architecture, the relations between Italy and the UK have followed very similar patterns, as is attested by some of the best known cases of interplay between the two countries, Palladianism and landscape gardening: popularized by British amateurs and collectors about a century later, the work of Andrea Palladio generated a world-wide process of imitation that spread out in the English-speaking world, likewise affecting everyday building practices;² the English Garden, for its part, not only significantly influenced Italy's nineteenth-century architectural design, but also played an important role in launching the long season of European eclecticism.³

Rich and captivating in results and outcomes, the Anglo-Italian exchange is of equally critical importance in terms of the questions it raises. In the first place, its study forces an interrogation of the intensity over time of the relations between the UK and Italy and the extent of their reciprocity; then it compels a probe into the forms of an exchange that materialized between two ambits referring to very different ideas of

self-identity and diverse understandings of ‘nationality’. Addressing these questions might prove even more challenging when dealing with the post-war years: the passage from a context of prevalently bi-national relations – or multi-national relations, but with a limited number of key players – to an increasingly transnational one renders a reconsideration of the mechanisms of cultural exchange almost inevitable.

Indeed, addressing problems concerning processes of cultural exchange entails questioning the very essence of what one could call the ‘original elements’ of the latter – in a way, the ‘poles’ or ‘extremes’ between which cultural relations normally develop. Talking of cultural exchange – as in this case, between Italian and British architectural cultures – implies to discuss the different ways of viewing itself and the other, to evaluate the ‘self-reflections’ and the narratives put in place by each participant in the exchange, and to consider how these self-reflections and narratives have interacted and still interact.⁴ In a few words, it requires tackling the question of how transnational exchanges unfold and, in a way that might appear at first somewhat paradoxical, also of how these exchanges consolidate national narratives.

Some questions can serve as a guideline for a discussion on these themes. What role do national narratives play in the transnational processes of cultural exchange? Do they limit or support, if not favour, the transmission of knowledge? And do national identities – the self-reflections mentioned above – facilitate or hamper the circulation of information and the establishing of mutual influences between different cultures? Considering the role that buildings and the built environment can play in creating and affirming cultural values, the contacts between British and Italian architectural cultures in the post-war years are an invitation to explore these questions from the perspective of a specific disciplinary field, architecture.

Cultural exchanges and national narratives: A dynamic relationship

A first important consideration is that, typically, cultural exchanges and national narratives co-exist in a dynamic relationship. In this respect, it might be useful to start from well-established (and largely accepted) definitions of national narrative and of nationalism, such as those advanced by British historian Eric Hobsbawm, perhaps the foremost authority on these points. In his 1990 book *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Hobsbawm identified the nineteenth century as the key moment

for the formation of a new idea of nation, one that replaced those that had previously existed and that were grounded in a strict identification between the nation and the limits and extents of royal or princely powers.⁵ Hobsbawm emphasized the element of artificiality and social engineering in the making of nations, together with an equally important component of invention: it was the latter aspect that was debated in another seminal work, the volume *The Invention of Tradition*, edited with Terence Ranger and first published in 1983.⁶

Central to *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* was the assertion that the definition of nation as it developed during the nineteenth century derived from a process of acquisition of mass support, from mechanisms – that is – that can be assimilated to those at the basis of the construction of national narratives. For Hobsbawm, nation building was essentially the outcome of a process of expansion and, in his view, the national movements that emerged during the nineteenth century in Western Europe and North America converged toward a form of unification, following a transnational trend. Contained in Hobsbawm's discourse were implications of spatial nature: the nation, he wrote, '... is a social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state ... in the context of a particular stage of technological and economic development.'⁷

Another author who investigated the notions of nationalism and nationality, in particular in connection to the creation of a sentiment of national consciousness, was political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* of 1983.⁸ Addressing the issue within a larger discussion around the formation of national languages, Anderson claimed that the diffusion of 'print-languages' created the conditions for the development of, in his words, 'unified fields of exchange and communication', based on the sharing of common idioms that derived from the birth of non-local audiences for books, journals, periodicals and printed documents and, later, from the institution of large bureaucratic apparatus, schooling systems and national bodies of laws.⁹ Despite selecting different 'inception' times (late eighteenth and nineteenth century for Hobsbawm and the so-called printing revolution during the sixteenth century for Anderson), both authors pointed at the nineteenth century as the key moment for the creation of national identities – in the case of Anderson's position because of the acceleration in the circulation of paper-based information that took place during the nineteenth century.

What counts, at least for the sake of this discourse, is that the nineteenth century set the stage for a deliberate and elaborated process

of invention of traditions that had a nationalist agenda but that was also transnationalist in scope. By underlining possible continuities with the past, invented traditions contributed to the building of national narratives: but, while inward looking, these attitudes were often propelled by some form of transnational exchange. In architecture plenty of examples illustrate this point, most obviously the neo-historicist movements that flourished during the nineteenth century. The interest in the national past that characterized the nineteenth century, in fact, manifested itself through local forms, even though there was an international inspiration at its origin. Mitchell Schwarzer, for example, argues that the construction of nationalist architectural languages in France and Germany progressed in very different directions: in France it followed an already-defined course of nation building through the impositions of a centralized state; in Germany, on the contrary, it had



Figure 2.1 Frontispiece of Pugin, Augustus Charles, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and Edward James Willson, *Examples of Gothic Architecture: Selected from Various Antient Edifices in England: Consisting of Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Parts at Large; Calculated to Exemplify the Various Styles, and the Practical Construction of this Admired Class of Architecture: Accompanied by Historical and Descriptive Accounts* vol. 2 (London: Henry George Bohn, 1836)

Private collection

the difficult task of supporting, culturally more than politically, a project of national unification in a context where most of the potential symbols of nationhood had a less than certain German origin (and this explanation might apply to Italy as well).¹⁰ This struggle is exemplified by the reconstruction of Cologne Cathedral during the nineteenth century, an endeavour that was driven by an effort to create a complex yet fictional historical narrative. After all, the one staged in Cologne was the same kind of imaginary framework that propelled the attempt in the 1830s by Augustus Charles Pugin and his son Augustus Welby Northmore to classify the largest possible spectrum of ‘specimens’ and ‘examples’ of English gothic architecture.¹¹

Other cases, perhaps less frequently mentioned, provide further evidence of how political actions involving architecture often developed in a transnational perspective – and how the construction of national narratives conformed to transnational trends. One case, for example, is the Swiss chalet as described by Jacques Gubler in his *Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l'architecture moderne de la Suisse* – a book of 1975 sometimes overlooked when it comes to questions of nationalism in architecture.¹² In this text Gubler compellingly explained that the Swiss chalet, a typology that has risen to the level of worldwide iconological proxy for mountain architecture, was a nineteenth-century invention



Figure 2.2 Postcard depicting the Swiss Village at the Exposition Nationale de Genève, 1896

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loosely connected to local traditions but patently instigated by transnational trends. The public debut of the *chalet suisse* took place in 1896, when it was introduced as part of the *village suisse* at the Swiss National Exhibition at Geneva, an imaginary and ephemeral installation aimed at reflecting the cultural diversity of the Swiss Confederation, condensed in a summarized architectural formula.

While embedded in a project meant to produce an all-comprehensive national message, the Geneva initiative was by no means original. One of the first experiences of this kind, in fact, had occurred in Turin in 1884, when, in concomitance with the Italian General Exhibition, a fictional ‘medieval borough’ had been erected by assembling replicas of fifteenth-century architectures found in the region of Piedmont and in the Aosta Valley. In its attempt to promote a ‘national language’, Geneva’s national exhibition imitated an Italian initiative that, in turn, just followed a transnational trend. In an amusing spiralling of international connections, Turin’s medieval re-enactment had been organized by Alfredo de Andrade, an architect, painter and archaeologist who, while trained in Italy, was born in Lisbon.¹³

To use Benedict Anderson’s interpretative framework, cases such as the one of the Swiss chalet attempted to ‘compact’ in a limited number of features very diverse forms of local and regional distinction into a national formula, contributing to create national identities and narratives. As an endeavour of deep social relevance, architecture in fact represents a persuasive symbolic receptacle for collective identity. Carmen Popescu argues that, from the end of the eighteenth century onward, increased individual and cultural mobility altered the perception of space and time and that the consequent ‘loss of references’ fostered a new demand for distinction that architecture had the potential to fulfil.¹⁴ Since then, what Popescu calls ‘identitarian architecture’ has offered the prospect of resolving the divide between past and present through the establishment of a link between different time perspectives: to simplify, the narratives that architecture contributed to build participated in a process of ‘domestication of the new’, during times of unprecedented societal transformations.

So, if in the post-war years some sort of exchange did take place between Italy and the UK – as the essays included in this volume illustrate – it is essential to analyse it by reflecting on the forms it assumed, by identifying what each architectural culture had to offer to the other, and by looking at the way each national distinctiveness contributed to the cultural exchange in relation to a peculiar quest for self-representation. As already remarked, Britain and Italy arrived to shape their ideas of

nationality in very different fashions – and the Italian path to national identity had been much more tortuous than the one of its counterpart.¹⁵ Differences between the two countries had by no means been reduced in 1945, and this condition of disparity appeared evident in architecture too. Indeed, the key questions that in this respect should be addressed concern how Italian and British architectural cultures had evolved by the end of the war, in which way they presented themselves to the other (and to the rest of the world) in those crucial years, and how their respective national narratives resounded internationally.

Directions, aims, attitudes, ideals, as well as practices that distinguished the Italian and British cases would deserve an analysis beyond the scope of this essay. What needs to be underlined, however, is that after the war specific issues emerged in each of the two camps, affecting the role architecture could play in consolidating national identification. For instance, one question that was indisputably dominant in post-war Italy centred on the dilemma about how to promote societal change while preserving existing, and supposedly inviolable, traditions.¹⁶ After the Second World War, Italian designers were forced to confront the weighty legacy of Fascism's support of modernism, while at the same time rejecting the regime's rhetorical use of ideologized notions of national identity. The fact was that, in 1945 (but also during the following decade), Italian national identity escaped any precise definition in the same way as it had done before and during the war. A good case in point is an article that architect, theorist, and educator Pasquale Carbonara published in *Architettura: Rivista del sindacato nazionale fascista architetti* in 1942. Titled 'La cucina nella tradizione della famiglia italiana' (The kitchen in the tradition of the Italian family), it provided extremely generic definitions of what could be deemed as 'traditionally Italian' in design.¹⁷ To indicate the 'typical' Italian kitchen, Carbonara listed a long and rather generic series of examples: a house in Roman times, a renaissance farm in Tuscany, and a 'stufa' or 'Stube' from the Alpine region.

As a matter of fact, in the case of Italy the construction of a renewed national identity in the post-war years intersected intricate processes of exchange, of 'give and take', with other cultures. One direction was, of course, the one that defined Italy through the perception of others and that found its roots in well-established traditions, such as the *Grand Tour*. The other one was to some degree 'self reflective', involving the way Italy (or parts of it) looked at itself and produced a patronized gaze that could be called 'orientalism in one country'.¹⁸ In many ways, these two attitudes co-existed, combining views from outside and from inside in the construction of a national and somewhat unified narrative.

National identities' transnational projections

It is important to remember that these processes of narration building were in no way limited to Italy or the UK. Arata Isozaki, for example, in *Japan-ness in Architecture*, a book published in 2006, elaborated on how Japanese identity (in general, and in the particular case of architecture) was the result of – in Isozaki's words – a 'contact with an external gaze' and the ensuing reaction to it.¹⁹ This reaction consisted in 'restraining, draining off, and removing the energy conceived in each earlier transformative period', a process of 'sophistication and purification' that Isozaki called 'Japanization'.²⁰ The case of the architecture and the garden of the Imperial Villa of Katsura, near Kyoto, well exemplifies this course of action. In the eyes of German architect Bruno Taut, Katsura materialized the aesthetic values of many modern architects in the West – minimalism, pure geometry, simplicity of forms; his external gaze, in turn, prompted a reaction, the rediscovery of the villa as well as of Japanese traditional architecture on the part of Japanese architects and then of the Japanese public.²¹

This Japanese digression serves to further highlight the dynamic relation with the 'other' that lies behind the construction of national narratives. The case of Japan, by the way, draws an interesting parallel with that of Italy and of other countries in what concerns the conditions (or constrictions) that led to the partial remodelling of national architectural identities after the end of the Second World War. In fact, the post-war development of an export-oriented economy, whose ultimate goal was to contribute to a rapid payment of the war reparations and of the debts contracted to sustain the military effort, went hand in hand with the expansion of the handicraft sector, posing the conditions for the success of the so-called 'made in Italy' in the years to come. It is around this time that an almost rhetorical image of Italian industrial design and architecture took shape, coincident with the 'invention' of a fashionable idea of Italian style and the commodification and commercialization of the concept of 'Italianness'. Events such as the exhibition 'Italy at Work', presented in 1950 and 1951 at the Brooklyn Museum and at the Art Institute of Chicago, and co-ordinated by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Commerce, should indeed be considered in this light.²² This post-war concoction of 'Italianness' was in many ways equivalent to the contemporary inventions of 'Germanness' and 'Japaneseness' – and perhaps 'Britishness' – in design, insofar as they were induced by very similar social and economic conditions.

To discuss the ‘projections’ of British national identity in architecture in the post-war years would be as difficult as for Italy’s case. However, a text containing important reflections on these issues can come to our help, owing specifically to the time when it was conceived and written: it is *The Englishness of English Art* by Nikolaus Pevsner, the volume collecting the notes that the German-born but British-naturalized historian prepared for the Reith Lectures, broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation in October and November 1955.²³ Leaving aside, of course, the misleading identification between ‘English’ and ‘British’ identities, this volume is of particular significance since it addresses the question of national identity in both visual arts and architecture: ‘Is there such a thing at all as a fixed or almost fixed national character?’ was indeed the question that Pevsner posed in the opening pages of the volume.²⁴

Developing a discourse beginning in the sixteenth century but extending to cover contemporary times (that is, when the notes were written, the mid-1950s), Pevsner underlined the mobile, dynamic character of national identities. His assertion – probably prompted by the reading of *The Illusion of National Character* by journalist and writer Hamilton Fyfe²⁵ – that nothing like a national character can be considered ‘consistent over centuries’ is one of the key statements of the entire publication. In debating whether unchangeable and permanent elements could be identified as intrinsic components of any national narrative, Pevsner confuted the role of climate, for long considered ‘... among the premises of national character.’²⁶ To prove that climatic conditions are not permanent, Pevsner reminded the reader of the changing perception of places like London, not only a foggy urban area as it could have appeared to visitors in the mid-1950s, but a polluted city in the eyes of foreign travellers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In his book, Pevsner sought to define the elements that supposedly characterize British (or, in the case of his discourse, English) art and architecture by connecting contemporary times to the past, in this way contributing to delineate the traits of a hypothetical national artistic and architectural identity through the establishment of a persuasive historical narrative. For him, in fact, it was the passage ‘from craftsmanship to quantity production’ in the eighteenth century that defined British architectural identity, but that also substantiated the value of British architecture in comparison to other Western architectural cultures. Pevsner identified specific architectural and technological features to support his claim: ‘... the architecture of the spinning-mill, that most matter-of-fact, most utilitarian, most workaday architecture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is originally English, and so is



Figure 2.3 Abraham Darby III and Thomas Pritchard, Iron Bridge over the River Severn, Coalbrookdale, Shropshire, 1779

RIBA Architecture Image Library

the architecture of the dock warehouse, the iron bridge, and the Crystal Palace.²⁷ According to him, these examples testified to a ‘distinction between utilitarian and ornamental, that is useful art’, something that in his view was quintessential of the British Isles. To illustrate this statement, Pevsner used the example of the iron bridge in Coalbrookdale, an infrastructure indicated in most books of architectural history as one of the first examples of application of metal technology to the building industry.

While it might raise questions to refer to Coalbrookdale as an example of distinction between ‘utilitarian’ and ‘ornamental’ since the structure functioned almost as a wood scaffold, Coalbrookdale points to the fact that infrastructures of this kind successfully contributed to build a national British architectural narrative as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁸ Karl Friedrich Schinkel, for example, travelled to Britain in the 1820s with the precise purpose of learning about the most recent achievements in the infrastructural field – the evidence of the already established consolidation of the image that British architecture projected internationally. While officially abroad to visit the British

Museum and acquire knowledge to be applied in the realization of the Museum am Lustgarten in Berlin, Schinkel extended his architectural investigations to factories, docks, urban estates and structures characterized by the application of innovative building systems, visiting the Royal Pavilion in Brighton built by John Nash and the Conway and Menai bridges built by Thomas Telford among others.²⁹

But it is in the parts dedicated to architecture and planning – in particular in the chapter entitled ‘Picturesque England’ – where Pevsner more convincingly digressed on the elements marking British national identity in architecture.³⁰ In these pages, Pevsner argued for the existence of a relation between the tradition of Picturesque gardening, developed since the late eighteenth century, and the political concept of liberty, in a conceptual short circuit between architecture and ethical values whose persistence in architectural discourse was first analysed in 1977 by David Watkin in his book *Morality and Architecture*.³¹ Pevsner extended to the mid-twentieth century his theoretical construct linking political culture to architectural discourses. For him, in fact, the major problems that the UK faced after the end of the Second World War could be identified in ‘... those of improvements in towns, including the metropolis, and the laying out or, as it is now called, the planning of new towns or new parts of towns.’ Still, in Pevsner’s view, the challenges that British society had to confront in the mid-1950s remained situated within a solid political and philosophical tradition: ‘... even with regard to these urgent problems, so much more serious and portentous than those of the country-house and its grounds, the English Picturesque theory – if not the practice – has an extremely important message. We are in need of a policy of healthy, attractive, acceptable urban planning. There is an English national planning theory in existence which need only be recognized and developed,’ he concluded.³²

Retracing the roots of the tradition to which he made reference in the writings of eighteenth-century authors such as Alexander Pope, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, Pevsner remarked on a British peculiarity of giving importance to the geographical but also to ‘the historical, social, and especially ... aesthetic character’ of a site. Nothing could be more indicative of a British approach to design and planning, in Pevsner’s opinion, than ‘treating each place “on its own merit”’. This, he explained, ‘may indeed be called the principle of tolerance in action, and there is no more desirable element of Englishness than tolerance.’³³ While it perhaps contradicted previous statements about the mutability of national characters (a contradiction that probably reflected his own anxieties as an individual straddling different cultures, languages and

cultural identities), this commendation of British tolerance, which seemed to pair an assumed public virtue with civic attitudes, was indicated by Pevsner as being at the very origin of architectural and planning practices and policies in the UK of the post-war years.³⁴

In any event, Pevsner's most significant conclusion was that the lesson of the past could be of use for the present too if past principles were to be applied, instead of just replicating past solutions. For Pevsner this precept was of universal applicability, in particular at urban scale. 'The situation in planning in all countries today calls for two things in particular, both totally neglected by the nineteenth century: the replanning of city centres to make them efficient as well as agreeable places to work in, and the planning of new balanced towns, satellite towns, New Towns,' he proclaimed.³⁵ Adding a few lines below: 'These are urgent problems for all countries, but what has been said about English character shows that no country is aesthetically better provided to solve them and thereby leave its imprint on other countries than England.'³⁶ Among the best examples of the successful British approach to urban design, Pevsner indicated Charles Holden and William Holford's plans for St Paul's, the South Barbican scheme (as the Barbican was then known), and the projects for



Figure 2.4 Charles Henry Holden and William Graham Holford, Model of St Paul's Precinct development, City of London, 1952

RIBA Architecture Image Library

Roehampton, Harlow New Town and Leonard Vincent's market place for Stevenage New Town – curiously, an array of interventions that, in the UK itself, would be subjected to criticism in the following decades.

Anglo-Italian relations in architecture as cross-cultural interaction

It would be beyond this text's aims to dwell on how, by the time Pevsner formulated them, these views about the potential universal value of British planning – based on ethical and political stances – had already been accepted and consolidated internationally. In Italy, for example, they had been appropriated and applied since the end of the war.³⁷ As early as 1945, in an article published in the first issue of the journal *Metron*, Bruno Zevi had equated the British and Italian situations at the end of the war pointing to common 'reconstruction problems', only to remark that if Britain had won the war it was because it possessed 'the organs and the habit to plan in time of peace'. Italy, on its part, having lived 'in Fascist inefficiency, in both peace and war', needed now to

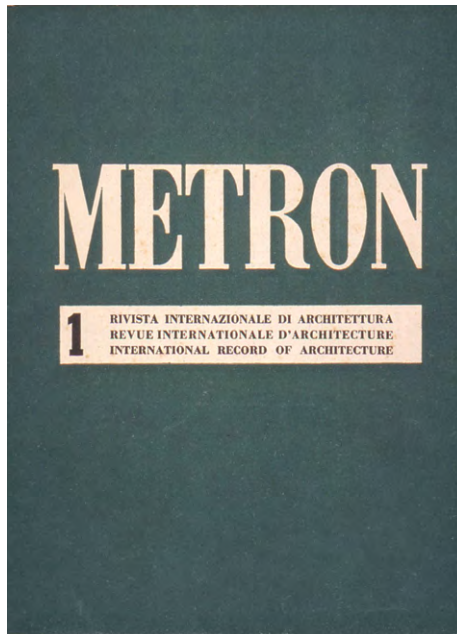


Figure 2.5 Cover of *Metron* no. 1, 1945

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retrieve, in Zevi's words, '... the energies and the work culture necessary to plan for the reconstruction.'³⁸ Zevi's praise of the cultural climate characterizing the UK after 1945 – artfully juxtaposed to the Italian situation – exposed the short circuit between architecture and ethical and political values that defined how foreign information was processed in post-war Italy, regardless of its actual applicability.³⁹

The crucial point, however, is that since the nineteenth century, transnational cultural exchanges both stimulated the construction of national narratives and nourished them from a variety of points of reference or, at times, of confrontation. This articulated phenomenon increased in significance after the end of the Second World War, when relations such as those between Britain and Italy could no longer be simply confined to the limited sphere of bilateralism, but had to be considered within a more complex network of worldwide actors. We do know that the construction of national narratives serves internal purposes, to no small extent related to questions of domestic social control and of cultural cohesion building. No national identity, however, has a reason to exist if it is not placed in dialogue with external interlocutors, with counterparts located outside national borders. Studying the exchanges that occurred in the post-war years between the architectural cultures of the UK and Italy implies therefore addressing issues that pertain to this more problematic – because more nuanced – sphere of cross-cultural interactions. Before and after the Second World War, Anglo-Italian relations might have unfolded in non-linear trajectories, not always based on effective mutual understanding, and not always sharing identical cultural agendas. But the way in which British and Italian architectures intersected proposes a possible paradigm for the study of processes of cultural exchange to a degree that extends well beyond the perspective offered by the essays included in this volume.

Notes

- 1 Some of these aspects are analysed in the essays included in: Pfister and Hertel 2008.
- 2 On this subject see the still essential work by Rudolf Wittkower: Wittkower 1974.
- 3 Roberto Gabetti has written on the significance of imported notions of garden design in the shaping of Continental European and Italian eclectic architectural cultures; see: Gabetti and Griseri 1973, 36–50; Gabetti and Olmo 1989, 216–51.
- 4 There obviously exists a vast literature on the question of how individuals and social groups relate to the 'other', from the works of Jacques Lacan on the notion of alterity to those by Edward Said on the internalization of romanticized Western views of the East (Lacan 2006 and Said 1978).
- 5 Hobsbawm 1990, 1–45.
- 6 Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.
- 7 Hobsbawm 1990, 9–10.
- 8 Anderson 1983, 41–9.

- 9 Anderson 1983, 47.
- 10 Schwarzer 2012.
- 11 'Specimens' and 'examples' were the words included in two of the Pugin's most famous publications: Pugin and Willson 1821–3; Pugin, Pugin and Willson 1831–6. On Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's activity as a writer see: Belcher 1994.
- 12 Gubler 1975.
- 13 Gubler 1975, 30.
- 14 Popescu 2006. A good example of how increased individual mobility changed the perception of space is provided by the nineteenth-century diffusion of railway as a means of public transportation: see Schivelbusch 1986.
- 15 On the problems accompanying the construction of Italy's national identity see: Graziano 2010.
- 16 Scrivano 2013.
- 17 Carbonara 1942.
- 18 'Orientalism in one country' is the title of the book edited by Jane Schneider in 1998: Schneider 1998.
- 19 Isozaki 2006.
- 20 Isozaki 2006, xv.
- 21 Scrivano and Capitanio 2018.
- 22 Rogers 1950.
- 23 Pevsner 1993.
- 24 Pevsner 1993, 15.
- 25 Fyfe 1940; Fyfe's book is quoted in one of the notes of Pevsner's text: Pevsner 1993, 208.
- 26 Pevsner 1993, 18.
- 27 Pevsner 1993, 48.
- 28 With all elements performing as rafters and no part being subject to stress, the bridge alluded to a form – that of the stone arch – rather than to its potential utility, if this is one of the possible meanings of the adjective 'utilitarian' used by Pevsner.
- 29 Riemann 1993.
- 30 Macarthur and Aitchison 2010.
- 31 Watkin 1977.
- 32 Pevsner 1993, 181.
- 33 Pevsner 1993, 181.
- 34 On Pevsner's overlapping (and sometimes conflicting) German, British, and Jewish identities see: Muthesius 2004.
- 35 Pevsner 1993, 186.
- 36 Pevsner 1993, 188.
- 37 Examples of appropriation and adaptation of British models in post-war Italian planning are in: Ciccarelli 2019.
- 38 Zevi 1945. See also: Scrivano 2018.
- 39 An illustration of the distance existing between imported planning models and references and their potential use in the receiving context is provided by the American experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which took the form of authentic myth in post-war Italy: Scrivano 2013, 139–44.

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